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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt ACCOUNT of TIME.

VOL. XXI.

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THE

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OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XXI.

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Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

BOOK XIX.

CHAP. I.

SECT. X.

The Hiſtory of Arragon *continued, from the Reign of Don* Alonſo II. *to its Conjunction with the Kingdom of* Majorca, *including alſo the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Valencia.

THE young king of *Arragon*, Don *Alonſo* the ſecond, was, at the time his mother put him in poſſeſſion of his dominions, entering into the twelfth year of his age; and, therefore, without doubt, there was a kind of regency appointed to manage public affairs, till he attained a proper age to take the reins of government into his own hands. He was a young prince of pregnant parts, one of whom great hopes were conceived by his ſubjects in his earlier years, and who lived not barely to accompliſh their hopes, but to exceed them. He had very ſtrong abilities, much induſtry and activity, a ſincere zeal for religion, with leſs of bigotry than any prince of his time, active and enterprizing in war, prudent in peace,

Don Alonſo II. *his character; entrance on his adminiſtration, and gallant behaviour in* Provence.

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peace, modeſt and grave in his deportment, and ſo free from all ſuſpicion of lewdneſs, that he obtained the ſurname of, *the Chaſte*. The firſt action of his life diſtinguiſhed plainly his ſpirit and capacity; for *Raymond*, count of *Provence*, to whoſe care he was chiefly committed by the queen, his mother, repairing into that country, projected a marriage for his only daughter, Donna *Dulce*, with the ſon of the count of *Tholouſe*, and, falling out ſoon after with the count *de Forcalquier*, marched with a conſiderable body of troops, in order to make himſelf maſter of *Nice*; at the ſiege of which he received a wound in his head, of which he died [a]. *Raymond*, count of *Tholouſe*, thought to avail himſelf of that alliance, which is before mentioned, and meant to have taken poſſeſſion of that country; but Don *Alonſo* of *Arragon*, who was ſcarce entered into his fifteenth year, prevented him: for, being at *Gironne*, when the news came of Don *Raymond Berenger*'s death, he immediately took the
A. D. 1166. title of marquis of *Provence*, and ſent a body of troops to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it [b]. But, before he would go thither in perſon, he called an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Saragoſſa*, where, in the moſt ſolemn manner, he confirmed the liberties of the clergy and nobility. Having obtained all the aſſiſtance he could deſire, he went and put himſelf at the head of his troops in *Provence*, gave battle to the count of *Tholouſe*, and obtained the victory. To ſtrengthen his party, he had repudiated his wife *Conſtance*, who was the daughter of *Lewis* the younger, king of *France*, that married the widow of count *Raymond Berenger*, yet the king carried his point, brought over the clergy, nobility, and people to his intereſts, and, ſome time after, placed his brother Don *Pedro* there, to whom he gave the title of count, and who, to render himſelf popular, aſſumed the name of *Raymond Berenger*, though he held it only in the name, and during the pleaſure of the king his brother [c].

Enters into a war with the Moors, *and drives them out of all the places they*

AFTER his return into his own dominions, perceiving that the reſt of the Chriſtian princes in *Spain* were enlarging their dominions, at the expence of the infidels, he thought it a convenient ſeaſon for him to do the ſame: and, having aſſembled a numerous army, he employed it in ſweeping the towns which the *Moors* ſtill held on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the *Ebro*, which were equally troubleſome to the kingdom

[a] Hiſtoire de Languedoc, liv. ix. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Geſtarum. [b] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Arragonenſium Rerum Commentarii, ZURITA. [c] Hiſtoire de Languedoc, liv. ix.

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of *Arragon*, and the principality of *Catalonia*. Accordingly, he took *Tavara*, *Moella*, *Pena*, *Rubia*, and *Monroy*. From thence advancing to *Caspe*, which was a place of strength, the inhabitants were so intimidated that they opened their gates, on the first appearance of his troops; and *Alcanez*, which was a place of still greater strength, surrendered in like manner; so that, without meeting much resistance, the king pushed his conquests, this campaign, as far as *Canta vieja* [d]. To prevent their being lost, as easily as they were obtained, he gave *Caspe* to the knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, and, some years after, *Alcanez* to the knights of *Calatrava*, by whom they were well fortified, so as to cover all the conquered country [e]. The king, Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, conceiving a high opinion of this young monarch, they entered into a close alliance offensive and defensive; and, according to the custom of those times, put into each other's hands a certain number of fortresses, by way of security, for the due performance of the treaty [f]. About the same time, the *Mohammedans*, in the mountains of *Prades*, took up arms, in hopes of throwing off the yoke of *Arragon*, but the king, causing them to be attacked on all sides, forced them to return to their obedience, not without effusion of blood.

yet held in what is now stiled the kingdom of Arragon. A. D. 1168. 1170.

THE city of *Tervel*, standing on the confluence of the rivers *Alhambra* and *Guadalaviar*, which some have represented as a terrestrial paradise, nature having favoured the plain, in which it stands, with a perpetual spring, had been long the object of his wishes, and he took this opportunity to invest it, when the *Moors* had so many irons in the fire, that he obtained it without any great loss: and, besides annexing so fine a city, in so valuable a territory, to the crown of *Arragon*, it gave him an open passage into the kingdom of *Valentia* [g]. Don *Alonso* quickly improved this advantage by surprizing the town of *Xativa*, a place of great importance, but which would, in all probability, have been only the beginning of his conquests, if he had not been interrupted by the news of an unexpected invasion of his dominions, by Don *Sanchez* the sixth of *Navarre*. This obliged him to turn his arms on that side; previous to which he had an interview with the king of *Castile*, who had also

His irruption into Valentia, *where he reduces the cities of* Tervel *and* Xativa. 1171.

[d] ZURITA, MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. [e] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii, FERRERAS. [f] ZURITA Privileg. et Chart. plur. [g] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi.

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broke with the king of *Navarre*, in which a new convention was made; for the due performance of which the *Caſtilian* put into his hands the caſtle of *Bordejo*, and *Ariza* was conſigned to him by the king of *Arragon*. In purſuance of their agreement, they both invaded *Navarre*, but Don *Sanchez* was ſo well provided, that they gained very little except blows. On the eighteenth of *October* died the queen Donna *Petronilla*, who, from the time of her reſigning the crown, had employed her revenues in charity, and her time in acts of piety and devotion [h]. The people of *Arragon* have ſtill an high regard for her memory.

A. D. 1172.

THE king of *Navarre*, to revenge the inſult of the preceding year, when Don *Alonſo* had waſted his country with fire and ſword, made an irruption into *Arragon*, and made himſelf maſter, after a long ſiege, of *Cajuelos*, while Don *Alonſo*, on his ſide, entered *Navarre*, and took *Milagro*, which he demoliſhed. Towards the cloſe of the year, a diſpute aroſe between the kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, an officer belonging to the former having ſurprized the caſtle of *Ariza*, which, as we have ſhewn, had been put into the hands of the king of *Arragon* as a cautionary place; which act of injuſtice he reſented ſo highly, that he ſent embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to demand in marriage the princeſs *Eudocia*, daughter of the *Greek* emperor *Manuel*, notwithſtanding he had been contracted, in his father's lifetime to Donna *Sancha*, daughter to the emperor *Alonſo*, aunt to the king of *Caſtile*, and ſiſter to the king of *Leon* [i]. This was certainly a very raſh, and indeed the moſt imprudent and blameable action of his whole life; of which being ſoon made ſenſible by the pope's legate cardinal *Hyacinth*, he departed from the project he had formed, and, as we have ſhewn in another place, made his peace with thoſe powerful monarchs, by marrying Donna *Sancha* [k]. Soon after he gave his ſiſter Donna *Dulce* in marriage to the infant Don *Sancho* of *Portugal* [l]. The war with *Navarre*, having been attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences to the Chriſtian intereſts in *Spain*, all the three kings were, at length, prevailed on to ſubmit their differences to the judgment of the king of *England*. This prudent reſolution gave Don *Alonſo* an opportunity of making a tour into *Provence*, where his diſpute with the count of *Tholouſe* remain-

Sends embaſſadors to demand the princeſs Eudocia, *daughter to the* Greek *emperor* Manuel, *and afterwards marries Donna* Sancha *of* Caſtile.

A. D. 1173. 1174. 1175. 1176.

[h] ZURITA Privileg. et Chart. plur. MARIANA Ferreras. [i] ZURITA Chron. Jacobi Regis. MARIANA Hiſtoria general de Eſpana, lib. xi. [k] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Geſtarum, FERRERAS. [l] BRANDAON Privileg. plur.

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ed still undetermined, but was, at length, amicably composed, after an interview between the two princes, by a treaty in which the pretensions of both parties were finally adjusted; and yet the calm lasted not long.

Assists in the glorious battle of Cuenca, as an ally to the king of Castile, who thereupon receives his homage.

At his return into his own dominions, he found the king of *Castile* engaged in a very unequal war with the *Moors*, who had brought a prodigious army together, in order to oblige him to raise the siege of *Cuenca*. At the request of that monarch, he marched, with a great body of troops, to his assistance, and had a large share in that glorious victory obtained over the infidels, near that city: upon which, the king of *Castile*, as a mark of his gratitude and respect, released him from that homage which had been exacted from the crown of *Arragon* by his grandfather, for the territories he held on the south side of the *Ebro* [m]. The king of *Arragon* made after this an incursion into *Valentia*, and obliged the *Moors* in that country to become his vassals. Upon some fresh provocation, he entered that country again with his forces, and had penetrated as far as *Morviedro*, which place while he besieged he had news of some troubles that had arisen in the county of *Roussillon*, which had devolved to him in virtue of a family contract with *Guinard*, the last hereditary prince of that country. This obliged him to raise the siege, and to march thither with an army, where, having settled things to his satisfaction, and fortified the important town of *Perpignan*, he returned into *Arragon*, and held an assembly of the states at *Huesca*, where he received the embassadors of *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, who came to demand his assistance against his nephew, the king of *Castile*. Don *Alonso* gave them good words, but talked in so high a stile to his brother-in-law, that he obliged him to conclude a peace with the king of *Leon*, and, at the same time, they agreed between themselves, that the conquest of *Valentia* should be left to *Arragon*, and that of *Murcia* to *Castile* [n].

A. D. 1177.

1178.

Great exploits performed by

Some new disputes having arisen with the count of *Thoulouse*, the king of *Arragon* went again into *France*, where the viscount of *Nismes*, and the viscount of *Carcasson*, volun-

[m] Zurita Hist. de Languedoc. Annal. Toletan. Roderic Toletan. de rebus Hispan. Lucæ Tudens. Chron. Annal. Complut. [n] Indices Rerum ab Aragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Petr. de Marca, Marca Hispanica, sive limes Hispanicus, i. e. geographica & historica Descriptio Catalauniæ; a Steph. Baluzio edita. Paris. 1688. fo.

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him in Spain, and in France, againſt his enemies, and for the preſervation of his dominions.

tarily did homage to him, and entered into a cloſe alliance againſt the count of *Tholouſe* [o]. About this time, the archbiſhop of *Tarragona*, metropolitan of *Catalonia*, aboliſhed, in all the dioceſes under his juriſdiction, the practice of computing by the æra of *Spain*, and introduced that of our Lord. This regulation was made in the year one thouſand two hundred and eighteen of the old æra [p]. The war with the count of *Tholouſe* ſtill continued, and what gave inexpreſſible grief to the king of *Arragon*, his brother

A. D. 1179. 1180. count *Raymond Berenger* was moſt barbarouſly aſſaſſinated upon *Eaſter*-day, and his remains buried in the cathedral of *Maguelonne*. To puniſh this cruel act as it deſerved, the king marched thither with a formidable army, and, underſtanding that the murderers were retired into the fortreſs of *Morvele*, he cauſed it to be ſuddenly inveſted, and, refuſing to hear of any capitulation, it was taken by aſſault, and all who were in it put without mercy to the ſword [q]. After this act of exemplary juſtice, he made an irruption into the territory of *Tholouſe*; and, the campaign being over, he made a tour to *Bourdeaux*, where he had an interview with *Henry* the ſecond, king of *England*, with whom he concluded an alliance. The war with the count of *Tholouſe* continued two years longer: at the end of which, both parties being weary, they had another interview, in which they renewed the treaty that had been concluded eight years

1184. before [r]. At his return into his own dominions, he held an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Hueſca*, where he regulated ſeveral diſorders that had happened during his abſence, and applied himſelf with great diligence to the improvement of his territories; in order to which, he granted large pri-

1188. vileges to the places lately conquered [s]. Two years after, he had an interview with the king of *Navarre*, in the month

1190. of *September*, at *Boreja*, where they made a ſolid peace, and gave reciprocal ſecurities for the ſtrict performance of it; by putting into the hands of a neutral power certain fortreſſes of importance [t].

The reſidue of his generous and gallant actions to the end of his reign.

THE power of the king of *Caſtile* was ſo great at this time, that, as ſome writers ſay, the king of *Arragon* found it neceſſary to negotiate a defenſive alliance with the crowns of *Navarre* and *Leon*; which is ſo much the more probable, becauſe, upon the king of *Caſtile*'s making an inroad

[o] Hiſtoire de Languedoc. MARCA Hiſpanica. [p] Chron. RIVIPUL. MARCA Hiſpanica. [q] Hiſtoire de Languedoc. [r] MARCA Hiſpanica. [s] ZURITA. [t] MARCA Hiſpaniæ. ZURITA FERRERAS.

upon

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upon the country last mentioned, Don *Alonso* immediately declared war against him, and made an irruption into *Castile*; of which that monarch had no sooner intelligence than he entered *Arragon*, on the side of *Agreda*; but, in his retreat, Don *Alonso* met and fought him with some advantage: however, by the interposition of the pope's legate they were thoroughly reconciled. The count *de Tholouse* having committed hostilities in *Gascony*, during the absence of *Richard*, king of *England*, in the *Holy Land*, Don *Alonso* not only sent the succours stipulated by treaty, but went in person into *Provence*, to prevent that monarch's affairs from suffering by his absence. While he was thus employed, queen *Berengera*, consort to king *Richard*, arrived at *Marseilles*; and, after having been splendidly entertained for some time by Don *Alonso*, was safely conducted into *Aquitaine* [w]. While he remained in these parts, the king founded a noble monastery, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, not far from the city of *Arles*; and, having settled every thing in the best manner he was able, he committed the care of his dominions in *France* to his brother Don *Sancho*, and then returned into *Arragon* [x]. The king of *Castile* having embroiled himself again with the monarchs of *Navarre* and *Leon*, the king of *Arragon* resumed his old character of a mediator, and prevailed upon all these princes to consent to an interview with him, between *Agreda* and *Tarracona*, where a suspension of arms was concluded [y]. This was the last great act of his life; for his affairs obliging him to make a journey into *Rousillon*, he was seized with a fever at *Perpignan*, where he ended his life, *April* the twenty-sixth, one thousand one hundred and ninety-six, when he had lived forty-four, and reigned thirty-four years compleat [z]. He was without question one of the wisest, bravest, and most fortunate princes that ever sat upon the throne of *Arragon*. His body was interred, by his express command, in the monastery of *Toblet*, which was of his own foundation. He left by his queen Donna *Sancha* three sons, Don *Pedro*, to whom he left the kingdom of *Arragon*, the principality of *Catalonia*, and the county of *Rousillon*; Don *Alonso*, to whom he gave the county of *Provence*; and Don *Ferdinand*, who was abbot of *Montarragon*: and also three daughters, Donna *Constantia*,

A. D. 1193. 1194. 1196.

[w] Hoveden Annal. [x] D'Acheri, tom. iii. fo. 168. [y] P. Moret. Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquitades del Reyno de Navarra. [z] Chron. Rivipul. Chron. Primat. Annal. Toletan. Zurita. Hieronymi Blancæ.

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who espoused the king of *Hungary*; Donna *Leonora*, and Donna *Sancha* [a].

Don Pedro *the second succeeds his father; his character; methods pursued by him in civil and ecclesiastical affairs at the entrance on his administration.*

THE young king Don *Pedro* had a high spirit, strong passions, was less firm in his resolutions, less correct in his manners, and, consequently, less happy and fortunate than his father. He began his reign with holding an assembly of the states; in which he did some popular things, in order to conciliate the affections of his people. The year following he made some severe laws against heretics, that he might ingratiate himself with the clergy, and very chearfully assisted the king of *Castile* against the infidels. The counts of *Urgel* and of *Foix*, having been long at variance, broke out into an open war; which proving extremely detrimental to his subjects in *Catalonia*, the king went into that principality, called an assembly of the states, dictated therein the terms of peace, and took the proper measures for enforcing them [b]. The next year, some disputes arose between this monarch and the queen-dowager his mother, to whom several places on the frontiers were assigned by his father's will; by which Don *Pedro* thought his dominions too much exposed: but, by the interposition of the king of *Castile*, this difference was compromised, the queen consenting to restore these fortresses, and the king giving her an equivalent for them in the heart of his dominions [c]. The king of *Navarre* going at this time to the court of *Morocco*, it so much alarmed his neighbours, that both the king of *Castile* and the king of *Arragon* invaded his dominions, and made themselves masters of such places as were most for their respective conveniencies [d]. The king Don *Pedro* observing, that some inconveniencies had arisen, and others increased of late, in his dominions, called an assembly of the states; in which the necessary measures were taken for repressing them, and all who were present sworn to the strict observance of them. At the same time, he contracted his sister Donna *Leonora* to the count of *Tholouse*; which marriage was consummated about three years after: at which time, as some writers say, his other sister married the heir of that count [e].

A. D. 1197. 1198. 1199. 1200.

He concludes a marriage with the count of

THE king of *Arragon*, having amicably regulated the limits of their respective dominions with the king of *Castile*, and being frustrated in his view of marrying the infanta of *Navarre*, took a sudden resolution of espousing Donna

[a] MARIANA. FERRERAS. ZURITA. [b] MARCA Hispanica. RODERIC TOLETAN. de rebus Hispan. LUCÆ Tudens. Chron. [c] ZURITA. Chron. var. Antiq. [d] RODERIC TOLET. de rebus Hispan. [e] ZURITA Chron. var. Antiq.

Maria,

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Maria, the only daughter of *William*, count of *Montpellier*, by the *Greek* princeſs *Eudocia*, whom his father ſhould have married: and this notwithſtanding that lady had been married to the count *de Gomminges*; from whom, under pretence of his having another wife, ſhe was divorced, after having had two daughters by him. While the king was at *Montpellier*, in order to the concluſion of this marriage, he engaged his brother Don *Alonſo*, count of *Provence*, to ſubmit the diſputes that had ariſen between him and his wife's grandfather, the count *de Forcolquier*, to an arbitration, under which all things were ſettled, for the preſent, by the king's interpoſition [f]. After this, Don *Pedro* formed and executed a very extraordinary project, which was that of going to *Rome*, to make a viſit to the pope, embarking with his uncle Don *Sancho*, and a numerous train of prelates and lords on board his own gallies. He was received by the pontiff with all poſſible marks of kindneſs and reſpect, anointed by the biſhop of *Porto*, crowned by the pope's own hands; for which, departing from the maxims of his predeceſſors, he acknowleged himſelf a vaſſal to the holy ſee, and conſented to an annual tribute of two hundred and fifty double piſtoles; and, having received ſome papal favours and exemptions, he then returned into *Provence* [g]. At his arrival there, he found the quarrel between his brother and the count *de Forcolquier* broke out afreſh, and that the former, ſurprized by the latter, was held cloſe priſoner in a caſtle, till he ſhould comply with what was demanded from him. The king, incenſed at this behaviour, raiſed a conſiderable army, beſieged and took the caſtle in which his brother was confined; and, having ſet him at liberty, ravaged the territories of his antagoniſt, till, by the interpoſition of neighbouring princes, things were once more amicably compoſed [h]. The king, about this time, had ſome differences with the people of *Montpellier*, whom he looked upon as his ſubjects, in right of his wife. In *Arragon*, alſo, there were great diſcontents on the ſcore of the king's ſubmitting himſelf to the pope; againſt which the ſtates proteſted, being unwilling to owe allegiance to more than one ſovereign [i].

Montpellier's *being reſs, in the life-time of her former huſband; goes to* Rome, *and becomes tributary to the pope.*

A. D. 1203.

1204.

1205.

ABOUT this time, the king, who had no iſſue, began to be diſpleaſed with the queen, and aimed at procuring a divorce from *Rome*; which, he flattered himſelf, would be no

Begins to diſlike the queen; inſtitutes a

[f] D'ACHERI, tom. viii. fo. 216. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Aragonenſium Rerum Commentarii. Hiſtoire de Languedoc.
[g] Chron. RIVIPUL. RAINALD. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ.
[h] Chron. Primat. [i] ZURITA Hiſtoire de Languedoc.

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Suit at Rome for a divorce; and, during the progress of that suit, has a son by her.

difficult thing to obtain from a pope, who had honoured him with the title of *Catholic*; in which, however, he found himself much mistaken, and his interest far weaker than he had imagined. He was also not a little embarrassed in his domestic affairs, which induced him to call an assembly of the states, and to make some edicts in favour of the clergy; and also to make an irruption into the territories of the *Moors*, where he made himself master of the town of *Montalban* [k]. He consented, at the request of the king of *Castile*, who had lately concluded a peace with the king of *Navarre*, to an interview with the last mentioned monarch: at which, through the interposition of the former, he compromised all disputes with the latter [l]. All this time, his suit for a divorce went on, but, as some say, he was prevailed on by one of his favourites to make the queen a visit, and to remain some time with her; and that, soon after his departure, she declared herself with child. Others, amongst whom we may reckon *Mariana*, give another and less honourable turn to this story: they assure us, that the queen, taking the advantage of the king's disposition to gallantry, prevailed upon a servant of his to conduct her privately to his bed; which he did: but, in the morning, she took care to make herself known, that, in case of her being with child, there might be no doubt of its legitimacy [m]. However this business was conducted, certain it is, that the queen was delivered of a son, on the first of *February* [o], whom she christened Don *Jayme*, from another strange incident. She caused twelve wax tapers to be lighted at a time, and having given the name of an apostle to each of them, bestowed that of St. *James* on her new-born son, because his taper burnt the longest. Such were the foolish superstitions of this age, with the repetition of which the reader will more easily bear, if he considers, that it is some comfort to find we live in an age more enlightened.

A. D. 1206. 1207. 1208.

Owns him, and gives direction for his being educated in a manner suitable to his dignity.

It does not at all appear, that the king Don *Pedro* had the least scruple or suspicion of imposture in this affair, but from his birth acknowleged the infant for his son; and, as we shall see hereafter, directed all necessary care to be taken of his education. Don *Armingol*, count of *Urgel*, dying without male issue, his sister's son Don *Gerard de Cabrera*

[k] Rainald. Zurita. Hieronymi Blancæ. Marca Hispanica. Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. xii.
[l] Zurita. Marca Hispanica. [m] Histoire general de Espana, lib. xii. [o] Histoire de Languedoc, tom. iii. n. xiv. Hieronymi Blancæ.

took

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took poſſeſſion of his dominions, without demanding the conſent of the king of *Arragon*; from whom they were held as dependent on his principality of *Catalonia*. Don *Pedro* was not a prince to be treated in this manner with impunity; he, therefore, preſently vindicated his right by attacking the new count; and having, after a long ſiege, reduced the caſtle, in which he took ſhelter with his family, he ſent them all priſoners to that of *Loharra* [p]. His ſiſter Donna *Conſtantia*, queen-dowager of *Hungary*, who returned home into his dominions on the death of her huſband, having contracted a ſecond marriage with *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, was conducted by the king of *Arragon* to *Barcelona*; where ſhe embarked for that iſland, accompanied by her brother Don *Alonſo*, count of *Provence*; who died very ſoon after their arrival at *Palermo* [q]. In the month of *November*, the ſame year, deceaſed the queen-dowager Donna *Sancha*, the king's mother, who had paſſed the latter part of her life in a convent, and in exerciſes of charity and devotion [r]; all the diſputes ſhe had with her ſon being buried in oblivion.

The king makes a tour on an extraordinary occaſion into his French dominions.

THE king of *Caſtile*, meditating the ſubverſion of the *Mooriſh* monarchies in *Spain*, propoſed a freſh interview between the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, at a place called *Malens*, where all the three kings were preſent; and where, as a proof of their thorough reconciliation, the king of *Navarre* lent Don *Pedro* of *Arragon* twenty thouſand piſtoles, for which he had a preſſing occaſion; and received from him certain fortreſſes to ſecure the repayment of it [s]. It is probable, that the original intention of this loan was to enable the king of *Arragon* to take the field againſt the *Moors*; from which he was prevented by being obliged to take a ſhare in thoſe ſtrange tranſactions that were carrying on in the ſouthern provinces of *France*; where the pope's general, *Simon*, count *de Montfort*, under colour of a croiſade, publiſhed for that purpoſe, was endeavouring to extirpate the *Albigeois*, better known to us by their *Latin* name of *Albigenſes*; who were in reality *Proteſtants*, holding, by a continued and uninterrupted tradition, the doctrines of the ancient *Gothic* church; and for this expoſed to the rage of the pope, who proclaimed a croiſade for their preſent deſtruction; and eſtabliſhed the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition to prevent their ſentiments from being received. Theſe A. D. 1209.

[p] Chron. var. Antiq. [q] ZURITA. MARIANA Hiſtoria general de Eſpana, lib. xii. [r] Annal. Toletan. [s] P. MORET. ZURITA.

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pilgrims, or croſſes, as the pope's ſoldiers were ſtiled, ha abſolutely deſtroyed the town of *Beziers*; and this too wit circumſtances of inexpreſſible cruelty, having maſſacred a who were in it. The earl of *Beziers*, who was alſo viſcou of *Carcaſſon*, retired to the laſt mentioned city, where th pope's general beſieged him: upon which he applied him ſelf for protection to the king of *Arragon*, his near rela tion, and to whom he was vaſſal. The king upon this mad a tour into theſe parts; and as this event is ſtrictly connect ed with the hiſtory of *Arragon*, and is in itſelf extremel curious, and highly deſerves the reader's attention, we ſhal hope for his pardon, at leaſt, if we inſiſt upon it a little more particularly [t]; as it will juſtify ſeveral paſſages in thi hiſtory which regard religion.

Diſcourſe of the count de Beziers *at the ſiege of* Carcaſſon *as to the cruelty of the pope.*

THE king of *Arragon* intended only to act as a mediator, and underſtanding that the earl of *Beziers* exclaimed loudly, that, under the ſpecious pretence of zeal for religion, the pope really meant to ſtrip himſelf and his uncle, the count of *Tholouſe*, of all their dominions, to extirpate their ſubjects, and to give them to the count *de Montfort*, and the croſſes, or pilgrims, who were to execute his vengeance, the king deſired to diſcourſe with him, which was permitted. At this conference, the earl plainly declared, that he knew this to be the pope's deſign; becauſe, when he was treating for his ſubjects of *Beziers*, he refuſed to receive his Catholic ſubjects into his favour; nay, would not ſo much as ſpare the prieſts, who were all cut in pieces in their ſacerdotal ornaments, under the banner and the croſs: that this example of cruel impiety, joined with what they exerciſed upon the village of *Carcaſſon*, where they had expoſed all to fire and ſword, without any diſtinction of age or ſex, had fully convinced him, that there was no mercy to be looked for from the legate, or his pilgrims; and that accordingly he would chooſe rather to die, with his ſubjects defending themſelves, than to be expoſed to the mercy of an inexorable enemy; ſuch as he had found the legate to be: and though there were, in the city of *Carcaſſon*, many of his ſubjects, of a belief contrary to that of the church of *Rome*, yet that they were perſons that had never done any injury to any one; that they had always aſſiſted him in time of need; and that, for this their good ſervice, he was re-

[t] PIERRE DES VAUX DE CERNAI. Hiſtoire des Albigeois. Theſor des Hiſtoires, An. 1209. NOG Hiſt. de Tholouſe, liv. iii. Hiſtoire de Languedoc. ALIX's Remarks upon the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the ancient Churches of the Albigenſes.

ſolved

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ſolved never to abandon them, as they, on their parts, had promiſed to hazard life and eſtate in his defence; that he hoped that GOD, who is the reliever of thoſe who are oppreſſed, would aſſiſt them againſt this multitude of ill-adviſed men, who, under the pretence of meriting heaven, had quitted their own habitations, to come and burn, pillage, ravage, and murder, in the habitations of others, without either reaſon, judgment or mercy. Such was this unhappy nobleman's ſtate of the caſe!

The king of Arragon *intercedes earneſtly with the pope's legate on his behalf.*

THE king of *Arragon* returned with this remonſtrance to the legate, who aſſembled a great number of lords and prelates to hear what he had to ſay; who declared to them, that he had found the earl of *Beziers*, his ally, extremely ſcandalized at their inhuman proceedings againſt his ſubjects of *Beziers*, and of the village of *Carcaſſon*; and that he was fully perſuaded, ſeeing they had neither ſpared the *Roman* Catholics, nor the prieſts themſelves, that it was not a religious war, as was pretended, but a kind of robbery under the colour of religion; that he hoped GOD would be ſo favourable to him, as to make his innocence, and the juſt occaſion he had to defend himſelf ſufficiently known; that they muſt not hope now to have them ſurrender at diſcretion, ſince they had found, that there was no other to be expected from them, but that of killing all they met with; that it had never been found good policy to drive an enemy to deſpair: wherefore, if the legate would be pleaſed to afford any tolerable compoſition to the earl of *Beziers*, and his ſubjects, that mildneſs would be a better method to reduce the *Albigenſes* to the church of *Rome* than extreme ſeverity; and that he ought alſo to remember, that the earl of *Beziers* was a young man, and a *Roman* Catholic, who might be very ſerviceable in reducing his ſubjects, who had ſo great confidence in him, to their obedience to the church. The legate told the king of *Arragon*, that if he would withdraw a little they would adviſe what were beſt to be done. The king being called in again, the legate told him, that, in conſideration of his interceſſion, he would receive the earl of *Beziers* to mercy; and, therefore, if it ſeemed good to him, he might come forth, and eleven with him, with his goods and baggage; but that, as for the people that were in the city of *Carcaſſon*, they ſhould be delivered to his diſcretion: of which they ought to have a very good opinion, he being the pope's legate; and that accordingly they ſhould come forth all ſtark naked, men, women, and children, without ſhirts, or any other covering on their bodies. Alſo, that the earl of *Beziers* ſhould be delivered into ſure hands; and that all his eſtate

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eſtate ſhould be ſurrendered up to the future lord of his te
ritories, who ſhould be choſen for conſervation of the ſame.

Inſolence, barbarity and perfidy of the legate, in the taking of Carcaſſon.

THE king of *Arragon* having endeavoured to bring th legate to milder terms for the young earl, the legate tol him, that theſe conditions were very favourable. What wa worſe, the legate employed a perſon of quality to endea vour to draw the earl of *Beziers* out of *Carcaſſon*, and t bring him to him, with aſſurance under oath, that he would permit him to return to that city, in caſe he ſhould not be ſatisfied with the legate's propoſals. The earl, on this aſſurance, repairs to the legate, and repreſents to him, that if he would think fit to treat his ſubjects with more kindneſs, he would eaſily induce them to comply with his deſire, and recal the *Albigenſes* from their error to the church; that the terms, which had been mentioned to him, were ſhameful and indecent; that he knew his people would rather die than ſee themſelves reduced to ſo ſcandalous an ignominy; and therefore intreated him to come to eaſier terms, and that he did not queſtion but to make his ſubjects accept of any other more tolerable conditions. The legate's anſwer was, that the people of *Carcaſſon* might conſider what they had to do; that he would concern himſelf no farther ſince the earl was his priſoner, and ſhould continue ſo till the city was taken, and his ſubjects acknowleged their duty. By which treacherous act, in a great meaſure, the city was loſt, and Don *Pedro* returned into his kingdom [u], not at all edified with theſe papal proceedings, but, at the ſame time, under a full perſuaſion of mind, that it was not at all his intereſt to divulge his real ſentiments, for fear of pulling upon himſelf, and his ſubjects, that army of mercileſs barbarians, who had been ſpreading fire and ſword through the fineſt provinces in *France*.

Miſchiefs that happened in Spain, *through the ill conduct of the court of* Rome. A. D. 1210.

HE was conſtrained, the next year, out of regard to his own ſafety, to publiſh edicts againſt heretics; and, in the midſt of a victorious expedition againſt the infidels in *Spain*, he was called again into *France*, to the conference at *Narbonne*: where, though he refuſed it at firſt, with the utmoſt indignation, he was compelled, at length, to grant the inveſtiture of *Carcaſſon* to *Simon de Montfort*, which fully verified the ſuſpicions that had been entertained, that temporal motives were the true ſprings of all the violent proceedings in this and the foregoing year [w]. He was farther induced, to commit his only ſon Don *Jayme* to the care of

[u] ZURITA. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. FERRERAS. [w] MARCA Hiſp. ZURITA Hiſt. de Albigeois, cap. xliii. 47.

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this great lord, *Simon de Montfort*, upon a promise that he should espouse his daughter, and undertake many other things that were probably against his will, since he was no sooner returned into his *Spanish* dominions than he consented to the consummation of the match, formerly concluded, between his youngest sister and Don *Raymond* of *Tholouse* [x]. The *Moors*, having made an irruption into the territories of the king of *Castile*, with a prodigious army, and having besieged *Salvatierra*, that monarch applied himself to his neighbours of *Arragon* and *Navarre* for succours; which Don *Pedro* would very willingly have given him; and, for that end, wrote to *Simon de Montfort* to send him the forces that he had left behind him in *Provence*. But the pope's general thought they might be better employed in cutting the throats of heretics; and so the king forfeited his word, the *Moors* became masters of *Salvatierra*, and the monarch of *Castile* had the mortification of seeing himself unable to keep the field against the infidels, through the ambitious intrigues and anti-christian politics of pope *Innocent* the third, and his confederates [y]. As soon as he could do it with safety, the king of *Castile* came to *Cuenca*, in order to meet the monarchs of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, and to concert measures for the next year's campaign. The former sent one of the principal noblemen of his court, the latter repaired thither in person, and both gave the king of *Castile* the strongest assurances, that they would join him with their forces at *Toledo* time enough to make an autumn campaign [z], and to repress the numerous army of the *Moors* lately arrived from *Barbary*. A. D. 1211.

THE miscarriage of the former year made the king Don *Pedro* extremely sollicitous to fulfil his engagements with the utmost punctuality; with which view, he laboured incessantly to draw together a compleat army in the spring; at the head of which he marched himself, accompanied by Don *Gracia*, bishop of *Tarracona*, Don *Beranger*, elect of *Barcelona*, Don *Sancho*, count of *Rousillon*, his son of the same name, Don *Garcia Romero*, Don *Ximenes Coronel*, Don *Michael Luessia*, Don *Aznard Pardo*, Don *Raymond Fole*, Don *Guilermo de Cervera*, Don *Pedro Maza*, Don *Guilermo de Cardona*, the count of *Ampurias*, and many more of the principal nobility of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*; with whom *Don* Pedro *marches to the assistance of the king of* Castile, *and is present at the battle of* Tolosa.

[x] Chron. var. Antiq. ZURITA. FERRERAS. [y] RODERIC TOLETAN. de rebus Hispan. RAINALD. [z] P. MORET. Luc. Tudens. Chron. ZURITA.

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he arrived at *Toledo* on *Trinity*-sunday [a]. He marched from thence with the kings of *Castile* and *Navarre*, with the whole power of the Christians in *Spain* against the *Moors*; and had his share in that decisive victory obtained over the infidels in the plains of *Tolosa*: in which, it is said, they lost near two hundred thousand men, and which blow, it
A. D. 1212. is certain, they never could recover [b]. After receiving all the acknowlegements that it was in the power of a grateful monarch to pay, Don *Pedro* returned, covered with glory, into his own dominions. As he was sensible this event would raise his credit at *Rome*, he resolved to make use of it, in order to obtain his divorce; for which purpose he sent thither a person much in his confidence. Of which the queen, Donna *Maria*, was no sooner informed, than she
1213. thought it necessary to repair thither in person; not only to sollicit this cause, but another which she had against her brethren by the father's side; who, as she insisted, were adulterous bastards: and either her address was so great, or her pretensions so good, that she carried both points [c].

Joins the confederates in Provence, *and is killed by the papal troops before* Muret.

The king Don *Pedro*, irritated at the pope's confirmation of his marriage, and at his directing certain prelates to proceed against him by ecclesiastical censures, in case he refused to live with his wife, as he was required to do by the pope's decree, went into his *French* dominions. There he found the counts of *Thelouse*, father and son, who had married his sisters, the counts of *Foix* and *Bearn*, and several other great lords in arms against *Simon de Montfort*; and with these lords he concurred, though, at the same time, he laboured to act as a mediator; and, with much difficulty, procured for them a cessation of arms [d]. This however did not last long, and the king perceiving, that negotiations served only to ruin the lords, agreed, from a principle of equity and justice, for as to his religion it is on all hands agreed that he was zealous for the church of *Rome*, to assist them in recovering their dominions by force; with this view he came at the head of the confederate army before *Muret*, a place not very strong, and in which there was no great garrison, but of some importance: for which reason, *Simon de Montfort* made a forced march, with the flower of his troops, and threw himself into the place. The confederates,

[a] Roderic Toletan. de rebus Hispan. Zurita. Lucæ Tudens. Chron. [b] Hieronymi Blancæ. Zurita. Mariana. Ferreras. [c] Hieronymi Blancæ. Zurita. Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. xii. [d] Histoire de Languedoc.

who,

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who, in all probability, were not thoroughly acquainted with his strength, continued the siege; upon which, having made all the preparations necessary, he sallied with his whole force, defeated, and obliged them to retire. In this action, which happened on the twelfth of *September* 1213, Don *Pedro* of *Arragon* was slain, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and in the seventeenth year of his reign [e]. The pope's general, *Simon de Montfort* suffered his subjects to search for and remove his body, that it might be, as it was, interred with his ancestors. His death was a great blow to the Christian interest in *Spain*, much greater to his subjects, who were left in confusion, but greatest of all to the confederates, who were, in a manner, undone by this fatal event [f].

Confusions excited in Arragon, *by the king's sudden and unexpected death.*

THE news of the king's death no sooner reached *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, than it excited great stirs and tumults. Don *Sancho*, count of *Rousillon*, the king's uncle, endeavoured to form a party; Don *Ferdinand*, abbot of *Montarragon*, was not so entirely taken up with the thoughts of another world, but that he would have condescended to act the part of a king in this. However, the nobility in general, and particularly Don *Pedro Fernandez de Azagra*, lord of *Albaracin*, the prelates and magistrates of all the great towns were well affected to the right heir; and dispatched immediately the bishop of *Segorba* to *Rome*, to sollicit the pope to send express orders to *Simon de Montfort*, to set their sovereign at liberty, that his faithful subjects might place him on the throne [g]. His mother, the queen Donna *Maria*, who was also there at this time, joined her sollicitations to those of this prelate; so that, at length, such an order was obtained; but being transmitted to the cardinal legate in *Arragon*, he was to go with it to *Montpelier*, where, not without some difficulty, *Simon de Montfort* was engaged to comply with it: So that it was the month of *May* before the young king was put into the legate's hands: at which time, as his own memoirs say, he was six years and four months old. He was conducted, without loss of time, to *Lerida*, where the states were assembled, his title acknowleged, and the administration put into the hands of a council of regency, with the infant Don *Sancho* at their head [i].

A. D. 1214.

[e] ZURITA Hist. de Languedoc, tom. iii. cap. xxii. MARIANA. FERRERAS. [f] RAINALD. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. ZURITA. FERRERAS. [g] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. ZURITA. ABARCA. [h] RAINALD. Hist. des Albigeois. [i] Chron. var. antiq.

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Don Jayme *proclaimed, acknowledged and sworn to by the nobility of* Arragon.

THE calm that succeeded this declaration did not continue long. The infant Don *Sancho* had more power than he deserved, and much less than he desired. Don *Pedro Fernandez de Azagra* perceived this, and very wisely provided for the king's safety, by putting him into the hands of the grand master of the order of knights templars of the noble family of *Montaigu*; who carried him to the strong castle of *Monçon*, where he lived with tolerable splendor, and was so happy as to have great care taken of his education [k]. Don *Sancho* continued his intrigues; of which, as much a child as he was, the king took notice; and, by the advice of the grand master, sent for Don *Pedro Fernandez* to *Monçon*, where it was judged the safest method to call an assembly of the states, in the month of *September*; which was accordingly done: and in that assembly, the king was not only again proclaimed, but the prelates, nobility, and deputies from cities, of their own accord, swore fidelity to him [l]. At first sight, the reader will perhaps judge this a thing of course; it became so afterwards; but, in the present case, it was new and extraordinary. Before this time, the kings of *Arragon* took a very strict oath, to govern their subjects according to the laws, and to protect them in the full enjoyment of their liberties; but the people did not swear in their turns: so that what they did, upon this occasion, was purely voluntary, and a tacit intimation to Don *Sancho* to lay aside his sinister practices, and imitate their loyalty. But the example of a whole nation could not teach him his duty; he began, the next year, to raise troops under various pretences; and, as some authors say, attempted to seize his nephew. Of which, the king having given intelligence to the nobility, they suddenly took up arms, and repaired from all quarters to *Monçon*; from whence, having taken the king out of the fortress, they carried him to *Huesca*, and from thence to *Saragossa*; where he was received with the universal acclamations of his subjects, and, notwithstanding his tender age, seated upon the throne [m], that he might be no longer in the hands, or, in any degree, under the power, of an ambitious uncle; who, by the eagerness he expressed to seize the crown, shewed he was altogether unworthy to wear it.

A. D. 1216.

THE next year there was an assembly of the states held at *Tarracona*, where the people of *Catalonia* did homage, and swore fidelity. They did still more: the crown was in debt: those who were about the king complained of the difficulties

[k] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. [l] Chron. var. antiq. [m] ZURITA.

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ficulties they were under for want of money; the people of *Catalonia* readily granted an extraordinary tax for two years. In the month of *September*, there was another assembly of the states of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* at *Lerida*, where, to purchase public peace, great revenues were given to Don *Sancho*, who there did homage to the king, and promised to be his faithful subject [n]. In the mean time, there were still great distractions; the nobility falling out with each other, deciding their differences by force of arms, and despising the king's authority, because of his youth; though all writers agree in celebrating the pregnancy of his parts, and relate many extraordinary proofs of them. But as these were mostly shewn in taking a share in these kind of wars, in favour of those who were immediately in his hands, and who perhaps were not always in the right, we shall not insist upon them; the rather, because the king himself, though a perfect child, wrote a letter to pope *Honorius* complaining of these disorders; and desiring, that he would take his person and kingdom more immediately into his protection: to which that pontiff wrote him a suitable answer, and sent cardinal *Bernard* his legate into *Arragon*, to render that young prince what service he was able [o].

A. D. 1218. *Discords and wars among his nobility.*

A. D. 1219.

THE year following, the king found himself obliged to expose his person, though but twelve years old, against some of his rebellious subjects. Don *Lopez de Alvero* had a quarrel with Don *Roderic de Cizana*: they were both persons of the first rank; but the latter had the most power, and the use he made of it was to seize the person of his adversary, whom he clapped into prison. The relations of Don *Lopez* finding themselves unable to deliver him, recollected, that there was such a thing as a king in *Arragon*. Upon their complaint, the council sent an order to Don *Roderic* to release his prisoner; who treated it with contempt. The young king, piqued at such usage, resolved to make this the first trial of his authority; and, putting himself at the head of a few guards that were about him, marched directly towards the castle of *Lizana*, though there was nothing more improbable than that he should be able to reduce it. In his progress, however, he was joined by such numbers, that the place was presently invested, and, after a sharp siege, taken, and Don *Lopez* set at liberty. The governor, who had commanded there, being obliged to take his place, and to re-

[n] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. Chron. var. Antiq. ZURITA.
[o] RAINALD Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum.

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main a prisoner, under the person appointed to command there by the young king [p]. As for Don *Roderic*, he took shelter under the protection of Don *Pedro Fernandez de Azagra*, who had been always loyal; notwithstanding which, the king besieged his famous fortress of *Albaraçin*; but, after continuing before it for some time, was obliged to desist. It was not long before Don *Pedro* gave the king such satisfaction, with regard to his conduct, that he was entirely restored to his favour; and perhaps it might be owing to his advice, that the king sent an ambassador to the court of *Castile*, to demand the infanta Donna *Leonora*, sister to queen *Berengara*, in marriage [q]. A very wise and effectual method to establish his authority at home, by securing the support of so powerful a neighbour.

Marriage between the young king, and Donna Leonora, *infanta of* Castile. A. D. 1221.

THIS important treaty was quickly concluded, as it was of evident advantage to both nations; and the court of *Castile* conducted the infanta to *Agreda*, where the king Don *Jayme* met them, attended by the principal prelates and peers of his realm. After the ceremony of the espousals were over, the king and the queen went to *Tarracona*, and afterwards to *Saragossa*, where they received the nuptial benediction [r]. As this marriage was celebrated on the seventh of *February*, *Ferreras* concludes, that the king was just then entered into his fourteenth year; for, if he had been unfit for the marriage state, he thinks the marriage would have been delayed for a time [s]. But the king's own account of the matter puts it out of dispute; he says, that he was but little more than thirteen; and that he did not consummate the marriage till a year afterwards: which is the reason we make this prince a year younger [t] than *Ferreras*. There had been a very strict friendship subsisting between Don *Nuno Sanchez* (the son of Don *Sanchez*, the king's uncle) and *William de Moncada*, viscount of *Bearn*; but, as it sometimes happens, among persons of great rank, upon a sudden quarrel, they became inveterate enemies, took up arms against each other, and put the whole kingdom into a flame. On the first news of this disorder, the king assembled a body of troops, commanded the two lords to dismiss theirs on pain of being considered as public enemies; and Don *Nuno Sanchez*, not paying the respect that was due to his sovereign's orders, took several of his castles [u]. This year died

[p] ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. [q] RODERIC TOLETAN. de rebus Hispan. ZURITA. [r] Chron. gen. Chron. Pinnat. [s] Historia de Espana, sec. xiii. [t] Chron. Reg. Jac. [u] ZURITA.

Donna

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Donna *Constantia*, the king's sister, and the wife of the emperor [w]. The infant Don *Ferdinand*, abbot of *Montarragon*, who had been long desirous of gaining the supreme administration, at least, during the king's youth, under colour of negotiating an agreement between the two lords beforementioned, gained them both over to his party; into which he likewise brought Don *Pedro Abones*, one of the most powerful and best allied lords in *Arragon*. Having communicated to them his project, they seized upon the persons of the king and queen; and, under colour of taking them out of bad hands, and being more diligent than others in their duty, kept them in reality close prisoners, and possessed themselves of the government [x]; which they managed as all factions do, in such a manner as might turn most to their advantage. A. D. 1222. *The king and queen are seized by some seditious nobles, headed by the king's uncle Don Ferdinand, abbot of Montarragon.*

The king bore this usage very impatiently in his own mind, though his uncle behaved towards him with respect; and though the lords, his confederates, endeavoured to atone for their want of obedience, by a ceremonious submission; which could not impose upon him, though it did upon the vulgar. For, with all these exterior marks of reverence, every one, in his turn, had his demand to make; or, in plain terms, his private interest to serve, at the expence of the crown, and of the public [y]. The king, seeing little hopes of deliverance, dissembled, with a very good grace, for more than a year; till hearing the people grumble, that, contrary to the treaties formerly made with *Castile*, that crown had received homage from *Abuzite* king of *Valencia*, he resolved to lay hold of that circumstance, in order to recover his freedom. As soon as he had formed this project, he proposed to the lords, in whose hands he was, to go to *Tortoza*; to which, foreseeing no danger, they gave their consent. From thence he made his escape to *Tervel*, and summoned thither the nobility to attend him in an expedition against the *Moors* [z]. As this was a very popular thing, he had soon a body of troops about him, with which he invested *Peniscola*; where it quickly appeared, that, though he had cropped the leaves, the roots of faction still remained; for several of the lords retiring with their troops without his leave, the king found himself under the necessity of raising the siege. *Abuzite* laid hold of this opportunity, and, offering to become his vassal, concluded a peace [a]; by which, in some A. D. 1223. *The king makes his escape, and invests Peniscola.*

[w] Albert. de Staden. [x] Chron. gen. Zurita, Abarca. [y] Chron. gen. [z] Zurita. [a] Abarca. Chron. gen.

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measure, the honour of the crown was vindicated, and the end of the war answered.

As the king returned from this expedition, he met Don *Pedro de Ahones*, with a very compleat corps under his command, marching into the field. Upon this, he signified to Don *Pedro*, that the peace was concluded, and that he should forbear hostilities; which he was so far from regarding, that he wasted the country, in a manner not at at all suitable to the laws of war. The king, thereupon, sent Don *Sancho de Luna*, with a body of troops to restrain him, who finding that was only to be done by force, engaged, beat and killed him [b]. The king expressed great concern for this, and immediately sent Don *Pedro*'s body to his relations. But his uncle Don *Ferdinand* applying himself to the passions of that family, and having recourse to those intrigues, which for many years had been his study, soon raised insurrections in almost all parts of the kingdom [c]. The king, understanding that Don *Sancho Ahones*, bishop of *Saragossa*, and brother to Don *Pedro*, was assembling a great body of troops, in hopes of making himself master of the capital, he sent Don *Blasco de Alagon*, and Don *Artel de Luna*, with what forces he could spare, to oppose him; and they behaved so well, that he was totally routed [d]. The king marching against his uncle, thought he might prevent the city of *Huesca* from revolting, by an act of confidence and complaisance in going thither in person; but he had like to have paid very dear for this experiment, the populace taking up arms while he was in the town; so that with the few people about him he was forced to fight his way out [e]. After this, having assembled such of the nobility as remained faithful, with a body of troops sufficient to defend his person, he declined prosecuting the war, in order to try what could be done by the softer method of negotiation.

A. D. 1225.

Insurrections in different parts of the kingdom.

The king by his mildness and moderation restores his own power, and his subjects peace.

THE nobility, after a little reflection, perceiving plainly, that it would be a difficult, and, at the same time, a very dishonourable thing, to put the king a second time into prison, without doing which, Don *Ferdinand* could be of no use to them, thought fit to reconcile themselves, as fast as they could, to their prince; who, instead of reproaching them with their past faults, studied excuses for their misbehaviour, that they might return with greater facility into his favour and presence [f]. The great cities pursued a different

[b] Indices Rerum ab Aragoniæ regibus Gestarum. [c] Abarca. Chron. gen. [d] Zurita. [e] Abarca, Ferreras. [f] Zurita.

conduct,

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conduct, particularly *Saragoſſa*, *Hueſca*, and *Jacca* entering into a kind of league, by which they erected a ſort of republic within a monarchy, under pretence of defending each other from the inconveniencies that were the reſult of the preſent troubles. But, in a little time, thoſe who by their influence had determined them to this meaſure, began to aſſume ſuch authority, and to levy ſuch large ſums of money, that the citizens quickly found, that, through the ſound of liberty, they had been cheated out of the ſubſtance; and, therefore, ſent deputies to the king, to deſire they might be reſtored to his protection. This monarch perceiving, that, after all, it would require ſome time to bring things into perfect order, declared of his own accord, that he was willing the archbiſhop of *Tarracona*, the biſhop of *Lerida*, and the grand maſter of the Temple ſhould hear, determine, and redreſs, whatever grievances his ſubjects might ſuſtain; and the reputation of theſe three perſons was ſo great, that the people unanimouſly conſented to what the king propoſed; and thus, after he had worn the title about fourteen years, he became really king, and his own maſter, when he was ſomething more than twenty [g].

By management with the pope's legate, the king obtains a divorce from queen Leonora.

THE great object of the king's ambition was, the conqueſt of the *Mooriſh* kingdom of *Majorca*; the inhabitants of that iſland, by their piracies, rendering the trade of his ſubjects in *Catalonia* altogether precarious. He aſſembled the ſtates of that principality at *Barcelona*, where, upon the king's propoſition, the conqueſt of that country was reſolved upon, the number of troops fixed, and the neceſſary funds found and ſettled [h]. While the ſtates were ſitting, the counteſs of *Urgel* put in her claim to that territory, as daughter and heireſs to the deceaſed count, againſt Don *Gerard Cabrera* his nephew, who was in poſſeſſion of it. The ſtates decided in favour of the counteſs; and Don *Gerard* refuſing to ſubmit, the king put her into poſſeſſion by force of arms; after which, he prevailed upon her to marry his couſin, the infant Don *Pedro* of *Portugal* [i]. The cardinal biſhop of *Sabina*, the pope's legate, being informed that the king and queen were couſins, though in a remote degree, intimated, that their marriage was null. Upon which Donna *Berengara*, and her ſon Don *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, conſented that the validity of this marriage ſhould be inquired into by a council to be held for that purpoſe at *Tarracona*; where accordingly it was judged to be invalid, the pope's legate preſiding. But the

A. D. 1229.

[g] ABARCA Chron. gen. [h] Chron. var. Antiq. [i] EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, ZURITA.

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infant Don *Alonso*, who was born of this marriage, was to remain unprejudiced by this decision, and to retain his right to the crown [k]. Most writers agree, that this was also a farce, and that the pope's legate acted by the king's instructions; however, she and her sons were sent back into *Castile* [l], and the king took the necessary measures for executing his project against *Majorca*. We shall not enter here into the particulars of that war, as they fall more properly within the design of the next section; and we shall, therefore, content ourselves with observing, that, by the close of the year, the capital was taken, the *Moorish* monarch made prisoner, and the island in a manner reduced by the Christians, though the *Moors* made a brave defence.

The conquest of Majorca *by the folly of the* Moors *becomes the means of reducing* Valentia.

In the course of the war of *Majorca*, the *Moors* had applied themselves, in the strongest manner, to *Abuzite*, king of *Valentia*, for his assistance; but he declared, that the truce subsisting between him and the king of *Arragon*, put it out of his power to comply with their demands: to which they imputed the loss of their liberty and country. How reasonable, or how just soever his conduct might be, it drew upon him great suspicions, insomuch, that many of his subjects began to suspect he was in his heart a Christian [m]. *Zaen*, who was governor of *Denia*, artfully heightened this spirit of disaffection, till it gave him an opportunity of expelling his master and his son out of the city, and the best part of the kingdom of *Valentia*; upon which, they demanded, and obtained the protection of the king of *Arragon* with a suitable subsistence; and, besides *Segorba* and some other places remaining firm in their duty, *Abuzite* continued the sovereign of part of his dominions, notwithstanding the capital and the rest of them were in the hands of *Zaen*. This division suggested the hopes, at the same time that it furnished the king of *Arragon* with the means, of making himself master of the whole [n]; which he had ever in his view.

A. D. 1230.

King Sancho *of* Navarre, *out of pure regard to his merit, adopts the king of* Arragon.

At this time, his reputation was so high in *Spain*, and he was held to be a prince who had the good of his subjects so much at heart, that the old king, Don *Sancho* of *Navarre*, desired to have an interview with him at *Tudela*; to which the monarch of *Arragon* readily consented. The motive, on the part of Don *Sancho*, was very extraordinary;

[k] Roderic Toletan. de rebus Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Card. d'Aguirre Conc. Hispan. [l] Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras. [m] Franc. Diago Annales del Reyno de Valencia, Chron. Jac. Reg. [n] Zurita, Diago, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras.

he

he was offended with his nephew, *Thibault*, count of *Champagne*, who had raiſed ſome ſtirs in his dominions; and therefor he adopted Don *Jayme*, and obliged his nobility, and even his nephew himſelf, to do him homage, and acknowlege him as his ſucceſſor [o]. The counteſs of *Urgel*, dying without heirs, bequeathed her territories to the infant Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, her huſband; but the king, being deſirous of uniting that county to the principality of *Catalonia*, gave his couſin the lordſhip of the iſles of *Majorca*, with which he was perfectly ſatisfied [p]. This donation engaged the king to make another expedition for the reduction of *Minorca*; and having, upon this occaſion, called an aſſembly of the ſtates, he declared, in caſe any accident befel him, the kingdom belonged of right to the infant Don *Alonſo*, who lived with his mother in *Caſtile*; but provided, in caſe of his acceſſion, that he ſhould bring no foreign troops, and reſide in the caſtle of *Monçon*, leaving the adminiſtration to a council of regency [q]; which ſufficiently deſtroys *Mariana*'s notion, that, in the interview at *Tudela*, there was a reciprocal adoption, which, on the part of the king of *Arragon*, would have been very unnatural and unjuſt; and, from the circumſtances beforementioned, it appears to have been falſe in fact [r]. This expedition having ended as gloriouſly as he could wiſh, the king returned, covered with reputation, into *Catalonia* [s].

HE called, ſoon after, an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Monçon*, where he opened to them his new project for the entire conqueſt of the kingdom of *Valentia*. To facilitate this, an application was made to pope *Gregory* the ninth, for a bull of croiſade; which was accorded to him without any difficulty, and, upon the publication of it, the king found himſelf in a condition to proſecute the war with vigour; which he did for ſeveral years [t]. The pope, in return for his bull of croiſade, procured a council to be held at *Terracona*, in which ſome canons were made that deſerve notice, even in an Univerſal Hiſtory. In this council, the reading of the holy ſcriptures, even of the Old or New Teſtament, in the vulgar tongue, is ſeverely interdicted; it is

Don Jayme, notwithſtanding this adoption, ſuffers the right of ſucceſſion to take place.

[o] P. MORET. ZURITA. ABARCA. [p] Chron. Jac. Reg. Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. Geſtarum. [q] Chron. Jac. Reg. ZURITA. [r] Hiſtoria general de Eſpana, lib. xii. FERRERAS Hiſtoria de Eſpana, ſec. xiii. [s] Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. [t] RAINALD. GASPAR ESCOLANO Hiſtoria de la Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia. Fol. en Valencia, 2 vol. 1610, 1611. Vicyana Hiſtoria de la Ciudad y de ſec. Reyno. Fol. en Valencia 1564. DIAGO. ZURITA.

forbidden

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forbidden to allow heretics to be present at divine service; and, by the seventh canon of this council, the holy office or inquisition was established in *Arragon* [u]. The death of Don *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, might have occasioned great disturbances, if this monarch had not been a hero in the severest sense of the word. The lords of that kingdom, after mature deliberation, concluded, that it would be most for the interest of the people of *Navarre*, to suffer the natural right of succession to take place, and consequently to raise Don *Thibault* to the throne. But, as his and their oaths stood in the way, it was necessary to ask the consent of the king of *Arragon*; who, with a magnanimity very unusual, and which it would be impossible to heighten by any praise, very readily bestowed it: by which the peace of both kingdoms was preserved, and the common interest of the Christians in *Spain* much strengthened [w]. He continued all this time his incursions into *Valentia*, augmented his dominions every campaign, and brought that sinking state nearer and nearer to its dissolution; in which he was chearfully assisted by the nobility in his *French*, as well as his *Spanish* dominions [x], partly out of a zeal for religion, partly from a spirit of enterprize, and partly also with a view to their own interests.

By the interposition of the pope the king espouses Donna Yolande, *or* Violante, *of* Hungary.

The pope, at that time, *Gregory* the ninth, desirous to attach so active and fortunate a monarch, in the strongest manner possible, to himself, and to the holy see, proposed to the king of *Arragon*, a marriage with Donna *Yolande*, or, as some stile her, Donna *Violante*, the daughter of *Andrew*, king of *Hungary*: which offer the king entertained, and the match was speedily concluded [y]. In the mean time, a dispute had broke out between him and his cousin Don *Nuno*, count of *Rousillon*; but the king readily submitting it to reference, Don *Nuno* acquiesced, and attended him in his expedition into *Yvica*, which island when they had conquered, the king returned, and landed his forces in the territories of *Valentia*; but, upon the news of the queen's arrival at *Barcelona*, he set out immediately for that city, where their nuptials were celebrated on the eighth of *September* [z]. The next year the king was in the field, and reduced several places of consequence; but perceiving that the war might be much shortened, if, with a little more expence,

[u] Card. de Aguirre Conc. Hisp. [w] P. Moret. Rainald. Ferreras. [x] Zurita. Abarca. Hieronymi Blancæ. [y] Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. reg. Gest. [z] Chron. Barcimon. Chron. Pinnat. Zurita.

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the army was rendered capable of attacking the city of *Valentia*; and, having summoned an assembly of the states at *Monçon*, he made them so sensible of this, that they granted him the necessary supplies; notwithstanding which, it cost him another year before they were in a condition to execute that design; but, in the mean time, his troops gained a very glorious victory, under the command of Don *Bernard de Enteca:* in which, according to the credulity or the policy of those times, it was given out, that St. *George*, who is the patron of *Arragon*, was present [a]. By this good fortune, the king was able to victual the fortresses which he had built, and to restrain the *Moors*, by which in effect the city of *Valentia* was already blockaded. A. D. 1237.

ZAEN, who was the possessor, and stiled himself king of *Valentia*, perceiving by the great levies the king of *Arragon* made in the winter, that he meant to besiege his capital in the spring, took all the precautions that prudence could suggest. He sent his favourite *Ali Albata* to Don *Jayme*, in order to try, if, by any offers, he might be diverted from his purpose; and, at the same time, he addressed himself for succours to the king of *Tunis*, asserting, that this was a religious war, prosecuted with a design to drive the *Moors* out of *Spain*. In the former negociation he had none, and in the latter but little success. The king of *Arragon* absolutely refused to listen to any proposals: the monarch of *Tunis* promised him help, as soon as an army and fleet could be assembled [b]. Don *Jayme* was in the field in the month of *January*, and, having a numerous army, invested the city, though at a great distance; by this means he reduced abundance of castles and villages, or forced those by whom they were inhabited to abandon them: and, as they all took shelter in *Valentia*, it produced a scarcity of provisions sooner than otherwise would have happened [c]. Some, however, of the *Arragonian* nobility, perceiving that much time was already consumed, without any great progress, were for raising the siege; but the king was altogether inflexible, knowing the distress the *Moors* were already in, and that it would continually increase. *Zaen* once marched out with all his troops, as if he intended to fight; but finding the Christian army ranged in order of battle, he retired without attempting any thing. At length, however, the king of *Tunis*'s fleet, containing upwards of twenty sail, appeared in the road; for A. D. 1238.

The king, to put an end to the war in Valentia, *besieges the capital.*

[a] Chron. Jac. Reg. DIAGO, ESCOLANO, ZURITA. [b] Chron. Jac. Reg. ESCOLANO, DIAGO. [c] ZURITA. ABARCA. MARIANA, FERRERAS.

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whose reception the king of *Arragon* had made such preparations, that though they once debarked the troops they had on board, yet the throwing in any relief was found to be a thing impracticable, and, therefore, after various attempts to little or no purpose, they returned home, and left their ally to the sole resource of the miserable borrowing courage from despair [d].

The city of Valentia *surrendered*; Zaen *and his subjects being allowed to depart.*

In this sad condition, *Zaen* sent his prime minister to Don *Jayme*, to know what terms he might expect, if he was disposed to surrender; upon which the king offered him leave to depart, with such of his subjects as would follow him, with whatever they were able to carry; provided this was done in the space of five days; and that he also surrendered such fortresses as were in his hands on the other side of the river *Xucar*. *Zaen* very unwillingly submitted to these conditions, and sent the king word, that, provided hostilities were suspended, he would put the place into his hands on the 28th of *September*. To which the king replied, that, in order to gain a suspension of arms, he must cause the banner of *Arragon* to be hoisted in the most conspicuous part of the city; which he accordingly did [e]. At the day prefixed, *Zaen* evacuated the place accordingly, at the head of upwards of fifty thousand men; but to prevent the difficulties that must have ensued, from the precipitate march of such a multitude, the king of *Arragon* allowed them twenty days more [f]. He was no sooner master of *Valentia*, than he bestowed liberal rewards, as well upon the strangers as upon those of his own nobility, who had assisted in the siege; and, at the same time, granted so many, and so great privileges to all who were willing to settle there, that it was repeopled with Christians in a very short space of time; in which the pope gave him all the assistance that could be derived from his plenitude of power [g].

The rest of the kingdom of Valentia *conquered, in breach of the truce.*

The next year, his affairs obliged the king to make a tour to *Montpelier*, where the people had taken up arms against his governor, and, during his absence, his generals, not at all regarding the truce made with *Zaen*, took several places, and carried on the war as vigorously as before; and what must be looked on as very extraordinary, the *Spanish* historians pretend, that they received miraculous assistance in these expeditions; which the king of *Arragon* could not but disapprove, as equally inconsistent with his own authority,

[d] Chron. Jac. Reg. Escolano, Diago. [e] Chron. Jac. Reg. [f] Escolano. Diago, Abarca. Ferreras. [g] Chron. Primat. Chron. Barcimon, Escolano.

and

and with that public faith, which ought to be held sacred by all nations, who pretend to religion or civility [h]. As this war had been chiefly conducted by his uncle Don *Ferdinand*, he might have thrown the blame of it upon him, and the lords who obeyed his orders; but, during the three next years, he practised the same thing himself: and this, notwithstanding *Zaen* came to him himself in person, and offered to retire with his subjects into the island of *Minorca*, if he would suffer them to remain there in peace. But prosperity banishes all sense of shame, and ambition has no bowels. Don *Jayme* felt his superiority, and resolved to crush the crumbling monarchy of the *Moors*; and, therefore, sweeping one place after another, he made himself master of the far greater part of *Valentia*, with less respect to the maxims of justice and honour than he had shewn in the former part of his life, and by the exercise of which he had obtained this greatness [i]. A conduct that would appear the worse in him, if it was less common among princes. A. D. 1240.

THE humour, with which he was now possessed, of directing all things at his will, induced him to divide his dominions between his two sons: to Don *Alonso*, whom he had by Donna *Leonora* of *Castile*, he gave the kingdom of *Arragon* [k]; and to Don *Pedro*, the son of Donna *Violante*, he gave the principality of *Catalonia*, which he would have bounded by the river *Segro* [l]. This disobliged all parties; Don *Alonso* considered himself as deprived of all that was given to his brother, and the people of *Catalonia* murmured at the cutting off from them the country between the rivers *Cinca* and the *Segro*. To quiet the latter, he added this country to the portion of his younger son. This so much provoked the elder, that, in conjunction with the infant Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, and Don *Pedro* of *Arragon*, he took up arms against his father, and made himself master of several places in the kingdom of *Valentia*; but at length, after some acts of severity, unworthy of the king's character, matters were accommodated, and the infant Don *Alonso*, for a time, restored to his father's favour; who, being freed from the apprehension of a civil war, went on taking or buying one place after another, till *Zaen* had nothing left in *Valentia* [m]. But whether he survived these losses, or died of

Don Jayme resolves to divide his dominions; by which he disobliges his sons and his subjects.

[h] ZURITA. DIAGO. ESCOLANO. MARIANA. FERRERAS. [i] Chron. Jac. Reg. ESCOLANO. DIAGO. [k] RODERIC TOLETAN. de reb. Hispan. ZURITA. [l] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. FERRERAS. [m] RODERIC TOLET. de reb. Hispan. ZURITA. DIAGO. ESCOLANO.

disease,

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diſeaſe, or grief, while he had ſomewhat to loſe, the *Spaniſh* authors do not inform us.

Reduces all Valentia *under his power, the inhabitants of which ſoon after this revolt.*

IT was then, and not till then, that the king caſt his eyes upon the few places that *Abuzite* had left, who, for his ſake, had loſt all *Valentia*; he propoſed therefore, which in effect was to command, that this poor prince ſhould accept of an equivalent; and, having aſſigned him ſuch revenues as he thought proper, ſeized and garriſoned thoſe places, the inhabitants of which had been faithful to their ſovereign thro' all his misfortunes [n]. About this time, the king Don *Jayme* committed an action, which moſt writers have repreſented as the fouleſt and moſt execrable crime poſſible; he cauſed the tongue of Don *Berenger*, biſhop of *Gironne*, to be cut out of his head, and then wrote to the pope to baniſh him out of his dominions. This biſhop it ſeems was the king's confeſſor, and revealed to the pope, as it is ſaid, what the king told him in confeſſion. For this offence the king was excommunicated, and the pope ſent two legates to abſolve him publickly, after an open confeſſion, and a ſevere penance [o]. The king, who, though carried away ſometimes by his paſſions, was certainly a good prince at the bottom, having called an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Hueſca*, declared to them the many inconveniencies the people ſuſtained by the prevailing of different cuſtoms, having the force of laws, in the different parts of his dominions; he, therefore, adviſed them to examine theſe cuſtoms, to reconcile them as well as they could, and to form a body of laws that might be obeyed generally, and underſtood by every body [p]. The *Moors* in *Valentia*, either from a ſtrong appetite to liberty, or through the ill uſage they met with ſince they became ſubjects to the Chriſtians, grew exceedingly diſcontented; and, at the inſtigation of one *Alaſdrach*, took up arms, ſeized ſeveral places, fortified them, and ſeemed diſpoſed for a general revolt [q].

Makes a new diſtribution of his territories, which is no better liked than the former.

THE king, who was then at *Calatayud*, went immediately into *Valentia*, and took the neceſſary meaſures for ſuppreſſing this rebellion; the ſeeds of which, however, he found to be ſown ſo deep, and ſcattered ſo far, that, by the advice of ſome of the ableſt heads amongſt his nobility, he came to a ſettled reſolution, of obliging the *Moors* in general to quit that kingdom. About the ſame time that he publiſhed an edict for carrying this project into execution,

[n] Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. geſt. DIAGO. ESCOLANO. [o] RAINALD. MARIANA. Hiſtoria general de Eſpana, lib. xii. FERRERAS Hiſtoria de Eſpana, ſec. xiii. [p] ZURITA. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. ABARCA. [q] DIAGO. ESCOLANO.

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he made alſo, with great ſolemnity, his teſtament, by which he left the kingdom of *Arragon* only to the infant Don *Alonſo*, gave the counties of *Barcelona* and *Ribagorca*, with the iſlands, to Don *Pedro* his eldeſt ſon by the queen *Violante*; the kingdom of *Valentia* to his ſecond ſon Don *Jayme*; and his dominions in *France* to Don *Ferdinand* his youngeſt ſon by that queen. By taking theſe ſtrong and ſtrange ſteps he found himſelf embarraſſed, on all ſides, to the laſt degree; for the infant Don *Alonſo* was on the point of taking up arms again, in conjunction with the infant Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, who was no leſs injured; but, by the perſuaſion of the infant Don *Alonſo* of *Caſtile*, they were prevailed upon to accompany him to the ſiege of *Seville*, on his promiſe to interpoſe with the king Don *Jayme* [r]. On the other hand, the *Moors* offered the king large ſums of money to revoke his edict; but finding him inexorable they took up arms, which threw the whole kingdom of *Valentia* into confuſion [s]. However, being well ſupported by his nobility, Don *Jayme* executed his deſign by force, and compelled them to retire out of his territories, carrying with them their effects. Upon which they retired into *Murcia*, *Granada*, and ſome thouſands tranſported themſelves into *Africa* [t]. By the marriage of his daughter Donna *Violante* with the infant Don *Alonſo* of *Caſtile*, he procured to himſelf great advantages, and put it out of the power of the princes, whom he had diſobliged, to diſturb the tranquility of his dominions; which otherwiſe they had certainly done: and, in caſe of a civil war, the king, in all probability, muſt have been greatly diſtreſſed [u].

THE deſire the king had of leaving his dominions and his family in peace, engaged him to offer the princes he had diſobliged to leave all points in diſpute between them to arbitrators, well choſe by the ſtates. The ſtates were pleaſed with this moderation in the king, whoſe policy it was, in all critical conjunctures, to adviſe with his people, and to attach them to their duty by following their advice; in which he never ſucceeded better than on this occaſion; for the arbitrators being choſen, the ſtates by their deputies required the conſent of the princes, who, ſeeing their hopes

The king pacifies the peoples murmurs by referring all grievances to the ſtates.

[r] ZURITA. ABARCA. DIAGO. ESCOLANO. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. [s] DIAGO. ESCOLANO. ZURITA. [t] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. ABARCA. DIAGO. ESCOLANO. MARIANA. FERRERAS. [u] RODERIC TOLETAN. de rebus Hiſpan. Luc. Tudenſ. Chron. Chron. del Rey Don Alonſo el Sabio.

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gone, if they differed with that assembly, were constrained to acquiesce. The commissioners met at a place called *Ariza*, and, after several conferences, determined, that the infant Don *Alonso* should have the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, and the infant Don *Pedro* the whole country of *Catalonia* [w]. The next year, the infant Don *Alonso* returned into his father's dominions, and was well received; the decision of the commissioners was ratified by the states, and some good laws made in their assembly at *Barcelona* [x]. In the month of *October*, the queen Donna *Violante* departed this life; and the king, as most historians say, espoused Donna *Theresa Vidaura* his mistress, by whom he had several natural children [y]. Some writers mention certain high disputes, and even acts of hostility, between the king of *Arragon* and Don *Alonso* the wife of *Castile*; but the authors of those times say nothing of it, neither can we find any just or probable reasons assigned. That there were some murmurs in *Arragon* is more certain, and that the clergy particularly complained their privileges were not sufficiently respected; but the king Don *Jayme* called an assembly of the states at *Lerida*, in which he confirmed the liberties of his lay subjects as well as of the clergy; declared, he never had any intention to violate them; exhorted them to pay obedience to the laws, and not to oppress each other, and then endeavour to throw the blame upon him [z]. By this seasonable step he opened the eyes of the common sort, who began to perceive the king's name was often abused.

By the death of Don Alonso, the infant Don Pedro becomes heir apparent, and adopts his brother's notions.

The same conciliating disposition, which induced the king to compromise all points in dispute with the princes his neighbours, with his children, his prelates, and his subjects, led him to aim at terminating those differences and perplexed pretensions, which the crowns of *France* and *Arragon* had upon each other; and after a negotiation, which lasted near three years, he brought this point to bear, and finally adjusted every thing by one solemn and specific treaty. In this, the then king of *France*, St. *Lewis*, renounced, on his side, all rights on the counties of *Barcelona*, *Gironne*, *Urgel*, *Ampurias*, *Cerdagna* and *Roufillon*. On the other side, the king of *Arragon* renounced all his claims on the counties of *Carcasson*, *Rodez*, *Beziers*, *Albi*, *Foix*, *Cahors*, *Narbonne*, *Nimes*, and several other places. He likewise quitted all his preten-

[w] Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [x] Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. reg. gest. Chron. Jac. Reg. [z] Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras. Chron. var. Antiq.

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sions to *Provence* to queen *Margaret* of *France*, daughter to count *Raymond Berenger*. At the same time it was agreed, that prince *Philip*, the *French* king's son, should espouse Donna *Izabella*, the daughter of the king of *Arragon*, as soon as he was of age [a]. Some fresh disputes arising between the infant Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, and the king his father, the former, who had a little before married Donna *Constantia*, daughter to Don *Gaston de Moncado*, count of *Bearn*, died suddenly, which gave a new face to affairs in this kingdom [b]. Don *Jayme*, who now considered Don *Pedro* as the heir of his kingdom, concluded a marriage between him and Donna *Constantia*, daughter to *Mainfroi*, prince of *Tarento*, who likewise claimed the title of king of *Sicily*, with whom he had the sum of fifty thousand ounces of gold [c]. It is very remarkable, that on the fifteenth of *October* this year, upon a suspicion had still of an intention to give his brother Don *Jayme* the kingdom of *Valentia*, the infant Don *Pedro* made privately, but with all the legal ceremonies, a protest, that in case he was brought to give any consent thereto in writing or on oath, it was by force, and against his will; and consequently null and void, and ought to be so reputed: so suddenly had this prince changed his maxims, upon his becoming heir apparent to the crown of *Arragon* [d]. A. D. 1260.

THE king took all imaginable pains to render his son's marriage acceptable to the pope, and to engage him to be reconciled to the prince of *Tarento*, but it was all in vain; at length, the pope dying, the king proceeded in the match, and Don *Pedro* espoused Donna *Constantia* at *Montpellier*, about the same time that prince *Philip* married Donna *Izabella* at *Clermont* [e]. The next year, the king being in the city of *Valentia*, received a splendid embassy from the soltan of *Egypt*, whom he entertained with great kindness and magnificence, and at their departure sent with them two lords, from his own court, to compliment the soltan in his name [f]. Upon certain intelligence, that *Aben Joseph*, king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, intended to invade *Spain* with a great army, the king caused *Valentia* to be fortified, and, in virtue of his alliance with the king of *Castile*, to invade *Murcia*, as thinking it infinitely more expedient to transfer the war into the enemy's country, than to suffer the *Moors* to enter his own. To procure the supplies necessary for putting his pro- *Conquers the kingdom of* Murcia *as the ally, and on the behalf of Don* Alonso *king of* Castile. A. D. 1262.

[a] Chron. Jac. Reg. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. [b] ZURITA. ABARCA. FERRERAS. [c] Chron. Jac. Reg. [d] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [e] RAINALD. Chron. Jac. Reg. [f] DIAGO. Chron. Jac. Reg. FERRERAS.

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ject into execution, he assembled the states of *Catalonia* at *Barcelona*, and obtained what he demanded, though with great difficulty [g]. He went from thence to *Saragossa*, where the states of *Arragon* peremptorily refused to grant any money; upon which, some of the nobility gave him very considerable sums. The king, before the assembly rose, had recourse to his old method; he desired, that the states would name some of their own body, to consider the proposition he had made, and offered to be bound by their report. They named, accordingly, the bishops of *Saragossa* and *Huesca*, who immediately declared, that the king's demand was reasonable, and for the welfare of the state; upon which the supply was readily granted, and chearfully paid [h]. The next year, the king made an irruption into *Murcia*, where he took a great many places; and the year following made himself master of the capital: after which he delivered both with great honour to the king of *Castile*, pursuant to the treaty between the two crowns; in consequence of which, he made this war only as the ally of Don *Alonso* the wise [i]. By this punctuality he added greatly to his reputation, and yet by putting the *Castilians* between him and the *Moors* he consulted his own interest.

Don Jayme obscures his glory by an obstinate adherence to his vices of the grossest kind.

THIS monarch, so prudent and so great in his public character, was the very reverse in his private life. He had entered into an amour with a lady who was related to him; and, being inclined to marry her, applied to the pope for a divorce from his third wife Donna *Theresa*, upon pretence that she had a contagious leprosy. But the pontiff, being well informed of the true cause, wrote him a letter, in which he not only refused his request, but exhorted him, in very strong terms, to alter a course of life so injurious to his dignity, and so unsuitable to his years [k]. As this had not the desired effect, the pope wrote to him the year following, assuring him, that if he continued the scandalous conversation he would excommunicate both him and his mistress Donna *Berengara*, daughter to the infant Don *Alonso de Molina*, and cousin to the king of *Castile* [l]. It will appear probable, from the current of the history, that this epistle did make some impression upon the king's mind, since he took the cross, and

[g] ZURITA Chron. Jac. Reg. [h] Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. gest. Chron. Jac. Reg. MARIANA. [i] Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio. Chron. Jac. Reg. FERRERAS. [k] RAINALD, ZURITA. [l] ABARCA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

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resolved to go with a choice corps of his own troops into the *Holy Land*. His son, the infant Don *Sancho*, being elected, by the favour of the king of *Castile*, archbishop of *Toledo*, his father, at the earnest invitation of the king and queen of *Castile*, as well as of his son, made a journey to hear the archbishop sing his first mass, upon *Christmas*-day, in his church of *Toledo* [m], when the principal nobility of both kingdoms were present, and the whole conducted with the utmost pomp and splendour. A. D. 1268.

THE king having conferred often with his son-in-law Don *Alonso*, who endeavoured to persuade him to lay aside his voyage, but without effect, at length quitted the court of *Castile*, and went to *Valentia*, where he made the proper dispositions for the security of that kingdom, during his absence; he went next into *Arragon*, for the same purpose; and, having taken leave of his family, and of his principal ministers, he repaired to *Barcelona* in the autumn; and, on the fourth of *September*, embarked, with a fine body of troops, compleatly furnished with all things necessary, on board a squadron of thirty large ships, besides transports; but meeting with a severe storm on the coast of *Sicily*, they were separated, and the ship, in which the king was embarked, drove into a small port in *France*, from whence he returned into his own dominions [n]. He was scarce arrived there, before he found himself sollicited to interpose in composing the disputes that had arisen between his son-in-law Don *Alonso* the wise, as well with his family as his subjects. The chagrin he felt, for undertaking this without effect, was very much heightened by a quarrel that broke out in his own family, between the infant Don *Pedro* his eldest son, and a natural son of his, Don *Hernando Sanchez*; which was carried to such extremities, that the former employed some to assassinate the latter, who, with great difficulty, saved his own life, and that of his wife by flight [o]. Upon the invitation of pope *Gregory* the ninth, he resorted to the general council held at *Lyons*, and there had an interview with the pope; where, some say, he took it ill, that the pope refused to crown him in a solemn manner, and others, that he was received there with all the marks of respect possible. However, he returned to *Montpellier* in the space of three weeks, *Takes the cross, and actually embarks for the Holy Land; forced back by a grievous tempest.* A. D. 1269.

[m] Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio. Chron. Jac. Reg. ZURITA. [n] Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio. ZURITA, ABARCA, FERRERAS. [o] Chron. Jac. Reg. ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS.

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A. D. 1274. and from thence into *Catalonia*, where many of the nobility had taken up arms, his own baſtard ſon Don *Hernando Sanchez*, being at the head of the confederates [p].

Diſturbances in Catalonia, in which Don Hernando Sanchez takes part againſt his father.

THE king, as the ſureſt way of reſtoring the public peace, cauſed an aſſembly of the ſtates to be held at *Lerida*, where he explained the ſources of this diſorder; which were, that upon information that the *Moor Alaſdrach*, who had put himſelf under the protection of the king of *Granada*, had, by his intrigues, prompted a great number of his ſubjects in *Valentia* to take up arms; he directed the nobility of *Catalonia* to march thither with their forces, as the only method which in this exigency he could take. Which order they diſobeyed, and had entered into a league amongſt themſelves, to prevent any of them from being puniſhed for their ill conduct [q]. The ſtates did all they could to compoſe theſe troubles, but to no purpoſe; they made, however, a law, to render the monarchy more ſtrictly hereditary, ſwore fealty of their own accord to Don *Alonſo*, the ſon of the infant Don *Pedro*, and deſired the pope would give his ſanction to this, which they would have conſidered as a fundamental law of the kingdom [r]. The king, as ſoon as the ſtates ſeparated, marched in perſon againſt the count of *Ampurias*, and ſent his ſon Don *Pedro*, with an army, to deſtroy the ſeeds of ſedition which were ſpringing up in *Arragon*. He was very well pleaſed with this commiſſion, purſued it vigorouſly, and having intelligence, that his brother Don *Hernando* had thrown himſelf into the caſtle of *Pomar*, he cauſed it to be inveſted, and puſhed the ſiege ſo vigorouſly, that Don *Hernando*, attempting to make his eſcape in diſguiſe, was, by his brother's orders, thrown into the river *Cinca*, where he miſerably periſhed [s]. Don *Pedro*, having extinguiſhed the rebellion, made an irruption into the kingdom of *Granada*, to puniſh the *Moors* for killing his brother the infant Don *Sancho*, archbiſhop of *Toledo*; of which we have given a full account in the hiſtory of *Caſtile*. While the royal infant was thus employed, the king had drawn upon himſelf another reproof from the pope, by cauſing the wife of a private perſon, to whom he had taken a fancy, to be carried away from her huſband by force; which, however, ſerved only to provoke him, and to render his vices more odious to his ſubjects [t].

A. D. 1275.

[p] Chron. Jac. Reg. RAINALD, ZURITA. [q] DIACO, ZURITA. [r] ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [s] ZURITA, DIACO, MAYERNE TURQUET. [t] RAINALD, FERRERAS.

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THE next year, the *Moors* in *Valentia*, under the command of *Alasdrach*, and, by the assistance of the king of *Granada*, executed the revolt they had so long projected, and seized *Montesa*, and some other places [u]. The king, upon the first notice, having assembled a numerous army, took up his own quarters at *Xativa*, from whence he detached Don *Pedro Fernandez de Hijar*, his natural son, with a strong corps of troops, to reduce *Beniopa*, into which the *Moors* had put a great garrison, and directed, that two other lords with another body of troops, should prevent the enemy from sending any relief. Don *Pedro Fernandez* was fortunate enough to execute his design, but the other lords, being drawn into an ambuscade, were totally defeated; Don *Garcia de Azagra* with the best part of the troops being cut to pieces, and Don *Pedro de Moncado*, grand master of the *Templars*, made prisoner with the rest [w]. The news of this defeat being carried to the king at *Xativa*, struck him to the heart, so that he immediately fell sick. He caused himself, thereupon, to be transported to *Alcira*, in hopes of growing better by the change of air; but, finding himself worse, he sent for his son Don *Pedro*, and, recommending his brother in the most passionate terms, resigned the crown, and, having taken the habit of a *Cistercian* monk, and expressed in a most pathetic manner his penitence for the ill example he had given his family and subjects, he expired on the twenty-fifth of *July*, in the year one thousand two hundred seventy-six, in the sixty-third year of his reign, and in the sixty-ninth of his life [x]. He left behind him his successor Don *Pedro*, his second son Don *Jayme*, or *James*, to whom he gave the kingdom of *Majorca*, and all that he held in *France*, Donna *Violante*, queen of *Castile*, Donna *Izabella*, queen of *France*, Donna *Constantia*, the wife of the infant Don *Emanuel* of *Castile*, Donna *Sancha*, who, it is said, went in a disguise to *Jerusalem*, and led there a life of devotion, Donna *Maria*, who died a nun; all these by his second queen Donna *Violante*. By his third wife Donna *Theresa*, to whom he was certainly once, if not twice married, Don *Jayme*, and Don *Pedro*; and by Donna *Berengara Fernandez*, a lady of the first quality, Don *Pedro Fernandez de Hijar* [y].

A new rebellion of the Moors *in* Valentia, *and the death of the king* Don Jayme.

THE king Don *Pedro* the third caused his father's body to be deposited, for the present, in the cathedral of *Valentia*, *Don* Pedro III. *entirely*

[u] ZURITA, DIAGO, ESCALONO. [w] ABARCA, Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. reg. gest. [x] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ZURITA, ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [y] ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

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Subdues the rebels in Valentia, *and composes things in* Catalonia,

and, having made a truce with the *Moors*, went to *Saragossa*, where he was crowned with great solemnity, on the twenty-seventh of *November*, with Donna *Constantia* his queen; and the states, at the same time, acknowleged in the most solemn manner his eldest son the infant Don *Alonso* for his successor [z]. He granted protection to Donna *Blanca* and her sons, the infants *de la Cerda*; and, having received from the pope permission to tax the clergy for the war with the

A. D. 1277. *Moors*, he attacked them on all sides, as soon as the truce was expired, and pushed them with such vigour, that they were obliged to shut themselves up in *Montesa*, notwithstanding that their strength fell little short of thirty thousand men [a]. The king invested and attacked the place with such spirit and success, that by the close of *September* they were obliged to capitulate; by which he put an end to the troubles of *Valentia* [b]. The satisfaction he derived from thence was quickly troubled, by the almost total defection of *Catalonia*, where the nobility took up arms, under pretence that he had not assembled the states of that country, or sworn to preserve their privileges; but, in reality, because they apprehended he meant to extinguish some pernicious customs, that were equally detrimental to the authority of the sovereign, and to the welfare of the greatest part of his sub-

1278. jects [c]. In the spring of the next year, the king assembled the states of *Tarragona*, where he commanded the prelates and great lords to repair to *Valentia*, in order to remove his father's corpse to the monastery of *Poblet*; which ceremony was performed with great pomp and magnificence [d]. He then attacked the confederate lords, and partly by force, partly by treaty, dissolved their alliance, and obliged them to submit [e].

His firmness, address and success in the conduct of his administration,

He managed with great dexterity in the quarrels between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*; and though he had an interview with the infant Don *Sancho*, of which we have a large account in *Mariana*, yet it does not appear, that he entered deeply into his measures, though he made him large promises [f]. He compelled his brother Don *Jayme* to do him homage for the kingdom of *Majorca*, and all the dominions his father had left him, contrary to the intention of that mo-

[z] Abarca. Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. reg. gest. Ferreras. [a] Zurita, Rainald, Diago. [b] Escalono, Ferreras. [c] Hieronymi Blancæ, Zurita, Mariana. [d] Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. reg. gest. Ferreras. [e] Chron. var. Antiq. [f] Historia general de Espana, lib. xii.

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narch [g]. The confederate lords taking up arms again in *Catalonia*, Don *Pedro*, though they had assembled a great body of troops, compelled them to quit the field, and to shut themselves up in the castle of *Balaguer*; where, after a short siege, he obliged them to surrender at discretion, and sent most of them prisoners to different fortresses: by which the peace of his dominions was perfectly restored [h]. He went afterwards to *Tholouse*, where he had a conference with his brother-in-law king *Philip*; to whom he explained the motives of his conduct in *Catalonia*, that, in case of any fresh troubles, the malecontents might be able to obtain no succours from that side [i]. On his return into *Arragon* from this interview, he received ambassadors from Don *Denis* king of *Portugal*, to demand his daughter the infanta *Izabella*, or *Elizabeth*, in marriage: to which he readily consented; and that princess was so exemplary in her conduct, that, after her demise, she was considered as a saint [k]. A. D. 1280.

The manner in which he was engaged to vindicate his queen's claim to the crown of Sicily.

THE reader has been before informed, that this monarch, in right of his wife, had a claim to the crown of *Sicily*; the nature of which will be explained in the history of that kingdom. The *French*, who were then masters of that island, oppressed the people to such a degree, that *John de Prochira*, a noble *Sicilian*, formed the project of setting them at liberty. He went first to the pope, who, though he approved his project, would run no hazards, *Charles* of *Anjou*, who then held *Sicily*, being very powerful in *Italy* [l]. *Prochira* went next to *Constantinople*, where he represented to the *Greek* emperor, *Michael Palæologus*, that, under pretence of an expedition to the *Holy Land*, *Charles* of *Anjou* was making vast preparations by land and sea, with an intention to dethrone him; adding, that the only way to prevent this blow was to engage Don *Pedro* of *Arragon* to assert his right to the kingdom of *Sicily*. The *Greek* emperor closed with his proposals, and sent him into *Arragon*, where he was well received by Don *Pedro*, who told him, he was not averse to such an expedition, but that it would require an immense sum of money, which he had not [m]. *Prochira* went back to *Constantinople*, where he so alarmed the *Greek* emperor's fears, that he obtained at once the large sum Don *Pedro* demanded, and which he brought him with great fidelity, and, what was yet more extraordi-

[g] ZURITA, ABARCA. [h] MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [i] ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS. [k] EMANUEL de Faria y Sousa. [l] RAINALD. [m] ZURITA, FERRERAS.

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nary, he managed these several negotiations with so much address, and such profound secrecy, that when the king of *Arragon* began to assemble his fleet and army, none of his neighbours were able to penetrate his design, and he amused them with such general answers, as did not in the least explain it [n]. When his preparations were in a manner compleat, he very unexpectedly set all the lords at liberty, telling them, that men of noble minds were to be bound by obligations; and that he expected that tranquility from their gratitude, which a prince of another character would have thought better secured by continuing them in confinement [o].

The king executes with great spirit and success the expedition against the isle of Sicily.

WHILE the king was busy in equipping this great armament, the brother of the king of *Tunis*, who was lord of the town of *Constantine*, and a little district about it, sent to implore his protection against his brother, who threatened to strip him of his small seigniory. Don *Pedro* promised him all, and even more than he desired, looking upon this as the most happy incident possible, since it afforded him a plausible pretence of saying, that he armed against the infidels [p]. At length, having embarked a fine army, on board a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, he weighed anchor on the sixth of *June* from the port of *Tangos*, leaving the infant Don *Alonso*, and the queen his mother, regents, and steered directly for *Minorca* [q]. He proceeded from that island to *Alcael*, a port in *Africa*, belonging to the lord of *Constantine*, where he landed his troops, and dispatched ambassadors to the pope to desire his assistance in carrying on the war against the infidels [r]. But affairs had quite changed their face at *Rome*, where, instead of *Nicholas* the third, who was an implacable enemy to *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, *Martin* the fourth now occupied the papal throne, who was the creature of that prince, and who, suspecting Don *Pedro*'s design, treated his ambassadors but roughly [s]. In the mean time, the people of *Sicily* having assured Don *Pedro*, that they were entirely devoted to his interest, he quitted *Africa*, and arrived in the month of *August* at *Trapani*; from whence he proceeded to *Palermo*, where he was received with all imaginable joy, and with universal applause proclaimed king of *Sicily* [t]. He afterwards employed his fleet and army in delivering *Messina*, which was besieged by king *Charles*, whose fleet was beaten at sea by the

[n] NICOLAS Especial dans de Marca, liv. i. NICEPH. GREGORAS, liv. v. ZURITA, ABARCA. [o] MARIANA, FERRAS. [p] ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, FERR. [q] MALESPINI Hist. Florent. ZURITA. [r] RAINALD, ABARCA, MARIANA. [s] RAINALD, ZURITA. [t] MALESPINI, Hist. Florent.

infant

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infant Don *Jayme* of *Arragon*, which left him the undisturbed possession of the island to which he laid claim [u]. The pope, however, on the behalf of his competitor, launched his spiritual thunder against Don *Pedro*, and, by a bull dated *December* the eighteenth, declared him excommunicated [w]. The campaign ended with an agreement between the competitors, to decide their contested titles by a personal combat at *Bourdeaux*, on the first of *June*, in the ensuing year, to be attended each by one hundred knights [x]. The *French* historians say, that Don *Pedro* was the challenger [y]; whereas those of *Arragon* assert, it was king *Charles* [z]. But the fact is out of dispute, as also, that the king of *England*, to whom they were both related, promised them a fair field for terminating their quarrel. A. D. 1282.

Combat for the crown of that island at Bourdeaux, which ends in nothing.

The king Don *Pedro* employed the next spring in reducing most of the places in the island, in which his competitor had garrisons; and the queen Donna *Constantia*, and her two sons Don *Jayme* and Don *Frederic* being arrived, in pursuance of his orders, he settled the regency in her and the infant Don *Jayme* with a council; and having detected a conspiracy against his life, and punished such as were concerned in it, he embarked at *Trapani* for *Valentia*, where he arrived on the seventeenth of *May* [a]. It is asserted by the historians of *Arragon*, that he actually proceeded to *Bourdeaux*, and, early in the morning, on the first of *June*, presented himself to the seneschal of *Edward*, king of *England*, and demanded of him, whether he might be secured of a fair field, as had been promised; but the seneschal told him, that king *Philip* of *France* was expected there with his brother; that he had a prodigious number of troops in their neighbourhood; and, that he could not answer for his security: upon which the king left his buckler and his lance, as proofs that he had personally appeared, and then withdrew privately and speedily into his dominions [b]. The *French* historians say the direct contrary, alleging, that *Charles*, king of *Naples* and *Sicily* appeared, traversed the ground appointed for the combat with his knights, and, that the king of *Arragon* arriving in disguise, came in the evening, and when his competitor was withdrawn, and engaged the seneschal to enter his appearance [c]. It is however certain, that the *French* soon

[u] Zurita, Abarca, Malespini Hist. Florent. [w] Raynald. [x] Zurita, Malespini Hist. Florent. Mariana, Ferreras. [y] Mezeray Abreg. Chronolog. tom. iii. [z] Zurita, Gest. Comit. Barcin. [a] Malespini Hist. Flor. Zurita, Ferreras. [b] Zurita, Gest. Comit. Barcin. [c] Mezeray Abreg. Chronolog. tom. iii.

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after sent troops into *Arragon*, against whom the king, assisted by Don *Sancho* of *Castile*, defended himself without any loss either of territory or credit [d]. In the month of *October*, he assembled the states of *Arragon* at *Saragossa*, in order to pacify some disputes which had arisen with the nobility about their privileges, and soon after received advice, that *Roger de Lauria*, whom he had left his admiral in *Sicily*, had gained some advantages over the enemy, and had made himself master of the island of *Malta* [e]. At this time, Don *Juan Nugnez de Lara*, in right of marriage, was become possessed of *Albarracin*, a place of great strength and importance on the frontiers of *Arragon* and *Castile*. Thus, by the family of *Azagra*, had been erected into a kind of sovereignty, which by a strange concurrence of accidents, but particularly by courting the favour of one crown, when that of the other was lost, and keeping up the mutual jealousy of such an acquisition, had been strangely preserved, and, from the precariousness of this tenure, fortified as far as the skill of that age would go. It was now become a terror to both; for *Philip* the hardy, king of *France*, being at war with the two crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and having Don *Juan* at his devotion, intended to make use of it as a door into the dominions of Don *Sancho* and Don *Pedro*. The former, very sensible of the consequences with which this might be attended, relinquished all his pretensions to the latter, who immediately sent the infant Don *Alonso* to reduce it. The siege was long and difficult, but it was at last rendered by capitulation; upon which the king gave it to his natural son Don *Ferdinand*, whom he had by Donna *Inez* or *Agnes Zapata* [f]. He intended to have reduced *Tudela* also this campaign; but finding that too hazardous an enterprize, he desisted, the rather because he was informed, that king *Philip* intended to attack him, in the ensuing summer, with the whole power of *France*; for which therefore it was necessary to prepare.

A. D. 1283. *Reduces the fortress and sovereignty of* Albarracin, *and gives it to his natural son.*

His glorious victories by sea, great generosity, and the resentment it raises in the pope.

The success of the campaign by land in *Spain* was nothing in comparison of the good fortune of his power by sea, under the command of *Roger de Lauria*, who with a squadron of forty gallies, cruizing within sight of the port of *Naples*, brought out *Charles* the lame, prince of *Salerno*, son of *Charles*, king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with his father's whole strength of seventy gallies well armed. The fight was long and obstinate, the issue of it very extraordinary; for the

[d] Gest. Comit. Barcin. Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, Zurita. [e] Malespini Hist. Florent. Gest. Comit. Barcin. [f] Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras.

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admiral of *Arragon* not only gained a compleat victory, but took from the enemy one gally more than the number of his whole fleet; and, to compleat his triumph, the prince of *Salerno* himself [g]. Donna *Constantia*, queen of *Sicily*, had a sister Donna *Beatrix*, whom king *Charles* had long kept in prison; the queen sent him a message, that if he did not instantly release and restore her sister, she would put his son to death: upon which Donna *Beatrix* was presently sent into *Sicily* [h]. But the people of that island, who have never been very famous for humanity, discovering very strong resentments against the prisoners taken in the last fight, Don *Pedro* was no sooner informed of it, than he gave orders they should all be set at liberty, except prince *Charles*, whom he directed to be sent into *Catalonia*, purely to preserve his life [i]. The pope renewed his censures against the king of *Arragon*, and to enforce them gave away his kingdom, as a fief of the holy see, to *Charles de Valois*, son to king *Philip* the hardy; publishing at the same time a croisade against the deposed king of *Arragon*; by which the same indulgencies were given to those who fought against him, as if they made war against the infidels: and, which is very astonishing, the king of *France* accepted of this grant, in favour of his son, took the cross, and assembled one of the greatest armies that had ever been seen, in order to go and put him in possession of it [k]. A. D. 1284.

THIS papal fury, though it excited a foreign war, did not in the least disturb the domestic peace of the king's dominions; for not only his lay subjects, but even the bishops and clergy, treated this affair as it ought to be treated, worshipping GOD, and behaving with fidelity to the king, notwithstanding the pope's interdict. Don *Jayme*, king of *Majorca*, deserted his brother, and joined the king of *France*; upon which Don *Pedro* made a quick march into his county of *Rousillon*, and besieged *Perpignan*, in which city he was with his wife and children. The place was taken, after a long defence, but Don *Jayme* escaped; yet the queen and her son were sent prisoners into *Arragon* [l]. When all his preparations were finished, *Philip* the hardy attempted to enter *Arragon*, with an army of eighty thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse; the king Don *Pedro* seized the pas- *The invasion of* Arragon *by the* French *their retreat, the king Don* Pedro's *death.*

[g] MALESPINI Hist. Florent. MEZERAY. [h] ZURITA, MALESPINI Hist. Florent. [i] Gest. Comit. Barcin. ABARCA, MARIANA. [k] RAINALD, ZURITA, MEZERAY. [l] ZURITA, ABARCA, FERRERAS.

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ſages of the *Pyrenees*; but as ſuch precautions ſeldom take effect, king *Philip* found means to bring down his whole army into *Catalonia*, where he quickly took *Roſes* and *Caſtillon* [m]. Don *Pedro*, having put a ſtrong garriſon into *Gironne*, under the command of Don *Raymond*, viſcount *Cardona*, diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his troops, and kept the field only with a flying army. Don *Raymond* anſwered the king's expectations, and made a very gallant defence; for the ſiege began on the twenty-eighth of *June*, and the place was not ſurrendered till the ſeventh of *September*, and then upon very honourable conditions [n]. In the mean time, the king's fleets at ſea beat the *French* over and over, and, with the aſſiſtance of a corps of land troops, deſtroyed all their great magazines at *Roſes*; ſo that king *Philip*, after he had made a public entry into *Gironne*, and placed a ſtrong garriſon there, was obliged to return; which, as the king of *Arragon* foreſaw, he made him pay exceeding dear for his paſſage. So that arriving with the remains of a once formidable army at *Perpignan*, the king was ſeized with a diſtemper which carried him off in a few days [o]. Don *Pedro* no ſooner returned from harraſſing the *French* army, than he preſented himſelf before *Gironne*, and, on his propoſing to the garriſon leave to march out, and an aſſurance of conducting them ſafe into *France*, they very wiſely ſurrendered [p]. The king then ſent his ſon Don *Alonſo* with a ſtrong fleet to puniſh his brother Don *Jayme*, but before he was well arrived in *Majorca*, the king fell ill at *Villa Franca de Panades*, where he departed this life on the tenth of *November*, one thouſand two hundred and eighty-five, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-ſixth of his age [q]. He left the crown of *Arragon* to Don *Alonſo* [r], and that of *Sicily* to his ſecond ſon Don *Jayme* [s]. Beſides theſe, he left two younger ſons, Don *Frederic* and Don *Pedro*, and two daughters, Donna *Izabella*, queen of *Portugal*, and Donna *Conſtantia*, who eſpouſed *Robert*, king of *Naples*; beſides a great many natural children, both ſons and daughters. He was a very brave and generous prince, and really merited the title of *great*, which is given him by the *Arragonian* writers, by his actions, as well as by his fortune [t]. His old enemy pope

[m] Mezeray Abreg. Chronolog. tom. iii. [n] Zurita. Geſt. Comit. Barcin. Mezeray. [o] Zurita, Ferreras, Mezeray. [p] Geſt. Comit. Barcin. [q] Zurita, Abarca, Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [r] Geſt. Comit. Barcin. [s] Maleſpini Hiſt. Florent. [t] Zurita, Abarca, Geſt. Comit. Barcin.

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Martin died a few months before him, and he also survived his competitor *Charles* of *Anjou*, king of *Naples* [u].

Don *Alonso* the third succeeded his father, though absent in the expedition against his uncle. He was a prince remarkable for discharging his duty, in all relations, with great punctuality. He was obedient to his father, kind to his brethren, and so liberal in his temper, that he obtained the surname of *the munificent* [w]. He received the news of his father's death almost as soon as he landed in the island of *Majorca*; but he took the capital, and reduced the rest of the islands, before he returned to *Valentia* [x]. His brother Don *Jayme* caused himself, likewise, to be crowned king of *Sicily* [y]. Don *Alonso*, upon his arrival at *Valentia*, received a message from the principal nobility of *Arragon*, who, from a league they had contracted among themselves in his father's reign, had assumed the title of *the union*. The purport of this message was, that they were surprized he had assumed the regal title before his coronation, and swearing to maintain their privileges. The king gave them a soft answer, and hastened his coronation; which solemnity was performed with great magnificence, on *Easter*-day, in the church of *Saragossa* [z]. This did not intirely put an end to his disputes with the lords of *the union*, who pretended he had no right to choose his own ministers or servants, but ought to receive them from the states. The king saw plainly, they were encouraged to this by the perplexed situation in which his father had left his affairs; and, therefore, he would enter into no disputes, which he found was the only way to agree with them [a].

Don Alonso III. succeeds, and acts with great prudence at his accession.

There had been a treaty, in his father's life-time, for a marriage between him and the princess *Eleanor*, daughter to king *Edward* the first of *England*; that monarch, therefore, interposed very kindly in his affairs, and sent over doctor *Anthony Beck*, bishop of *Durham*, and doctor *John Vesey*, to propose to him the heads of a treaty, which might make him perfectly easy. He was easily prevailed on to consent, that *Charles*, prince of *Salerna*, should be set at liberty, upon condition that his brother remained king of *Sicily*, and that he should marry the princess *Blanch*, the daughter of *Charles*, and that his eldest son *Robert* should espouse Donna

Resolves to marry the daughter of Edw. I. *of* England, *and receives many favours.*

A. D. 1286.

[u] Rainald, Mezeray. [w] Zurita, Abarca, Hieronymi Blancæ. [x] Diago, Escalono, Ferreras. [y] Malespini Hist. Florent. [z] Gest. Comit. Barcin. Zurita, Abarca, Mariana. [a] Hieronymi Blancæ. Chron. var. Antiq.

Constantia,

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Conſtantia, whom ſome writers call *Violante*, the ſiſter of the kings of *Arragon* and *Naples*; but this treaty was rejected by the pope, who, affecting to tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, would not acknowlege Don *Alonſo*'s title [b].

After reſtoring peace abroad, and the dignity of the crown at home, he dies ſuddenly.

THE king employed the next year in the entire conqueſt of the iſlands of *Minorca* and *Yvica*, which, when he had accompliſhed, he returned into *Catalonia*, called an aſſembly of the ſtates, and therein cancelled at once all the exemptions and privileges of the nobility that were injurious to the crown and the people [c]. The year following, he had an interview with king *Edward* at *Conflans*, wherein it was agreed, that the prince of *Salerno*, or, as others ſtiled him, the king of *Naples*, ſhould be ſet at liberty, upon his giving his two ſons, *Lewis* and *Robert*, and ſeveral lords, as hoſtages for the performance of articles; and of theſe one was, that he ſhould give his daughter in marriage to *Charles de Valois*, with his dutchy of *Anjou*; upon condition, that he ſhould renounce all title to the crown of *Arragon*: but the pope remained ſtill inflexible. This pope was *Nicholas* the fourth, who excommunicated Don *Alonſo*, releaſed *Charles* from his engagements, and crowned him king of *Sicily* [d]. At length, king *Edward* prevailed upon all the princes, who were embarked in this quarrel, to ſend their plenipotentiaries to *Perpignan*; from whence ſoon after the congreſs was removed to *Taraſcon*, where, in the month of *February*, all things were adjuſted; but, in this treaty, the king Don *Jayme* of *Sicily* was excluded, to ſatisfy the pope, who thereupon annulled all that had been done againſt the king of *Arragon*, or his father [e]. As ſoon as this affair was adjuſted, Don *Alonſo* ſent the viſcount of *Cardona* into *Guienne*, to receive the princeſs *Eleanor*, and cauſed preparations to be made for his marriage at *Barcelona*, with that magnificence which was natural to him. But, in the midſt of them, he was ſuddenly taken ill on horſeback, and, being carried to his palace, died on the eighteenth of *June*, one thouſand two hundred and ninety-one, when he had reigned almoſt ſix years [f]. He was a prince highly eſteemed by his neighbours, and beloved by his ſubjects; and, in all probability, had he lived, would have equalled in reputation any of his predeceſſors. His temporiſing had delivered him from the reſtrictions intended by the union; for a prince, who has ſurmounted difficulties, is not to be controuled.

[b] ZURITA, RAINALD. [c] ABARCA, MALESPINI Hiſt. Flor. [d] ZURITA, MALESPINI Hiſt. Flor. RAINALD. [e] MEZERAY, RAINALD, FERRERAS. [f] ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

THE

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THE ſtates of *Arragon* aſſembled at *Saragoſſa* ſent immediately the count of *Ampurias* to acquaint Don *Jayme*, king of *Sicily*, with the death of his brother, and to invite him to come and take poſſeſſion of the throne. In complying with which invitation, he made ſuch diſpatch, that leaving his mother Donna *Conſtantia*, and his brother Don *Frederic*, regents of *Sicily*, he arrived at *Barcelona* on the twenty-ſixth of *Auguſt*, and was crowned at *Saragoſſa* on the ſixth of *September* following, to the great ſatisfaction of his new ſubjects [g]. He thought fit to act upon different principles from thoſe of his brother, who, in conſideration of the kingdom of *Murcia*, yielded to him by ſolemn treaty, had acknowleged the infant *de la Cerda* for king of *Caſtile*. This monarch, on the contrary, cloſed with Don *Sancho*, agreed to marry his daughter Donna *Izabella*, though but nine years of age, and afterwards conſented to accept him for the mediator of the peace with the crowns of *France* and *Naples*; for, by the death of the late king the treaty of *Taraſcon* was diſſolved [h]. Theſe negotiations laſted during the life of Don *Sancho*, who had ſuch an influence over the king of *Arragon*, that he prevailed upon him, for the ſake of reſtoring the peace of *Chriſtendom*, to renounce his rights to the kingdom of *Sicily*; which, however, proved of no great conſequence; for his mother and his brother *Frederic* abſolutely refuſed to be bound by this ceſſion, reſolving to put themſelves upon the fidelity of their ſubjects, and to truſt the *Sicilians* with the defence of their title to *Sicily* againſt all opponents [i]. The king Don *Jayme*, notwithſtanding, on the death of Don *Sancho*, eſpouſed the daughter of *Charles*, king of *Naples*, inſtead of the infanta of *Caſtile*; pope *Boniface* the eighth was graciouſly pleaſed to abſolve the biſhops and clergy of *Arragon* for the great crimes of worſhipping GOD, and obeying their kings, contrary to the commands of his predeceſſors, and *Charles de Valois* once more renounced his rights to the kingdom of *Arragon*, in favour of a monarch who had all the rights to it already that politicians could deviſe, *viz.* deſcent, his brother's will, and the choice of the ſtates [k].

Don Jayme II. *leaves* Sicily, *and is crowned king of* Arragon *at* Saragoſſa.

A. D. 1295.

THE king Don *Jayme*, though ſomewhat mutable in his meaſures, was extremely ſteady to his intereſts; and, perceiving the weakneſs of the government of *Caſtile*, renewed his brother's treaty with the infant Don *Alonſo de la Cerda*,

Goes to Rome, *and is cajoled into a war with*

[g] Geſt. Comit. Barcin. ZURITA. [h] Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, ABARCA. [i] MALESPINI Hiſt. Florentin. [k] ZURITA, MEZERAY, RAINALD.

acknowleged

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his brother by pope Boniface VIII.

acknowleged his title, and assisted him [l]. He likewise equipped a stout fleet, and, having embarked a body of troops on board it, went in person to reduce *Alicant*, which he performed; and conquered afterwards the best part of the kingdom of *Murcia* [m]. Pope *Boniface* studied by all means to gain over the king of *Arragon*, in hopes of prevailing upon him to engage his brother, or to force him to quit the kingdom of *Sicily*. Don *Jayme*, wearied with perpetual sollicitations, made, at length, a voyage to *Rome*, where the pope redoubled his caresses, gave him the title of standard-bearer of the holy church, and very generously bestowed upon him the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, to be held as fiefs from the see of *Rome*, whenever he should be able to conquer them [n]. All this was done, in order to persuade him to employ his arms against his brother; but the king went no farther than to send for his mother and sister to *Rome*, where the latter was married by the pope to *Robert*, duke of *Calabria*, and then he returned into his own dominions [o]. After his return, the tears of his wife, the instances of his allies, and the fair promises of the pope, induced him to equip a numerous fleet; with which he sailed first to *Naples*, where he left his queen Donna *Blanca* with her father, and then weighed anchor with a full resolution to dethrone his brother. The king Don *Frederic*, who had also a great naval force, thought it better to meet than to expect the danger; and therefore put to sea with an intent to give him battle. However, on receiving a message from him, that he had better remain in his own dominions, he retired. The king of *Arragon* then landed his troops in *Sicily*, took several places, and required by proclamation all his subjects in his brother's service to join him, which most of them did, and amongst the rest the famous *Roger de Lauria*. King *Frederic*, however, defended himself with vigour, beat several of his brother's squadrons, and took many of his gallies; upon which Don *Jayme* sent him word to release his subjects, and to send back his vessels, and he would give him no farther trouble; which, by the advice of his council, he absolutely refused. The king of *Arragon* retired in great discontent to *Naples* with the rest of his fleet, exhorted his father-in-law to assemble as great a force as he could in the spring, when he promised to return with a fleet superior to

[l] Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras. [m] Zurita, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [n] Rainald. [o] Hieronymi Blancæ, Rainald.

that

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that which had been employed in this year's ſervice [p]. We may diſcern from hence, how great the naval force of the dominions of *Arragon* muſt have been, when ſo great a loſs was ſo eaſily and ſuddenly to be repaired.

Makes another expedition againſt his brother, and the victorious diſcontinues the war.

THE king Don *Jayme*, who had been forced into this firſt expedition, being now picqued at the loſſes he had received, aſſembled, on his return into *Catalonia*, a fleet of fifty-five ſail, with which he proceeded to *Naples*; and having joined the ſquadron of his father-in-law, commanded by *Robert*, duke of *Calabria*, and Don *Raymond*, prince of *Tarento*, ſteered directly for *Sicily*. Don *Frederic*, whoſe fleet in the harbour of *Meſſina* conſiſted of forty veſſels, boldly weighed anchor, and, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority, engaged the combined fleets. The fight was very obſtinate and very bloody, but at length the *Sicilians* were totally defeated with great loſs of ſhips and men; and it was with great difficulty that king *Frederic* himſelf eſcaped with a few gallies. This ſucceſs had a ſurprizing effect on the king of *Arragon*'s diſpoſition, for returning with his victorious fleet to *Naples*, he ſent for his mother, the queen-dowager of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, and his family, and, in ſpite of all the perſuaſions of the pope's legate, his father-in-law, and his brothers, returned to *Barcelona* [q]. The next year, he laboured by his ambaſſadors to perſuade Don *Frederic* to think of peace, but no ſollicitations could induce him to renew the war, from which he was vehemently diſſuaded by the queen his mother upon her death-bed [r].

A. D. 1299.

1300.

Receives the infant de la Cerda, but finds it impracticable to eſtabliſh him.

IN the opinion of politicians the troubles of one kingdom are often the harveſts of another. The king of *Arragon* had embraced the party of Don *Alonſo de la Cerda*, and owned him as king of *Caſtile*, for the ſake of obtaining the fruitful kingdom of *Murcia*, a great part of which was actually by conqueſt, but in virtue of this conceſſion in his hands. To keep this, he was obliged to aſſiſt that prince in maintaining his title, and was in hopes, that the king of *France*, who was nearly related to the infant in blood, would have taken a ſhare in the war, or would at leaſt have contributed towards its expence. But, finding himſelf wholly miſtaken, he was conſtrained to lay a tax upon ſalt, which extending to all his ſubjects in general, created great uneaſineſs, and induced ſome of the nobility to think of reviving *the union* [s].

[p] MALESPINI Hiſt. Florentin. ZURITA. [q] Geſt. Comit. Barcin. ABARCA, MALESPINI Hiſt. Florentin. [r] ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [s] ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA.

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Upon this, the king called an assembly of the states at *Saragossa*, in which his conduct was approved, but the nobility disapproved theirs: however, his son Don *Jayme* was acknowleged presumptive heir to the crown [t]. The discontented lords applied themselves to the queen-regent of *Castile*, as the malecontents of *Castile* had entered into a league with the king of *Arragon*. The king saw the folly of all this, he proposed to the queen a peace, if she would make a cession of what he had already acquired in *Murcia*, which she rejected perhaps with more spirit than prudence; for this obliged the king to foment the troubles in *Castile*, whether he would or not [u]. On the return of Don *Alonso* from the court of *France*, he gave him good advice, and in plain terms recommended to him compromising things in the best manner he could. The pope, tired out with the war in *Sicily*, consented, at length, to acknowlege king *Frederic*; of which that prince gave his brother notice, who was exceedingly well pleased with the news. The king was now very desirous of turning the concession of the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corsica* to some account; but his schemes were interrupted by the death of pope *Benedict* the eleventh, and the long vacancy of the papal see. However, during this interval, the king took the best measures he could to avail himself of this donation [w].

A. D. 1301. 1302. 1304.

The knights templars attacked, but protected by the king of Arragon.

A PEACE with *Castile* was so necessary, that the king consented to the congress of *Campillo*, where, as we have shewn in its proper place, it was not concluded much to his advantage. The king sent an ambassador to do homage to pope *Clement* the fifth, for the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, and the *Genoese*, who were already in possession of part of these countries, sent an embassy to the king, in hopes of regulating matters amicably. Don *Jayme* demanded from the pope a bull of concession, which was sent him dated *May* the twenty-eighth; and several of the *Sardinian* lords came to pay their respects, offer him their service, and to acknowlege his title [x]. The progress of this affair was stopped, however, by the breaking out of another of a very extraordinary nature, which was the persecution of the knights templars; who, at the request of the pope, were generally arrested, and thrown into prison, and all the large estates they held in the king's dominions were on the point

A. D. 1306.

[t] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [u] Cronica del Rey Don Fernand. RODERIC TOLETAN. de rebus Hispan. LUC. TUDENS. Chron. ABARCA. [w] RAINALD, ZURITA, MEZERAY. [x] ZURITA, RAINALD, FERRERAS.

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of being confiſcated. The kingdom of *Navarre* was, at this time, in the hands of *France*; notwithſtanding which, a war broke out with the crown of *Arragon*, occaſioned probably by ſome diſturbances on the frontiers: in the proſecution of which Don *Jayme* was far from being ſucceſsful, for his troops were twice beaten, and his ſtandard taken. In *France*, and even in *Caſtile*, at the requeſt of the pope, the templars were treated with the moſt barbarous ſeverity. The king of *Arragon* was very much preſſed to treat them in the ſame manner, but his conſtant anſwer was, *We muſt firſt be convinced of their guilt, and it will be then time enough to talk of their puniſhment* [y]. At the requeſt of Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Caſtile*, he had an interview with him at the monaſtery of *Huerta*; wherein two points were regulated, the firſt, that they ſhould make war jointly againſt the *Moors*, the ſecond, that the infant of *Arragon* ſhould marry Donna *Leonora*, the king of *Caſtile*'s daughter [z]. The buſineſs of the knights templars remained ſtill in agitation, and the people in general were ſo provoked againſt them, that they were compelled to ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſſes belonging to their order, to prevent being torn in pieces, which precaution was repreſented to the king of *Arragon* as an act of rebellion. He marched, therefore, with a corps of troops againſt one of theſe fortreſſes, and ſummoned it. The knight, who commanded, ſurrendered immediately, and told the king the truth, aſſuring him, that they deſired nothing but a fair trial, with which the king was extremely moved; took the whole order into his protection; forbad any to abuſe or inſult them under the heavieſt penalties. At the ſame time he declared, he was ready to receive any informations againſt them that were ſupported by proofs: but declared alſo, that if the informers failed therein, he would puniſh them as they deſerved; which kept things in his territories quiet [a].

He makes war, in conjunction with the monarch of Caſtile, *againſt the* Moors.

ALL things being in readineſs for his expedition againſt the *Moors*, the king embarked at *Valentia* on the eighteenth of *July*, and ſoon after landed his forces in the neighbourhood of *Almaria*, which was the object of this expedition. The forces being landed, with the ammunition and military ſtores, the fleet of *Arragon* ſailed to join that of *Caſtile*, and to cruize upon the coaſt of *Barbary*, to prevent any ſuccours

[y] PTOLEMÆI LUC. Annales, Vita Clement. V. apud Baluz. P. MORET, MEZERAY, ZURITA. [z] Cronica del Rey Don Fernand. [a] PTOLEMÆI LUC. Annales, Vita Clem. V. apud Baluz. ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

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which might enable the enemy to relieve either of the sieges; Don *Ferdinand* having besieged *Algezira*, and Don *Jayme* having invested *Almeria* on the fifteenth of *August* [b]. *Mohammed Aben Alhamar*, king of *Granada*, was exceedingly piqued at the king of *Arragon*'s invasion, with whom he never had any war or dispute before; and therefore determined to attack him first. With this view, he began his march towards him with a numerous army; of which, as soon as Don *Jayme* had intelligence, he quitted his camp, leaving a small body of troops there, commanded by his cousin Don *Ferdinand*, son to the king of *Majorca*, and gave him battle on the twenty-fourth of the same month; when, after a warm contest, the *Moors* were defeated, with the loss of six thousand men, and the *Moors*, who had sallied from *Almeria* while the engagement lasted, were also repulsed by Don *Ferdinand* with great loss [c]. This, however, did not hinder the king of *Granada* from attempting the relief of the place a second time, on the fifteenth of *October*, when he received another check. Notwithstanding which, the rains coming on, Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile* being retired from before *Algezira*, and the king having intelligence of some troubles breaking out in *Catalonia*, he thought fit to make a truce with the *Moors*, upon condition, that they set at liberty all his subjects wherever taken; and having embarked his army returned into his own dominions [d]. On the twelfth of *November*, in the succeeding year, died his queen Donna *Blanca*, exceedingly regretted by his subjects for her many virtues and amiable qualities. At an interview with Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, it was determined to persist in carrying on the war jointly against the *Moors*; and besides the alliance before contracted, it was agreed, that Don *Pedro*, the king of *Castile*'s brother, should marry the infanta Donna *Maria*, daughter to Don *Jayme*; but, with respect to the war, as the pope refused to grant the usual succours, and as the troubles in *Castile* hindered the king from taking the field, the king of *Arragon*, who had still the conquest of *Sardinia* and *Corsica* in his own mind, remained quiet in his own dominions [e].

A. D. 1309.

1311.

Treats the knights templars,

THE hard measure the templars met with in other kingdoms, did not pass for any rule with Don *Jayme*, who caused

[b] ZURITA, ABARCA, RODERIC TOLETAN. de rebus Hisp. Luc. Tudens. Chron. MARIANA, FERRERAS. [c] Cronica del Rey Don Fernand, ZURITA. [d] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, Cronica del Rey Don Fernand. [e] RODERIC TOLETAN. de rebus Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. ZURITA Cronica del Rey Don Fernand.

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their conduct to be examined in a council held at *Tarragona*; in which those who were convicted of any crimes were punished as they deserved, and the possession of their estates secured to the innocent during their lives: after which, as the order was to be suppressed, by the common consent of Christian princes, their revenues were assigned to the other military orders [f]. The king's daughter Donna *Izabella* espoused *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, and though much sollicited by his other son-in-law the infant Don *Pedro* of *Castile*, Don *Jayme* meddled very little with the troubles in that country [g]. The year following, the pope interposed in behalf of *Robert*, king of *Naples*, to prevail upon the king to desist, or rather to oblige the *Catalans* his subjects to desist from their expeditions into *Greece*, which, as they were not made at the command, or for the advantage, of the king of *Arragon*, and as they are mentioned with more propriety in another place, we shall not insist upon here.

On the dissolution of that order with equity and indulgence.

BUT while they were disturbing the peace of others, their own trade, and that of the kingdom of *Valentia*, was rendered precarious, indeed almost impracticable, by the pyracies of the *Tunizeens* [h]. The king, therefore, to put an end to this evil, caused a strong squadron to be equipped, under the command of *William de Moncada*, who had orders to make the infidels feel, in a very sensible manner, the weight of his master's displeasure. Accordingly, he debarked his troops, and made himself master of several fortresses along the coast, wasting the country in so cruel a manner, that, in order to be delivered from him, the king of *Tunis* offered to pay an annual tribute of five thousand doubloons, which the king of *Arragon* accepted; but it was upon condition, that the fortresses he had taken should remain in his hands for the payment of that tribute [i]. The very same year, the king married Donna *Maria*, daughter to *Henry*, king of *Cyprus*, and, on occasion of this match, he sent an embassy to the soltan of *Babylon*, to desire his permission to ransom such *Arragonians* and *Catalans* as were prisoners within the extent of his dominions. His younger son Don *Alonso*, marrying Donna *Theresa*, heiress of *Urgel*, acquired the possession of that country, which, when he came to succeed his father, was annexed to the crown, from which it was again disjoined [k].

Secures the commerce of his subjects against the depredations of the Tunizeens.

A. D. 1314.

[f] PTOLEMÆI Luc. Annales, Vita Clement. V. apud Baluz. [g] ZURITA. [h] RAINALD, ABARCA, FERRERAS. [i] ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [k] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, FERRERAS.

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His prudent and moderate views, in favour of his people and his family.

As the affairs of this monarch were now in a very happy condition, he turned his thoughts entirely to the improvement of his dominions, providing for the welfare of his subjects, and giving what assistance was in his power to his allies. With this view, he sent his uncle Don *Ferdinand de Hijar* to mediate a peace between his brother Don *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, and his father-in-law *Charles*, king of *Naples*, and afterwards joined with the king of *Portugal* as a mediator between the two crowns [l]. He procured from pope *John* the twenty-second the approbation of the new order of *Montesa*, which he erected in the kingdom of *Valentia*, and upon which he bestowed the estates of the templars. He procured also from the same pope, the erection of *Saragossa* into an archbishopric, and compelled some of his nobility, who had taken up arms to decide their disputes, to lay them down, and to submit to the determination of the laws [m].

The very singular and extraordinary case of the infant Don Jayme.

ALL the satisfaction this great king enjoyed, from a continued series of prosperous events, was not a little disturbed by the untoward disposition and unexampled obstinacy of his eldest son, the infant Don *Jayme*, whom with great difficulty, and not without a mixture of force, the king brought to espouse Donna *Eleonora* of *Castile*, whom he quitted immediately [n]. Upon this, his father threatened him (perhaps without intending it) with the loss of his succession; to which the infant replied, that all the favour he asked was leave to renounce it [o]. *Mariana* has given us a very fine speech of the king upon this occasion, and it is very certain, that he omitted nothing that could be offered to make the young man quit this resolution. He was however inflexible. He said, he despised a life of care, and thought it not at all paid for by a crown; that he loved privacy and ease, and thought them very cheaply purchased at this expence; that he knew many bad things had been done to acquire crowns, but that he thought there was no crime in declining one, that was his indubitable right. Upon this, the king called an assembly of the states, where, on the fourteenth day of *December*, the infant Don *Jayme* freely renounced all title to the crown, and the states with his consent, and in his presence, took an oath of fealty to his brother the infant Don *Alonso* [p]. Don

[l] ZURITA, MALESPINI Hist. Florentin. [m] RAINALD, ZURITA, ABARCA. [n] Cronica del Rey Don Alonso XI. RODERIC TOLET. de rebus Hispan. FERRERAS. [o] ZURITA, ABARCA. [p] Historia general de Espana, lib. xii. ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS.

Jayme

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Jayme of his own accord assumed the habit of *Calatrava*, and soon after changed it for that of *Montesa*. His subsequent course of life shewed, that he was not without vices and follies, but ambition was not amongst the number of the former, or unsteadiness of the latter. He passed his time in his own way, and lived and died content [q]. In the same assembly of the states, *Arragon*, *Valentia* and *Catalonia* were united, and declared to be inseparable in time to come [r]. A. D. 1319.

THE next year was distinguished by another singularity in the king's family. His son, the infant Don *Juan*, being elected archbishop of *Toledo*, and that election being confirmed by the pope, he was consecrated in the presence of his father with great solemnity at *Lerida*, by Don *Ximenes de Luna*, archbishop of *Tarragona*, and Don *Pedro de Luna*, archbishop of *Saragossa*. He was no sooner in the possession of his new dignity than he began to exercise acts of primacy, upon which the two archbishops excommunicated him; the king was exceedingly offended; but when those prelates told him, that they did it to vindicate the independency of the crown of *Arragon* upon that of *Castile*, he was very much softened, and advised his son to go to his church, where this extraordinary conduct did not a little recommend him [s]. A new war having broke out between *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, and his brother-in-law *Robert*, king of *Naples*, the king of *Arragon* desired the pope to interpose, and at the same time demanded his permission to send two ships richly laden into the dominions of the infidels, to procure the liberty of multitudes of his subjects, *Arragonians* and *Catalans*, that were prisoners there, which was readily granted [t]. *The infant Don* Juan *of* Arragon *consecrated archbishop of* Toledo. 1320.

THE queen Donna *Maria* dying, the king soon after married a third time, Donna *Elizinda de Moncada* [u]. An assembly of the states being held at *Lerida*, the king laid before them his title to the island of *Sardinia*, and likewise informed them, that the inhabitants, weary of the tyranny of the *Pisans*, had pressed him to deliver them; that however, as he could do nothing without their assistance, he would not do any thing without their advice. The states answered, that he was bound in honour as a king to prosecute his right; that it was his duty to relieve the misera- *States of* Arragon *and* Catalonia *approve the expedition against* Sardinia.

[q] MARIANA; MAYERNE TURQUET. [r] ZURITA, ABARCA. [s] RAINALD, RODERIC TOLET. de rebus Hispan. ZURITA. [t] RAINALD, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS. [u] ZURITA.

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ble; and that whatever he thought reasonable to ask, they were ready to grant. Don *Sancho*, king of *Majorca*, who was present, did homage for his dominions, and offered to serve in this expedition with twenty gallies. The infant Don *Alonso* was declared admiral and commander in chief, and, having hoisted his flag in the harbour of *Barcelona*, had quickly a fleet and army sufficient for the conquests he was about to undertake [w].

Undertaken by the infant Don Alonso, conducted with prudence, and ended with success,

BUT the king was advised to delay the expedition a little, till it should be seen what favours the pope would grant him, in respect of levying money upon the clergy, and also what dependence might be placed upon the assurances he had received from some of the nobility, and many of the inhabitants of the island of *Sardinia*. In regard to the court of *Rome*, he found himself absolutely disappointed; the pope grew jealous of his power, and therefore would contribute nothing towards making him so near a neighbour. In *Sardinia* some of the nobles took up arms in favour of the king of *Arragon*, surprized several of the garrisons belonging to the *Pisans*, and, having given the highest demonstrations of their fidelity by beginning the war, pressed the king of *Arragon* not to abandon them [x]. As this was never his intention, and as his preparations had been still going on, there was nothing farther necessary than to send his orders for the prince to embark, having previously sent a small squadron, with a supply of troops and provisions, to the lords who had taken up arms. The prince sailed on the fifth of *June* with a fleet of sixty men of war and gallies, and two hundred and forty transports [y]. Upon his arriving happily in the port of *Palma*, and debarking his forces, many of the nobility and gentry came in, and acknowleged the king of *Arragon* for their sovereign; by whose advice the prince invested *Iglesias* and *Cagliari*, the two principal places in the island, at the same time. Both these places made a good defence, and the *Pisans*, on their side, used their utmost endeavours to relieve them; so that it was the seventh of *February*, in the year following, before the first of them surrendered, and the latter held out near a year, and was rendered at length upon terms, the republic of *Pisa* being to hold the city and castle as vassals to the king of *Arragon*, and to put the rest of the island into his hands [z].

A. D. 1323.

[w] ABARCA, ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [x] RAINALD, MALESPINI Hist. Florent. ZURITA. [y] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, FERRERAS. [z] MALESPINI Hist. Florent. MARIANA, FERRERAS.

THIS

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THIS treaty being carried into execution, the infant Don *Alonso* returned into his father's dominions, and landed at *Barcelona*, on the second of *August*. In his absence, and while he was dangerously ill, at the siege of *Cagliari*, his brother Don *Pedro* had prevailed upon their father to create him count of *Ribagorca* and *Ampurias* with very great solemnity, and, as some writers say, in case of Don *Alonso*'s death, he was in hopes of defeating his nephews of the succession: his father, to prevent any intrigues of this sort, gave him the command of the auxiliary troops, with which he was obliged to furnish the pope, in consideration of his grant of the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*; for, besides two thousand marks of silver, he was to send a hundred horse, and five hundred foot, to serve in the wars of the church [a]. On the arrival of Don *Pedro*, the pope remitted half of this for ten years. On the fourth of *September* died Don *Sancho*, king of *Majorca*; upon which, Don *Jayme* signified his intention to unite those islands to his other dominions; but the infant Don *Philip*, who had embraced an ecclesiastical life, having demonstrated to the king, that Don *Jayme*, the son of the infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Majorca*, was the lawful heir, and called to the succession by the will of the deceased king, the king of *Arragon* declared, that he would be as tender of another's rights as of his own, and relinquished all claim, but that of appointing the infant Don *Philip* his uncle guardian of the young prince [b]. A. D. 1324. *On the death of the king of Majorca, the king of Arragon waives his claim, out of regard to justice.*

THE fleet of *Arragon* had scarce quitted the coast of *Sardinia* before troubles broke out there; which, however, were quickly appeased. However, the potent family of *Oria*, and the marquis *de Malespini*, not finding their account, at least in the degree they expected, from this revolution, changed sides, and, in conjunction with the *Pisans*, renewed the war [c]. The king of *Arragon* sent immediately a squadron of twelve sail with a fresh body of troops into the island. The *Pisans* were no sooner informed of this, and that the castle of *Cagliari* was closely blocked up, than they fitted out a strong fleet under the command of *Gaspar Oria*; but admiral *Carroz*, with the fleet of *Arragon*, lying before the harbour of *Cagliari*, prevented their entrance, and, after a very sharp and bloody dispute, beat and dispersed them [d]. *He defeats his uncle's scheme, and procures his son to be acknowleged successor to the king.*

In *Arragon*, the king held the states general at *Saragossa*, A. D. 1325.

[a] RAINALD, ZURITA, FERRERAS. [b] RAINALD, ABARCA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [c] MALESPINI Hist. Florentin, ZURITA. [d] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, MARIANA.

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where, at the instance of the infant Don *Alonso*, his son Don *Pedro* was acknowleged heir to the crown, in case his father should die in the life-time of the king; with which his uncle Don *Pedro*, count of *Ribagorca*, was so highly offended, that he withdrew from the assembly, with all the lords of his party [e].

The king dies with very great esteem, and in possession of the hearts of his subjects.

THE infant Don *Juan*, the king's uncle, archbishop of *Toledo*, and chancellor of *Castile*, having lost the favour of the king Don *Alonso* the eleventh, and being deprived of his high office, exchanged his archbishopric for that of *Tarragona* [f]. In *Sardinia*, Don *Raymond de Paralta* and admiral *Carroz* pushed the war with so much vigour and success, that at length the *Pisans* offered to evacuate the island, which they were permitted to do, in virtue of a treaty made for that purpose. The marquis *de Malespini* and the malecontents, having now lost all support, applied themselves to the king of *Arragon*, to know what fate they were to expect: who, in return, acquainted them, that, in case they could forget their former seditious inclinations, they might depend upon the same favour and protection that was shewn to the rest of his subjects; upon which they laid down their arms, and returned to the quiet enjoyment of their estates [g]. The pope being engaged in a war against the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, the king of *Arragon* sent his son the infant Don *Pedro* with the auxiliaries that he was bound to furnish, as feudatory to the holy see for the island of *Sardinia* [h]. On the eighteenth day of *October* died Donna *Theresa*, the consort of Don *Alonso*; by whom she had three children, Don *Pedro*, Don *Jayme*, and Donna *Constantia*. Upon the last day of the same month deceased the king Don *Jayme*, surnamed very deservedly *the just*, infinitely regretted by all his subjects, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and when his glory was at its highest pitch [i].

A. D. 1326.

Don Alonso IV. succeeds his father, and espouses the infanta Leonora of Castile.

ALONSO the fourth succeeded his father with universal approbation, and was crowned with great solemnity on the feast of *Whitsunday* following, in the cathedral church of *Saragossa*, by Don *Pedro de Luna*, archbishop of that city, in the presence of the states, who were then assembled [k]. Upon this occasion, the king made many knights, and amongst them his son Don *Jayme*, whom he created count of *Urgel*.

[e] ZURITA. [f] Cronica del Rey Don Alonso XI. ABARCA. [g] MALESPINI Hist. Florentin. ZURITA, FERRERAS. [h] RAINALD. [i] ZURITA, ABARCA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [k] ZURITA.

He

He also concluded a treaty with the kings of *Tunis* and *Tremecen*, to whom he was become very formidable by his possession of *Sardinia* [l]. In the beginning of the succeeding year, he had an interview with Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, with whom he concluded a very close alliance, and, as the seal of it, espoused his sister the infanta Donna *Leonora*; and, at the close of the year, that princess was delivered of Don *Ferdinand*, whom his father created marquis of *Tortosa*, and lord of *Albarracin* [m]. In consequence of his treaty with *Castile*, he found himself obliged to take some share in the war with the *Moors*, and accordingly acted against the king of *Granada* both by land and sea; though the *Castilian* writers would persuade us, that he was a little negligent in that war, on account of his own disputes with the *Genoese* [n]. It is indeed true, that the republic of *Genoa* having excited the malecontents to take up arms, and furnished them with assistance, the king, provoked by this behaviour, entered into a war with them, which was both long and bloody; but that this did not hinder him from executing his treaty with *Castile*, appears incontestible from hence, that the king of *Granada* had no sooner concluded a truce with Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, than he marched a numerous army through *Murcia* into *Valentia*, where they wasted the whole country with fire and sword [o]. A. D. 1330.

Manages foreign affairs with great spirit, success and reputation.

THE pope and the king of *Naples* interposed with Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, in favour of the *Genoese*, who, finding their whole coast destroyed by the king's fleet, seemed desirous of putting an end to the quarrel. Don *Alonso* answered, that when they withdrew the troops they had in *Sardinia*, and gave him proper assurances that they would give no farther assistance to the rebels in that island, he would forget what was past, and live with them as friends for the future; but that, while he continued their enemy, he would endeavour to make them sensible, they had not consulted their interest in giving him offence, neither was he induced to alter his opinion by their sending a fleet of forty men of war and gallies, to ravage the coasts of *Catalonia* and *Valentia*. These afterwards made an attempt upon *Sardinia*, where they were so warmly received, that they retired with loss, as the *Moors* of *Granada* likewise did, who had made another irruption into the kingdom of *Valentia*, upon the king's advancing towards them with a numerous army: so that

[l] ABARCA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. [m] Cronica del Rey Don Alonso XI. [n] Chron. var. Antiq. [o] ZURITA, FERRERAS.

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abroad things went as well as the king could desire; and if they had remained in quiet at home, there could have been nothing left for them to wish: but the same spirit of discord that disturbs private families, in finding a passage into those of kings, excites national discontents [p].

Unhappy in his family, from what cause, and in what an high degree.

To conceive this matter clearly, it is requisite to observe, that the generosity of this monarch was so well known as to excite, soon after his accession, an application from the states to prevent his granting away any of the demesnes of the crown; which he took to be so reasonable, that he promised upon oath not to make any grants for ten years to come. This oath, his son the infant Don *Pedro* apprehended to be infringed, by his bestowing *Tortosa* and *Albarracin* on the infant Don *Ferdinand*, of which he complained loudly. On the other hand, the king declared, that when he made that oath he had no thought of precluding himself from the right of providing for his children; and, by the advice of his young queen *Leonora*, banished Don *Pedro de Luna*, archbishop of *Saragossa*, who, as she surmised, had put this into the infant's head [q]. This irritated Don *Pedro* to such a degree, that he surprized *Xativa*, which was one of the places the king had assigned Donna *Leonora* for her jointure. The queen, who was very sensible that the king's ill state of health, who was at that time very much afflicted with the dropsy, was what chiefly encouraged the infant to these excesses, applied to her brother, who refused to interfere at all during the life-time of the monarch, who had rejected the applications of Don *Juan Emanuel* and the rest of the malecontents, with great prudence and honour; but assured her, that if, upon his demise, his successor did her any injustice, she might rely upon his protection [r]. The infant, to strengthen his party, laboured, with the consent of his father, to marry the heiress of *Navarre*. This year was fatal to two princes of the royal blood, the infant Don *Juan*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, and archbishop of *Tarragona*, less distinguished by his birth and titles than by his virtues; and the infant Don *Jayme*, who, as we have before observed, preferred a private life to the splendour of a crown; and, after he made that choice, never gave any sign of dissatisfaction, or the slightest grounds of suspicion [s].

A. D. 1334.

[p] Rainald, Malespini Hist. Florentin. Zurita, Abarca, Mariana. [q] Hieronymi Blancæ, Zurita, Mariana. [r] Cronica del Rey Don Alonso. [s] Zurita, Ferreras.

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In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, the marriage of the infant Don *Pedro* was concluded by the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa* with Donna *Maria*, princeſs of *Navarre*, though it was at firſt intended he ſhould have married her eldeſt ſiſter Donna *Joanna*; but it ſeems he liked the younger better, and inſiſted upon her being declared heireſs of the kingdom, in prejudice of her elder ſiſter, who, after this affront, married the viſcount of *Roan* [t]. It was in conſideration of this marriage, that the infant engaged himſelf precipitately in favour of the people of *Navarre*, in the invaſion they made upon *Caſtile*, where he received that chaſtiſement that was due to his folly, as we have ſhewn in its proper place. The king, Don *Alonſo* of *Arragon*, made this year a tour into *Valentia*, in hopes the air of that country might have contributed to his recovery; and, while he was there, he received ambaſſadors from the king of *Granada*, with whom he concluded a peace [u]. The war in *Sardinia* ſtill ſubſiſted, and, in its conſequences, had created ſome diſputes between the crown of *Arragon* and the pope; the king inſiſting, on the one ſide, to be releaſed from the tribute he paid for the iſland of *Sardinia*, ſince the whole of it was not in his poſſeſſion; and the pope complaining, that the admiral of *Arragon* had acted to the prejudice of *Robert*, king of *Naples* [w]. Don *Juan Emanuel* threw himſelf, at this time, upon the king's protection, who, though he would give him no aſſiſtance towards the execution of his project, did not think fit to deny him a retreat in his dominions, out of reſpect to his birth. The care of his phyſicians, and the mild climate of *Valentia*, proving ineffectual for the king's relief, he departed this life on the twenty-fourth of *January*, one thouſand three hundred and thirty-ſix, in the ninth year of his reign, having merited, by the gentleneſs of his adminiſtration, the ſurname of *the kind* [x].

Dies with the ſincere affection of his ſubjects, and highly reſpected by his allies.

A. D. 1335.

Don *Pedro* the fourth felt all the cares and anxieties of royalty, from the moment he became a king. The queen his mother-in-law, Donna *Leonora*, with the aſſiſtance of Don *Pedro Exerica*, and ſome other perſons of quality, took the neceſſary meaſures to provide for the ſecurity of herſelf and her children, though, at the ſame time, ſhe wrote in very plauſible terms to the king [y]. The inhabitants of *Catalonia*

Don Pedro IV. ſucceeds his father, and meets with much diſcord and trouble.

[t] P. Moret. Abarca. [u] Roderic Tolet. de Rebus Hiſpan. Zurita. [w] Rainaid, Maleſpini Hiſt. Florent. Abarca. [x] Hieronymi Blancæ, Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [y] Zurita.

preſſed

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preſſed Don *Pedro*, with great importunity, to make a tour into that country, and to confirm their privileges before he was crowned; while the people of *Arragon*, on the other hand, inſiſted, that he ſhould follow the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, aſſemble the ſtates, and confirm their privileges at his coronation. He judged it, after mature deliberation, more convenient to comply with their deſires, and accordingly he was crowned on *Eaſter*-day in the cathedral of *Saragoſſa*; or rather he crowned himſelf, for the only two *Catalan* lords who remained with him adviſed him to this expedient, that the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*'s placing the crown upon his head might not be urged as an argument that he held *Arragon*, as well as *Sardinia*, as vaſſal to the pope [z]. Immediately after his coronation, the people of *Valentia* intreated him to come thither, and to confirm their privileges; but he thought it more expedient to go to *Lerida*, where, after he had done all that was expected from him, the prelates and lords of *Catalonia* did homage, and ſwore fidelity [a]. As the king of *Caſtile* preſſed him to confirm his father's grants to the queen and her children, he gave him only general anſwers, inſinuating, that he was deſirous of living upon good terms with the queen his mother-in-law, and of providing for his brethren; but that, if his father's grants were exorbitant, he could not acquieſce under them, without prejudice to his ſubjects [b]. The ſtates general of his dominions approved of his conduct, and declared the eſtates of Don *Pedro Exerica* forfeited. The king, however, ſent commiſſioners to Don *Pedro* to ſummon him to return to his duty, whom he received with great reſpect, and ſubmitted to all their demands; but, upon the appearance of a body of *Caſtilian* horſe, he delivered them into their hands, notwithſtanding he had given them a ſafe conduct [c]. The king of *Arragon* immediately entered into a treaty with Don *Juan Emanuel*, and the malecontents of *Caſtile*, upon which enſued a war between the two kingdoms [d].

Compromiſes all differences with his mother-in-

THE queen-dowager Donna *Leonora*, having applied to pope *Benedict* the twelfth, he acted, upon that occaſion, in a manner very ſuitable to his character; he ſollicited the kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* to lay aſide hoſtilities, and to

[z] ABARCA, FERRERAS. [a] ZURITA. [b] Cronica del Rey Don Alonſo, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. [c] ZURITA, RODERIC TOLET. de rebus Hiſpan. LUC. TUDENſ. Chron. [d] ABARCA, FERRERAS.

reſume

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resume the milder method of negotiation. He represented to the latter, that since he considered his father's grant to be exorbitant, it would be best to refer that to the states, concluding his interposition with a stroke of his papal authority, requiring the archbishop of *Saragossa* to come to *Rome*, to answer for a behaviour so unworthy in a Christian prelate, as that with which he was charged, of fomenting disputes in the royal family [e]. The kings submitted to the pope's advice; and Don *Juan Emanuel*, being reconciled to his sovereign; was appointed plenipotentiary for the queen-dowager; the king, on the other hand, made choice of his uncle the infant Don *Pedro*; and, upon a conference held in the presence of the pope's legates, the arbitrators agreed, the king should receive Don *Pedro Exerica* into his favour; that the king of *Castile* should release the viscount of *Cabrera*, and other lords of *Aragon*, who were prisoners in his dominions; that the queen-dowager should be put in possession of all the places assigned her by the late king, without prejudice to the authority of the reigning prince; and that the infants Don *Ferdinand* and Don *Juan* should likewise be put in possession of their appennages; but that the king might give an equivalent for the latter, if he thought fit. These articles were ratified by the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon*; and this troublesome affair ended, the two monarchs entered into a close alliance against the *Moors*, who threatened both their kingdoms with an invasion, both by land and sea from *Granada* and *Morocco* [f]. *how Donna Leonora of Castile.* A. D. 1338.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the queen Donna *Leonora* returned to court, where she was exceedingly well received, and had the generosity to pardon the archbishop of *Saragossa* all the injuries he had done her, though she knew he had prevailed upon the deputies of that city to protest against the last agreement [g]. The king of *Majorca* having deferred doing homage for his dominions, the king Don *Pedro* assigned him a day for that purpose; and tho' he laboured to have the time prolonged, yet, in the end, he was forced to submit [h]. The king of *Aragon* went in person soon after to *Avignon*, to do homage to the pope for the kingdom of *Sardinia*; and being accompanied at his public entry by the king of *Majorca*, a very unlucky accident happened. The lord, who led the king of *Aragon*'s horse, suffering *First rise of the quarrels between the kings of Aragon and Majorca.*

[e] Rainald, Zurita, Ferreras. [f] Cronica del Rey Don Alonso, Zurita, Abarca, Rainald, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [g] Hieronymi Blancæ, Ferreras. [h] Zurita.

him

him to go a little too quick, he, who performed the same office to the king of *Majorca*, struck both the horse and the man: upon which the king of *Arragon* laid his hand upon his sword; but his uncle Don *Pedro* interposing things went no farther [i]. The fleet of *Arragon* served with great reputation this year against the *Moors*, but the admiral who commanded it had the misfortune to be killed at the siege of *Algezira*, to the great mortification of the king of *Castile* as well as of his master [k]. The precautions taken by Don *Pedro* in repairing and fortifying all the strong places in *Valentia*, and the keeping a stout squadron upon the coast, prevented, or rather put it out of the power of, the king of *Morocco* to execute the invasion that he intended: so that the young monarch raised a high reputation, which however was chiefly owing to the prudent councils of his uncle Don *Pedro*, who managed the great influence he had over him entirely to the benefit of his subjects, and the honour of the crown [l].

The pope presses the king and archbishops of Arragon *to drive out the* Moors *and* Jews.

THE pope being well informed, that the reason why the king of *Arragon* was so exceedingly apprehensive of the *Moors* making a descent in his dominions, was the number of *Mohammedans* and *Jews* that inhabited *Valentia*, wrote to him in very pressing terms to drive them all out, and sent briefs upon the same subject to the archbishops of *Tarragona* and *Saragossa*; but the king, who knew that a great part of his revenue arose from the industry of the one, and the commerce of the other, was in no great hurry to pursue this ecclesiastical advice, but chose rather to reap the benefit of their stay, and to guard as well as he could against the inconveniencies attending it [m]. The people of *Corsica*, perceiving that the lords in *Sardinia*, who had embraced the party of the crown of *Arragon*, were infinitely more at ease than themselves, began to wish they were under the same sovereign; and *Hugo Cortingo* and *Lope Cinerecha*, who were the principal persons in that island, dispatched the bishop of *Aleria* to assure him that if he would but afford them the countenance of a fleet they would revolt, and put the island into his hands; but Don *Pedro* had at that time so many things to attend, that he gave these lords a fair answer, yet did not accept of their proposal [n]. However, he sent his uncle Don *Sancho* to *Rome*, to sollicit a grant of the tenths of the clergy for three years, in consideration of his war

A. D. 1310.

[i] RAINALD, ABARCA, MARIANA. [k] ZURITA. [l] ABARCA, FERRERAS, &c. [m] RAINALD. [n] ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ.

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againſt the *Moors*, and to remit the tribute of the iſland of *Sardinia*, ſince he did not receive ſo much out of its revenues [o].

The king of Arragon determines to diſpoſſeſs the king of Majorca of his dominions.

His ſpleen againſt Don *Jayme*, king of *Majorca*, roſe ſo high, that, notwithſtanding that monarch had married his ſiſter, he reſolved to diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions, which ſeemed a work of no great difficulty, ſince, by a very unſeaſonable affectation of independency, he had drawn upon himſelf the arms of the king of *France*, and was already ſtripped of moſt of the countries he held in that kingdom, and had taxed his ſubjects in the iſlands ſo high, that they ſollicited the king of *Arragon* to take them under his protection [p]. According to ſome writers, the king of *Arragon* had been inſtrumental in exciting his brother-in-law to refuſe homage to the *French* king, on purpoſe to bring him into difficulties; and indeed there is great reaſon to believe, that what they have delivered on this ſubject is true. For, in the midſt of his diſtreſs, and when he was daily ſolliciting relief, he ſummoned him to appear, in the aſſembly of the ſtates of *Barcelona*, to anſwer for the non-payment of tribute, for preſuming to enter into a war with *France* without his permiſſion, and for coining money, which, as his feudatory, he had no right to do. About the ſame time, he ſent his brother Don *Jayme* to fetch over the queen of *Majorca* his ſiſter; and that unfortunate monarch her huſband, ſeeing plainly that his ruin was deſigned, in a high fit of reſentment began firſt: He renounced his homage to Don *Pedro*, proclaimed war againſt him, challenged him, and ſeized all the merchandize belonging to his ſubjects that were in his dominions [q]. Don *Pedro*, who expected all this, withdrew his fleet from the coaſt of *Caſtile*, where it had performed great things, and took all his meaſures with ſuch an air of incertainty and trouble, as if he had been apprehenſive of danger from a prince, whom he was contriving to diſpoſſeſs of all his dominions, and made no doubt of performing it in a ſingle campaign. We ſhall be obliged to mention theſe tranſactions again in another place, and ſhall therefore run over the capital points briefly here.

A. D. 1341.

1342.

Executes his ſcheme with great vivacity and inex-

The ſituation of things in *Europe*, at that time, put it fully in the power of the king of *Arragon* to execute all he intended, with the ſame eaſe and promptitude with which it had been contrived; and he went through every ſtep of it

[o] Rainald, Ferreras. [p] Zurita, Abarca. [q] Hieronymi Blancæ, Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

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tinguiſhable reſentment.

with the ſame ſtern unrelenting ſeverity that he had ſhewn in his firſt proceedings. He began by declaring roundly on the eighteenth of *February* at *Barcelona*, that the king of *Majorca* ſtood deprived, for his contumacy and rebellion, of all his dominions; and, at the ſame time he made this declaration, he ordered his brother to fall with a ſtrong corps of troops into *Rouſſillon* [r]. He embarked in perſon on board his fleet with fifteen thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, and with this force he debarked in *Majorca*, on the twenty-fifth of *May*. The king Don *Jayme* had a conſiderable body of troops in good order, with which he thought it very practicable, either to have prevented Don *Pedro*'s landing, or with ſome advantage to have given him battle after he was landed. But alas! he was very little acquainted with his own circumſtances; ſince no ſooner was Don *Pedro* in the field, and in a condition to act, but, according to the aſſurances they had given, the whole, or at leaſt the far greateſt part, of the king of *Majorca*'s army deſerted; ſo that he was forced, in a week's time, to embark with a few faithful friends on board a ſmall ſhip, which landed him ſafely in *France* [s]. Don *Pedro*, on the other hand, made a ſolemn and ſplendid entry into the capital, and promiſed the inhabitants, that their iſland ſhould never be detached from the dominions of *Arragon* more; and having left a force ſufficient to ſecure that, and reduce the two other iſlands of *Minorca* and *Yvica*, he returned into his own territories, fully determined to ſtrip this miſerable prince of the poor remains he had ſtill left [t]: in which he made a conſiderable progreſs the ſame year; but, at the requeſt of the pope's legate, towards the cloſe of it, he conſented to a truce for eight months. This ſeemed to be the effects of pity, but proceeded in reality from policy; for his funds being exhauſted, he was obliged to put his army into winter quarters [u].

A. D. 1343.

1344.

Shews no pity for that monarch, when he came and ſubmitted to his mercy.

As ſoon as the truce expired, which was in the month of *May* following, without paying the leaſt attention to the interpoſition of the pope and other Chriſtian princes, he reſumed the war with ſuch rigour, and with ſo great a ſuperiority, that the unfortunate king of *Majorca*, who had ſhut himſelf up in *Perpignan*, finding it impoſſible to make any reſiſtance, had recourſe to his clemency; and, being introduced into his preſence by Don *Pedro Exerica*, bending one knee to the ground, he humbly acknowleged his indiſcretion, and beſought him to remember, that he was a king, a prince

[r] Zurita. [s] Mezeray, Mariana. [t] Zurita, Abarca. [u] Rainald.

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of his own blood, his brother-in-law, and that his children were his nephews. To which Don *Pedro* very drily answered, that, upon the surrender of *Perpignan*, he might merit his pity. It was accordingly surrendered, and the king of *Arragon* made his public entry into it, on the sixteenth of *July*; and, on the twenty-second of the same month, he published an edict, by which the county of *Rousillon*, and all the states dependent upon it, were re-united for ever to the crown of *Arragon* [w]. He carried his vengeance still farther; under pretence of expressing his pity, he declared, that if the unfortunate Don *Jayme* would lay aside the title of king, he would allow him an annuity of ten thousand livres *per annum*, and permit him to enjoy some estates he had still left in *France*, which, as he foresaw, drove that undone prince into despair. All that was left in his power was, to express his rage against the king of *Arragon* in the roughest terms, and the companions of his ill fortune threw out reproaches of the same kind against Don *Pedro Exerica*, which however were very ill founded, and had like to have been attended with very fatal consequences: at length, not knowing where to hide his head, the count of *Foix* generously afforded him a retreat, which gave the king of *Arragon* infinite disquiet [x].

Softens the pope and the crown of France, in the business of the king of Majorca.

THE pope and the king of *France* made still some shew of soliciting, in favour of the dethroned king. But Don *Pedro* was a thorough politician, took his measures so well, rendered himself so formidable, and applied his presents and his promises with such propriety, that he quieted *Clement* the sixth [y]; and by proposing a marriage between his daughter and the grandson of the *French* king, he stopped all solicitations from that quarter [z]. He discovered some inclination to revive his disputes with the queen-dowager, and his brothers; but Don *Alonso* of *Castile* sustained their interests in a very different manner from that which had been shewn by the pretended friends of the king of *Majorca*; upon which, as his interest directed, Don *Pedro* thought fit to desist [a]. He was now become odious, but, at the same time, terrible to his neighbours: however, the *Genoese* and the *Pisans* were in great hopes, with the assistance of some exiled malecontents, to have it in their power to expell his forces out of *Sardinia*. A. D. 1345.

Defeats the schemes of the Ge-

THE scheme was well laid, and, in all probability, would have had its effect, but Don *Pedro*'s politics dissipated the

[w] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [x] MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MEZERAY. [y] RAINALD. [z] ZURITA, MEZERAY.
[a] RODERIC TOLET. de rebus Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

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noese *and* Pisans *upon the island of* Sardinia.

storm; he made a strict alliance with the *Venetians*, which gave him a superiority at sea, and, as if it had been the pure effects of clemency, he granted a pardon without restrictions, and restored all the exiles to their estates, so that of conspirators they became courtiers in an instant: and thus the schemes of the two republics were absolutely defeated [b]. The constant success that had attended his negotiations and his arms, cherished that ambition, which was natural to Don *Pedro*, and encouraged him to believe, that he might execute without difficulty what none of his predecessors durst have attempted. He had already awed the states into many things, and he resolved to exert his utmost policy and power to procure their concurrence in a measure, which he knew the best part of them must consider as directly contrary to the constitution: a thing hitherto unpractised in *Arragon*, where preceding kings had made the protection of the public liberty the ruling maxim of their administrations.

A. D. 1346.

Forms a design of altering the succession in favour of the infantas his daughters.

We have before observed, that in his marriage with the infanta Donna *Maria* of *Navarre*, he had stipulated an infraction of the rule of succession in that kingdom; and as he had by this princess three daughters, the infantas *Constantia*, *Johanna*, and *Maria*, he determined to set aside his brothers, and to engage the states to entail his whole dominions upon the infanta Donna *Constantia*. The first step he took, in order to this, was to establish a commission of twenty-two divines and civil lawyers, and of these nineteen declared the king's proposition to be conformable to the laws of *Arragon* [c]. *Ferreras*, and some other writers, seem to be also of this opinion; but the ablest and most learned of the historians of *Arragon* are of the other side [d]. It is not our business to interfere in this dispute, but it is our duty to report facts, and this, which is before us, makes it evident, that the rule of succession in *Arragon* was otherwise; for, if it had not, the king stood in no need of a new law, but might have trusted the succession to the regulation of the states upon his demise. On the other hand, the infant Don *Jayme*, who conceived himself to be exceedingly injured by this disposition, associated the principal nobility of *Arragon*, who charged the king with violating their privileges in many particulars, in that kind of confederacy to which they gave the name of *the union*, and declared himself their head;

A. D. 1347.

[b] Zurita, Abarca, Berreras. [c] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV. [d] Historia de Espana, sec. xiii. Zurita, Hieronymi Blancæ.

upon

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upon which the king deprived him of his post of lieutenant general of the kingdom of *Valentia*, forbid him to enter that city upon any pretence, and extended this prohibition also to *Barcelona*, *Lerida*, and *Saragossa* [e]. In this situation of things, an event happened that might have changed the face of them entirely, which was, the queen Donna *Maria*'s being brought to bed at *Valentia* of a son, but this young prince died the same day, and, on the fifth day after, his mother also expired [f].

THE king Don *Pedro* having information that the queen dowager had proposed to the court of *Portugal* a marriage between her son the infant Don *Ferdinand*, and the infanta Donna *Leonora*, he dispatched a minister of his to *Lisbon*, to sollicit that princess for himself, in which, by the help of an infinity of intrigues, he prevailed [g]. The dethroned king of *Majorca* made an attempt upon that country, but without effect; the same spirit that had driven him out, inducing the people to keep him out; so that, with a few forces he brought with him, he was forced to embark again, and retire into *France* [h]. The news of this invasion, and of his brother Don *Jayme*'s being invited by the nobility and people to *Saragossa*, in quality of head of the league, induced the king Don *Pedro* to go into *Catalonia* to keep that country quiet. He had no sooner quitted *Valentia* than the nobility and people of that kingdom likewise formed a union, of which they made the infant Don *Ferdinand* chief. Don *Pedro*, soon after his arrival at *Barcelona*, dispatched an able minister to the court of *Castile* to dissuade the king from entertaining any correspondence with the union of *Arragon*, assuring him he would consider his sister the queen-dowager's interest as his own, provided he would give no assistance to that assembly, which the king readily promised; but, at the same time, allowed the infant Don *Ferdinand* to raise eight hundred men in his dominions [i]. On the other hand, Don *Pedro* licensed *Michael Perez Zapata* to become a mighty warm patriot, that, by insinuating himself with the principal persons engaged in the union, he might either bring them into the king's measures, or raise disputes among themselves; but, for the present, this project likewise failed. The king was on the point of quitting *Catalonia*, when he understood that the king of *Majorca*, with a small body of troops, had penetrated into *Rousillon*. Upon this he marched thi-

His brother Don Jayme *revives against him the union of* Arragon.

[e] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV. MARIANA, FERRERAS. [f] ZURITA, ABARCA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [g] EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA BRANDAON, ABARCA. [h] MEZERAY, FERRERAS. [i] Chronica del Rey Don Alonso X. ZURITA.

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ther, attacked, and defeated him; and, having provided for the security of that country, returned into *Arragon*, where he found himself obliged by the union to call an assembly of the states at *Saragossa* [k].

He is constrained to call an assembly of the states, and to make therein great concessions.

He saw clearly, that he should be obliged to make many concessions; and therefore, the day before the states met, he privately made a protest, that whatever acts he did or signed in that assembly were null and void, as being against his opinion, and under compulsion. Fortified with this unkingly evasion he met the states, made them a long artful disingenuous speech, and heard very patiently all the disagreeable things they had to say; for without scruple they told him to his face, that his reign had been hitherto a continued series of breaches upon their constitution; that, by bestowing public employments upon bad men, he had made the people of *Arragon* pay the wages of those who laboured for their destruction; that, for the future therefore, he must think of governing by law; of removing these dangerous people from about his person; and of receiving his ministers, governors, and generals upon the recommendation of the states: which, if he hesitated to do, they would elect a new king. He seemed to take no offence at this, but contented himself with observing, that it was improper for persons in such an assembly to come armed; which he did in favour of his own partizans, who were afraid of declaring themselves upon that account: the assembly thereupon made an order, that for the future none should appear armed in their debates. The king, now secure of a party, came the next day, and falling upon his brother Don *Jayme*, in a set speech told him, he was an unnatural and perfidious rebel, and his associates traitors. The infant excused himself very modestly, hinted at the services he had done his country, which, he said, were overpaid by the honour they had done him in electing him head of the union; but some of the members who were near the door opened it, and exclaimed, that the king had violated the privileges of the states, and that it was doubtful whether their lives were secure. Upon which, a multitude of people armed burst in, and the king was indebted to his brother, and the chiefs of the malecontents, that he went away alive [l].

Poisons his brother at Barcelo-

The infant, and some of the principal nobility, attended him to *Barcelona*, where the queen was expected, and

[k] Hieronymi Blancæ, Abarca, Mariana. [l] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro X. Zurita, Abarca, Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

where,

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where, while they waited for her, an apoplexy was so complaisant as to remove Don *Jayme*; which has induced the historians of *Arragon* to assert, that it was of the king's procuring [m]. It did not however contribute much to his advantage, since, while his marriage was celebrating with pomp and magnificence at *Barcelona*, Don *Ferdinand* was making a great progress, by force of arms, in the kingdom of *Valentia*, and, from his success there, was declared also head of the union of *Arragon*; into which kingdom he sent his brother Don *Juan* to supply his place [n]. In *Sardinia* also most of the great families had rebelled; upon which the king sent *Hugo Cervelon* with a supply to his brother the viceroy, which proved fatal to them both; for engaging the malecontents precipitately, they were, together with the viceroy's son, and all the *Arragonian* cavalry, cut to pieces [o]. *na, and marries Donna Leonora of Portugal.*

THE next year was still more fruitful of great events; indeed, there have seldom happened, in the same compass of time, so many extraordinary transactions in any kingdom. The union of *Valentia* went on raising troops, and the union of *Barcelona*, according to the league that was between them, sent a considerable reinforcement, under the command of Don *Ximenez de Urrea* and Don *Lope de Luna*, which last was privately in the king's interest, and, by picking a quarrel with his associates, debauched the best part of the troops, and defeated the service [p]. However, the infant Don *Ferdinand* was so well beloved, and the cause was so popular in *Valentia*, that he suffered nothing by this accident, but found himself very soon at the head of fifty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The king Don *Pedro*, who was at *Morviedro*, with a very small party, being apprehensive of his safety, judged it expedient to fortify the place, which occasioned a general insurrection of its inhabitants, who intended to have put to death the king's chief counsellors and favourites, but that they secured themselves by a timely retreat, and left the king to take care of himself. He pacified the people, by assuring them, that he sought only his own preservation; upon which they judged it best for him and for them, to conduct him with the queen to *Valentia*, where they were received with great respect [q]. In the mean time, the king laboured to bring off his brother the infant Don *Ferdinand*, by proposing to declare him lieutenant general of *In great danger from the confederates, stilled the union in Valentia.* A. D. 1348.

[m] ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. [n] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV. [o] ZURITA, MARIANA. [p] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV. [q] ZURITA, ABARCA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS.

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his own dominions, and his ſucceſſor, in caſe he died without iſſue male; but the infant anſwered very firmly, that betraying the truſt his country had repoſed in him, was not the proper way to merit a crown[r]. Don *Pedro* then demanded of the king of *Caſtile* leave to levy ſome horſe in his dominions, which, becauſe it could not be decently refuſed, and was thought of no great conſequence, was granted; and accordingly Don *Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz*, who was related to Don *Lope de Luna*, raiſed, for Don *Pedro*'s ſervice, ſix hundred *Caſtilian* horſe.

The confederates in Arragon *entirely defeated, and* Saragoſſa *taken by Don* Pedro.

By the ill conduct of the king's favourites, a ſedition was excited in *Valentia*; the populace beſieging the palace, and threatening Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, and Don *Berenger de Arbella* with death. The king, though a prince of great courage, was in much confuſion; but Don *Pedro de Moncado* adviſing him to go out with arms in his hand, and aſſuring him, that his preſence would diſperſe the populace, he ventured upon that dangerous experiment, and, meeting with ſucceſs, never apprehended any thing from popular tumults after[s]. His favourites, in the mean time, fled to *Barcelona*, and procuring an addreſs from thence to the king, he followed them[t]. The union of *Arragon* being perſuaded, that the king was aſſembling troops againſt them, ſollicited the infant Don *Ferdinand* to diſperſe them, which he very gallantly attempted; but through the unexpected junction of Don *Lope de Luna* with his forces, and thoſe commanded by Don *Alvaro de Garcia Albornoz*, the forces of the union were defeated, the infant wounded, and taken priſoner, but, as it fell out very luckily for him, by the *Caſtilians*, who treated him with great reſpect, and amongſt whom his perſon was in ſafety[u]. Don *Pedro* declared Don *Lope*, count *de Luna*, the firſt ſubject in *Arragon*, who had this title, and upon this victory marched directly to *Saragoſſa*, where he declared null and void the conceſſions he had made to the union; and, after having put the whole city in the utmoſt fear, executed thirteen of the principal perſons in it; and thus, by a ſingle miſcarriage, the union of *Arragon* was diſſipated[w].

A like fate attends the union in Valentia.

This ſcarce appeared any thing in the view of that high-ſpirited prince, ſince the union of *Valentia* ſtill ſubſiſted; and, notwithſtanding what had happened at *Saragoſſa*, made

[r] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV. Mariana. [s] Zurita, Abarca, Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. [t] Zurita, Abarca. [u] Roderic Toletan. de rebus Hiſpan. Luc. Tudenſ. Chron. [w] Chron. de Don Pedro IV.

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no overtures of ſubmiſſion. The next point, therefore, was to ſubdue them; to which the king marched with his victorious army. The quarrel was decided by a battle, in which the nobility of *Arragon* behaved very gallantly, and thoſe of *Valentia* with all the fury that could be inſpired by deſpair; ſo that, in the event they were rather butchered than beat: ſince nothing, but the loſs of their troops, could have loſt the battle; which left the beſt part of the kingdom, and the capital, wholly at the king's mercy [x]. In the firſt tranſport of his rage, he talked of giving it to the pillage of his ſoldiers, burning it to the ground, and ſowing it with ſalt; but ſome of the lords that were about him moderated his paſſion, and hindered him from committing theſe exceſſes. However, he entered *Valentia* as a conqueror, ſacrificed numbers of better men than himſelf to his ambition; and, as at *Saragoſſa* ſo here, he called for the roll of his conceſſions to the union, and deſtroyed it with his own hand [y]: forgetting, that the promiſes of a king are ſacred, and that he becomes *ipſo facto* a tyrant, who profeſſes, that he borrows his authority from force. Don *Alonſo* of *Caſtile* interceeded with him in favour of his brother Don *Ferdinand*, and queen *Leonora*, offering to conclude a marriage between his ſon Don *Henry*, and one of the infantas of *Arragon*: Don *Pedro* anſwered, that the queen-dowager had intrigued, and Don *Ferdinand* fought againſt him; ſo that they had no favours to expect: but as the one had been his father's wife, and the other his father's ſon, they ſhould peaceably enjoy what he had left them. In regard to the marriage, if he would reſtore him the kingdom of *Murcia*, and hold no correſpondence with his malecontents, he was willing it ſhould take effect [z].

all things being at the king's mercy.

THE king had made *Rimbao de Corbera* viceroy of *Sardinia*, and he could not have confided that iſland to a perſon of greater courage or capacity. He quickly repaired the loſſes which his predeceſſors had ſuſtained, and put things upon a right foot. But the *Genoeſa* having gained a great victory over the combined fleets of the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, the king of *Arragon*, and the republic of *Venice*, and beginning to make a great naval armament, the viceroy came himſelf to *Barcelona*, to obtain a proportionable ſupply of ſhips and men, which the king his maſter readily furniſhed [a]. About the time he put to ſea, in his return to *Sar-*

The invaſion of Majorca *by the dethroned king, who is killed fighting bravely.*

A. D. 1349.

[x] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
[y] Chron. de Don Pedro IV. [z] Chronica del Rey Don Alonſo XI. [a] Chronica de Don Pedro IV.

dinia,

dinia, there came intelligence, that the king of *Majorca* with his fleet and army was very likely to intercept him; upon which he debarked his forces in *Majorca*, where Don *Jayme* quickly after landed; and, upon *Sunday* the twenty-fifth of *October*, was defeated, or rather oppressed by numbers, and fighting courageously, refusing quarter, was slain [b]. His only son *Jayme*, after receiving a grievous wound in the face, was made prisoner, and carried by the admiral of *Arragon*, Don *Pedro de Moncada*, to his uncle, who received him graciously, and sent him to reside at *Barcelona*, ordering his father's body to be brought over, and buried in the cathedral church of *Valentia* [c]. The viceroy of *Sardinia*, after the defeat of the king of *Majorca*, re-imbarked his troops, and, upon his arrival in that island, settled every thing to the king's satisfaction.

Don Pedro causes the pope's legate to be hung up by the heels.

HOWEVER, Don *Pedro* considering that it lay at a distance, and that whenever disturbances happened there, it gave him no small trouble, he signified to the malecontent lords, that if any thing could induce them to be quiet, he was inclined to do for them what they could desire; which, for the present, brought things into order [d]. The pope's legate *Bernard Alanis*, canon of the church of *Valentia*, having excommunicated some persons of high quality for not paying some ecclesiastical dues, the king commanded him to absolve them, and, upon his refusal, sent both him and his father to prison; which having no effect upon the legate, he ordered a gibbet to be erected upon the castle wall, and the legate to be hung up there by the feet, with an assurance, that if he did not do what the king directed, the rope should be cut, and he left to tumble down the rocks; but the canon having hung some time desired to be taken down, and did as the king desired [e]. The pope, as it might be well expected, took fire at this, and threatened the monarch of *Arragon* with all the thunder of the church; but the pope being poor, and the king rich and great, an embassy to *Avignon*, and a few good words, pacified all [f]. On the twenty-seventh of *December*, Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Arragon*, was brought to bed of the infant Don *Juan*, to whom at his birth the king gave the title of duke of *Gironne*; which, in succeeding times, became the title of course of the eldest sons of the kings of *Arragon* [g]. He renewed likewise his al-

A. D. 1350.

1351.

[b] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [c] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, MARIANA. [d] Chronica de Don Pedro IV. [e] ZURITA, ABARCA. [f] RAINALD, MAYERNE TURQUET. [g] Chronica de Don Pedro IV.

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liance with Don *Pedro* the cruel of *Caſtile*, and terminated, by a treaty with the crown of *France*, all points in difference about the territories formerly belonging to the king of *Majorca* [h]. He likewiſe concluded a new treaty with the *Venetians* againſt the *Genoeſe*, and, the civil war being again broke out in *Sardinia*, he ſent a ſtout fleet to the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects, and of his allies. A. D. 1352.

THAT war becoming daily more ſerious, the king went into *Catalonia*, to hold an aſſembly of the ſtates, where he demanded a very large ſupply, which was granted him, and having, in return, appointed Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, at the requeſt of the ſtates, general and commander in chief, he, to oblige them the more, gave him the county of *Bas* [i]. At the time of the arrival of the count, Don *Bernard* the viceroy was employed in the ſiege of *Algieri*; to ſuccour which place, the *Genoeſe* ſent a fleet of five large men of war, and fifty gallies, under the command of *Antonio Grimaldi*, one of the beſt officers in their ſervice. Upon this, the count Don *Bernard* quitted the ſiege, and, with the *Venetian* admiral *Nicolo Piſano*, who brought with him twenty gallies, went to offer the enemy battle. The *Genoeſe*, proud of their former naval victory, did not decline it, and on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt* the fleets engaged with great fury and obſtinacy on both ſides. Some ſay, that the *Venetian* and *Catalonian* gallies were not only intermixed but chained together; however that might be, there is nothing more certain than that this was one of the hardeſt fought battles in thoſe times; but, in the end, the confederates gained a complete victory, the *Genoeſe* loſing no leſs than eight thouſand men, amongſt whom were many of their principal nobility, thirty-three gallies, and three thouſand two hundred priſoners; on the part of the *Catalans*, three hundred and fifty men were killed, and two thouſand wounded [k]. After this glorious ſucceſs, Don *Bernard* returned to the ſiege of *Algieri*, which, having no farther ſaccours to expect, ſurrendered upon terms, all the malecontents being allowed to march out, except *Fabian Doria*, whoſe head was ſtruck off the next day [l]. *His fleet, in conjunction with the* Venetian, *defeats the naval force of* Genoa.

THE *Genoeſe* were under ſuch a conſternation at this defeat, that they ſubmitted themſelves to the duke of *Milan*; and, being very deſirous to keep the war at a diſtance, partly *Reſolves to go in perſon to put*

[h] Chronica del Roy Don Pedro de Pedro Lopez de Ayala; MEZERAY, ZURITA. [i] Chronica de Don Pedro IV. [k] ZURITA, ABARCA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [l] ZURITA.

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an end to the war in Sardinia.

by money, partly by fair promises, excited a general insurrection in *Sardinia*, when the count Don *Cabrera* was on the very point of returning home. He debarked his troops again, and, having joined them with those of the viceroy, marched against the rebels, and gained a complete victory. However, finding that the *Genoese* had sent over a fresh supply of money and men, and were preparing a formidable fleet, he judged it expedient to return to *Barcelona* with his vessels, which stood in need of repair, in order to make a full report to the king of the situation things were in, and to explain to him the necessity of his going into *Sardinia* in person, if he judged the reduction of that island necessary to his glory, and the safety of his dominions [m]. On his arrival, he found the king was at *Valentia*; upon which he went thither, was very graciously received, his plan being approved, and himself sent back to *Barcelona* to assemble a fleet fit for such an expedition. In the mean time, the king went to each of the great cities in his dominions, and demanded contributions for the war, which were very chearfully and readily granted him [n]. In this progress, the king had a hint given him, that himself, and all his predecessors, had been extremely wanting to their own glory, and to the welfare of their subjects, in not erecting any where a public seminary for learning: of which he was so fully convinced, that, notwithstanding the pressing conjuncture of his affairs, he thought fit to found instantly a university at *Huesca*, which has since produced men of eminence in all kinds of learning [o].

A. D. 1353.

His expedition attended upon the whole with very indifferent success.

ALL the necessary preparations for the king's expedition being made, he went first to *Barcelona*, and from thence to *Roses*, where he embarked with the queen, and some of the principal nobility of his dominions, on the fifteenth of *June*. His army consisted of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, his fleet of twenty-one sail of capital ships, and a hundred gallies; which sufficiently explains the great power of this monarch at sea, and how much it had been augmented in a short time. Upon his arrival, he found *Algieri* again in the hands of the rebels, and the *Genoese*; upon which he determined to besiege it by land and sea [p]. The *Genoese*, on the other hand, attempted to relieve it by a fleet, but desisted from their project, finding it impracticable. The judge of *Arborea*, who was at the head of the malecontents, was

[m] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV. [n] ZURITA, ABARCA, FERRERAS. [o] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ZURITA, ABARCA. [p] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

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more successful; for understanding that the king's army suffered much from an epidemic distemper, and that himself was retired to *Cagliari* much indisposed, he marched by land to its relief, with twenty thousand men: upon which Don *Pedro Exerica* and Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, who commanded the siege, entered into a treaty with the judge, and, by granting him large terms for himself, induced him to abandon the *Genoese*. It was with some difficulty that the king was brought to consent to this, but, at length, having ratified the treaty, which he never intended to execute, the town, on the nineteenth of *September*, was put into his hands, and he caused it to be peopled immediately by his own subjects [q]. The next year, the king called an assembly of the states of this island at *Cagliari*, which instead of contributing, as he expected, to the pacification of the quarrels that had lasted so long, produced an unanimity of another kind, the issue of which was a general insurrection. His troops, however, had the good fortune to defeat the rebels in a general engagement; upon which, leaving the best part of his army behind, the king embarked for *Barcelona* [r]. After his return, he made a tour to *Avignon*, to regulate some affairs with the pope, where, at his request, he offered to make peace with the *Genoese*, provided they would evacuate *Sardinia*, as, on the other hand, he was inclinable to make a cession of *Corsica*, reserving an annual tribute of fifty thousand florins; but the negotiation being drawn into a great length, at last ended in nothing, though both parties were weary of the war [s]; but still their animosities ran too high to admit of peace.

A. D. 1354.

1355.

THE *Genoese* sending fresh troops into *Sardinia*, the king of *Arragon* made suitable preparations for the defence of that island, and committed the principal management of the war to Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, count of *Ossona* [t]. While his affairs were thus embarrassed, Don *Pedro* the cruel of *Castile*, in a manner, forced a quarrel upon him, as we have shewn in its proper place. Don *Pedro* of *Arragon* would willingly have avoided it; but when he found this was not to be done with honour, he defended himself and his dominions with courage. His mother-in-law, and both his brothers, were in the interest, and at the court of the king of *Castile*; but, on the other hand, the count Don *Henry* and the count Don *Fello*, brothers to that prince, had fought and

Forced into a war with Castile, by the arrogance and pride of Don Pedro the cruel.

[q] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [r] ABARCA, MARIANA. [s] RAINALD, BALUZ, ZURITA. [t] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ egibus Gestarum. ABARCA, MARIANA.

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received the king of *Arragon*'s protection [u]. In a little time, his own brother Don *Ferdinand*, having made an irruption into his dominions with a body of *Castilian* troops, desired to be reconciled to him upon certain terms, with which he readily complied, and Don *Ferdinand* returned to his duty; which proved exceedingly fatal to his mother and his brother, whom he left in *Castile* [w]. The pope interposed in vain his good offices between the two crowns, and we may guess at the respect paid to his authority, by the king of *Arragon*'s entering into a league with the king of *Morocco*, as the monarch of *Castile* did with him of *Granada*; which, however, was a small offence, in comparison of causing the queen-dowager of *Arragon* to be put to death, upon suspicion, contrary to the ties of nature, and the law of nations [x]. He attempted also to invade the kingdom of *Valentia*, and to make an attempt on the island of *Yvica*, but failed in both;

A. D. 1359. neither had the fleets of *Arragon* any great success against those of *Castile*; it may be, the subjects of both crowns were wise enough not to act over vigorously in a quarrel, in which they had no concern.

Makes a peace with that prince who takes the first opportunity to break it.

THE war continuing still with *Castile*, and Don *Pedro* the cruel having the advantage in a battle fought near *Najara*, Don *Pedro* of *Arragon* became very desirous of peace [y]. He sent his daughter, the infanta Donna *Constantia*, this year, under the escort of a good fleet into *Sicily* to her husband, the king Don *Frederic* [z]. The next year, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded with the crown of *Castile*;

A. D. 1360. but the satisfaction resulting from thence lasted not long [a]. Don *Jayme*, son to the last unfortunate king of *Majorca*, and nephew to the king of *Arragon*, by a bold and bloody attempt escaped out of the old palace of *Barcelona*, where he was detained, and went to *Avignon* [b]. Don *Pedro* the cruel, having entered into an alliance with *Charles* the wicked, king of *Navarre*, and thereby secured his assistance, made no ceremony of breaking the peace with *Arragon*; and, in conjunction with the king of *Navarre*, attacked that monarch unexpectedly, who thereupon recalled count *Henry* of *Castile* out of *France*, and gave him the strongest assurances of his protection and assistance [c]. The king had now two

[u] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel. FERRERAS. [w] ZURITA, MARIANA. [x] ABARCA, RAINALD, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [y] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel. [z] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [a] RAINALD, ABARCA, Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel. MARIANA. [b] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [c] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

pretenders

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pretenders to the crown of *Castile*, the count Don *Henry*, and his own brother, the infant Don *Ferdinand*. He encouraged both, though he had no affection for either; but the count Don *Henry*, having excited some jealousy of the infant Don *Ferdinand*, the king his brother ordered him to be arrested, and, upon his refusing to submit, a struggle arose, in which he was killed, to the great satisfaction of the count, and without any great regret on the part of the king; whose hatred pursued him from his cradle to his grave [d]. A. D. 1362.

THE pope interposed in favour of Don *Jayme*, but to no purpose; for, upon offering his mediation for concluding a peace with the *Genoese*, who were very troublesome, the king of *Arragon* accepted it readily [e]. The war with *Castile* gave him still a great deal of trouble; and though few princes have had parts better suited to their circumstances than the monarch of whom we are speaking, yet he found himself in a state of perplexity, which gave him inexpressible disquiet. This unhappy situation of mind drew him into one of the blackest and basest actions that a prince could commit. Don *Bernard de Cabrera* had been his general, his minister, and his favourite from the beginning of his reign, and by innumerable services had merited his confidence, though it had lost him that of his fellow subjects, which he once possessed in a supreme degree. Don *Bernard*, sensible of this, and knowing his master better than any body, endeavoured to prevent a reverse of fortune, by a voluntary retreat; from which, in this confused state of affairs, Don *Pedro* had recalled him; but that great man perceiving how much he was exposed to envy, and fearing its effects, endeavoured to retire to *France*. Upon which, the queen, the count Don *Henry* of *Castile*, the count *de Ribagorca*, and others, prevailed upon the king to cause him to be pursued. Being overtaken and imprisoned, he was accused of numberless crimes, tortured by the king's command, and condemned by the infant Don *Juan*, duke of *Gironne*, whose governor he had been, to lose his head on a scaffold, in the great square of *Saragossa*, which was accordingly executed [f]. There is cruelty and treachery enough in this story, as it thus told; and, therefore we cannot, with *Mariana*, yield any credit to those who report, that the king pronounced sentence of death, and that Don *Juan* cut off his head with his own hands; but it is more than probable, as the best historians agree in it, that Don *Bernard*'s great offence was, being too good a servant

The cruelty and injustice of Don Pedro of Arragon towards Don Bernard Cabrera.

A. D. 1364.

[d] ABARCA, MARIANA. [e] RAINALD, BALUZ, FERRERAS. [f] ZURITA, ABARCA.

to

to a bad prince [f]. The fleet of *Arragon* was this year beaten by that of *Castile*, which determined Don *Pedro* to those measures he afterwards pursued.

Assists Don Henry, count de Trastemara to mount the throne of Castile.

THE liberty the king had taken of discontinuing his tribute to the holy see for the island of *Sardinia*, induced the pope to look for a new tenant; and the judge of *Arborea* being still in arms against the king, and wanting only the gloss of a title, was willing enough to purchase it on the pope's terms. This could not be so secretly carried, but it came to the king of *Arragon*'s knowlege, who immediately sent a person of distinction to do homage to pope *Urban* the fifth at *Avignon*, and to pay the arrears of tribute; upon which, in the judgment of the pope, he became a legal monarch again [h]. This, and some other troublesome affairs, did not hinder Don *Pedro* from prosecuting his great design, of enabling the count Don *Henry* to dethrone his brother the king of *Castile*; for which he expected a very large recompence, though it was visibly his interest to have concurred in it without any. We have shewn, in another place, how this revolution was effected, which, at the very beginning, did the business of Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*; for the king of *Castile* no sooner found himself pressed, than he abandoned all the conquests he had made in his dominions; but when he came to summon king *Henry*, when in possession of the crown, to yield him the kingdom of *Murcia*, which he had always aimed at, he refused it, though he complied with all the rest of his engagements [i]. This might very probably be one reason why the king of *Arragon* entered into a league with *Edward*, prince of *Wales*, granted him a free passage, and some assistance in his expedition for dethroning king *Henry*; by which he secured himself against the revenge of Don *Pedro* the cruel; but this did not hinder his entering into fresh negotiations with king *Henry* the next year, when he attempted the recovery of his kingdom [k].

A. D. 1367.

Difficulties to which he was exposed in the conduct of his affairs at home and abroad.

THE troubles in *Sardinia* continued, or rather augmented, so that the king was obliged to send a new army, under the command of Don *Pedro de Luna*, who obliged the judge of *Arborea* to shut himself up in the strong town of *Oristan*, which he immediately invested with the whole force that he had brought with him, and the best part of the troops that were in the island before, hoping to put an end to the war

[f] Historia general de Espana, lib. xvi. [h] RAINALD, FERRERAS. [i] ZURITA, Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel. [k] BARNES's History of Edward III. ZURITA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

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by the reduction of the place; but a sedition happened in his camp, and he had unluckily so great a contempt for the enemy, that he did not observe a very strict discipline: of which the judge of *Arborea* taking advantage, issued out of *Oristan* with all the troops he had therein, and attacked him with such fury, and so great advantage, that himself, his brother Don *Philip*, and the greatest part of his forces, were cut to pieces, and the rest, to a man, made prisoners; the news of which struck the king of *Arragon* with great consternation [l]. This induced him to temporize with the king of *Castile*, whose brother the count Don *Tello* had scandalously yielded to him many places in *Castile* [m]. He entered also into a league with the king of *Portugal*, who stiled himself monarch of *Castile*, but he did not execute it with any great punctuality, as he only aimed at keeping the king Don *Henry* in awe [n]. In *Sardinia*, when things were desperate, and there was no time to transport forces, he changed the face of affairs at once, by appointing a nobleman, of the family of *Doria*, viceroy. He was at that time amongst the malecontents, but, upon receiving this favour from the king of *Arragon*, quitted them, and brought such an accession of force to the king's troops, as put things once more into a good condition, and gained time for the king to send thither a powerful squadron; which he did. On board of which went, as a soldier of fortune, an *English* gentleman, whose name was captain *Walter Bennet*, who, having undertaken to carry over a thousand lances, the king gave him all the lands of the judge of *Arborea*, when he could conquer them [o]. A. D. 1371.

THE next year, the king renewed the truce, which had been made with the king of *Castile*; married both his sons; the eldest Don *Juan* to *Martha*, sister to the count of *Armagnac*, and the younger Don *Martin* to Donna *Maria Lopez de Luna*, daughter to the count of that name [p]. At this juncture he did a thing, which ought not to be buried in oblivion; he sent for Don *Bernardin de Cabrera*, and, having publickly declared, that he was satisfied of his grandfather's innocence, and that he had been most grossly imposed upon by his enemies, he restored him to the title of count of *Ossona*, to all the estates of the family, and made him satisfaction for the time they had been in the hands of the crown. *Concludes a treaty of peace with Don Henry of Castile upon reasonable terms.*

[l] Historia general de la Isla y Reyno de Cerdana. ZURITA; MARIANA. [m] ABARCA, FERRERAS. [n] EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, ZURITA, MARIANA. [o] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARCA, FERRERAS. [p] ZURITA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

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The people, who had applauded his injuſtice, becauſe they hated his favourite, were very ſilent as to this action; which was by much the greateſt in his whole reign [q]. As he grew old, he began to be apprehenſive of the intrigues of the king of *Caſtile*, who had ſet Don *Jayme*, king of *Majorca*, at liberty, and practiſed the very arts that he had learned in his court, to give him diſquiet. However, there was a circumſtance, that, in the midſt of all the intrigues on both ſides, kept theſe princes from coming to extremities, or even from doing each other all the ſecret miſchiefs they might have done. The infant Don *Juan*, who was the heir of *Caſtile*, had been bred up in the court of *Arragon* with the infanta *Leonora*, and being accuſtomed to conſider her as his wife, before he knew what that meant, his paſſions increaſed with his years [r]. The king Don *Henry*, having perfected all his ſchemes, and having a numerous army on the frontiers of *Arragon*, ſent to let Don *Pedro* know, that as he was ſenſible of the injuries he had received, ſo he did not forget the favours he had formerly done him, and therefore he was content, forgetting all ſubjects of diſpute, to make a ſolid and laſting peace, and to complete the marriage of their children, that had been talked of from their infancy. The king Don *Pedro*, to whom this meſſage was delivered, with a threat of declaring war, rejected the offer with ſcorn and contempt; but, at the ſame time, he ſignified to the queen of *Caſtile*, that tho' he diſdained her huſband's threats, yet out of reſpect to her, and the conſtancy of the infant Don *Juan*, he was willing to ſign a peace upon any terms; and, having kept his word, the marriage was accordingly
A. D. 1374. ſolemnized with great ſplendor [s]. On the ſecond of *June*, the ſame year, died Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Arragon*; and Don *Jayme* of *Majorca*, much about that time, made an irruption into *Rouſillon* [t].

Changes the face of affairs in Sardinia *by a critical act of temerity.*

But new diſturbances ſprung up as the old ones were compoſed; Don *Jayme* dying, left all his rights to the duke of *Anjou*, in conſideration of the ſervices he had done him while living, on a preſumption that his ſiſter Donna *Izabella* would do the like, which ſhe did; and this duke prepared to aſſert his claim by force of arms [u]. In *Sardinia* things grew more deſperate than ever; the judge of *Arborea* had

[q] Abarca, Ferreras. [r] Hieronymi Blancæ Cronica del Rey Don Henrique. Zurita. [s] Roderic Tolet. de Rebus Hiſpan. Luc. Tudenſis Chronicon. Abarca, Mariana. [t] Mayerne Turquet. [u] Zurita, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

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beat count *Doria*, and conquered all the iſland, except the town of *Cagliari*, which he beſieged, while his ſon blocked up the place by ſea; the governor being brought ſo low, as to diſpoſe every thing for ſetting the place on fire, and making his eſcape in a few light veſſels, if not relieved by a certain day [w]. The king found means to rid himſelf of both troubles; he engaged the king of *Caſtile* to enter into a negotiation with the duke of *Anjou*, who, having reckoned upon him as an ally, could not refuſe him as a mediator. It happened that he had a ſmall ſquadron in the harbour of *Roſes*, when the ill news from *Sardinia* arrived, and, having embarked a few troops, diſpatched it immediately; for he judged, that, by ſurprizing the enemy, it might ſave all, and, if that could not be done, the loſs was but little enhanced. The event juſtified his reaſoning; his fleet coming unexpectedly, beat that of the malecontents, and relieved *Cagliari*: the judge of *Arborea* ſeeing his hopes defeated, when on the point of being accompliſhed, fell ſick, and died of grief [x]. His ſon, through whoſe careleſſneſs the fleet was beat, had ſuch ſtrong paſſions, and ſuch weak abilities, that he was able to do nothing. On the twenty-fifth of *July*, in the ſucceeding year, died Don *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, leaving his only daughter Donna *Maria*, the heireſs of his dominions; ſubſtituting, in caſe of her demiſe, his natural ſon *William*, and, if he died without heirs, the royal family of *Arragon* [y]. Don *Pedro* immediately applied himſelf to pope *Gregory* the eleventh, who, from *Avignon*, was returned to *Rome*, offering to do homage without delay; alleging, that the crown belonged immediately to him, becauſe it could not deſcend to a woman. The pope contented himſelf with aſking, how, in that caſe, his right aroſe? and took the young princeſs under his protection. However, this pope did not long ſurvive; and Don *Pedro*, having engaged Don *Raymond de Moncadà*, count of *Aoſte*, he ſcaled the walls of the caſtle of *Catanea*, and carried off the young queen Donna *Maria* in the night [z].

A. D. 1376.

1379.

THE king, being become for the third time a widower, the famous Donna *Joanna*, queen of *Naples*, imagined he would make no ſcruple of marrying her, with ſo rich a portion. *Pedro* was too wiſe a man to be caught with appearances, in a point that ſo much concerned his peace; and therefore he married *Sybilla de Tortiq*, a widow lady of

Remainder of the reign of Don Pedro, and his demiſe in an advanced age.

[w] ABARCA, FERRERAS. [x] ZURITA, MAR. [y] ABARCA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [z] RAINALD, BALUZ, ZURITA.

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A. D. 1381. unexceptionable character, whom he caused to be crowned queen; which so provoked Donna *Joanna*, that she adopted his competitor, the duke of *Anjou*, for her heir [a]. The next year, the inhabitants of the dutchy of *Athens* and *Patras* threw off the yoke of the crown of *Naples*, and declared for the king of *Arragon*; which was the less strange, as they were, for the most part, descended from *Catalans* and *Arragonese* [b]. The king Don *Pedro* formed a project of marrying his two grand-children, Don *Martin*, son of the infant Don *Martin*, and Donna *Maria*, queen of *Sicily*, whom for that reason, he caused to be brought into *Arragon*. About this time, a new and extraordinary scene opened in the island of *Sardinia*, where the people, wearied with the tyranny of the young judge of *Arborea*, put him to death; supposing that this would have restored tranquility to their country, as his sister *Leonora* was married to count *Doria*. But Donna *Leonora*, a woman of great parts and a high spirit, took up arms against her king and her husband at once [c]. The continual expences of the war in *Sardinia* raised first murmurs, and then troubles in *Catalonia*. Besides, the queen Donna *Sybilla* quarrelled with the heir apparent Don *Juan*, in which the king took part against his son, more especially after he became a widower, and refused to marry his niece the queen of *Sicily*; but, with some difficulty, the royal infant was prevailed upon not to take arms [d]. These disorders lasted two or three years, till at length the king resolved to make himself master of the city of *Tarragona*, which had always belonged to the archbishop, and to accomplish this act of injustice he made use of arms; upon which the archbishop excommunicated him. The king soon after fell ill, and, having first given satisfaction to the church, so as to entitle him to the sacraments, he deceased on the fifth of *January*, one thousand three hundred and eighty-six; in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the fiftieth of his reign [e]. He was surnamed Don *Pedro* the ceremonious, from that pomp and punctuality which he observed in all transactions of government. He was, in many respects, the wisest, but, in many more, the worst, king that ever sat upon this throne; and though he was better obeyed, he was much less beloved, than any of his predecessors. He was buried in the monastery of

1383.

[a] Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [b] Zurita, Ferreras. [c] Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [d] Zurita, Ferreras. [e] Mariana, Abarca, Mayerne Turquet.

Poblette,

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Poblette, and though his ſubjects durſt ſcarce ſhew it, they were very well pleaſed with his death [f].

Don *Juan* ſucceeded his father in the throne, and, at the time of his demiſe, was himſelf dangerouſly ill in his palace at *Gironne*; his mother-in-law, the queen Donna *Sybilla*, being thoroughly ſenſible on how ill terms they ſtood, made her eſcape, the day before the old king's death, with her brother Don *Bernard de Fortia*. However, the *Catalans*, who hated that princeſs, purſued her ſo cloſely, that ſhe had no remedy, but to take ſhelter with her brother in his caſtle, which was preſently inveſted by the infant Don *Martin*, and the count *de Cardona*: as they had no ſuccours to expect, the queen and her brother thought it prudent not to augment the fury of their enemies by an obſtinate reſiſtance; ſo that they quickly ſurrendered, and were carried by the infant Don *Martin* to *Barcelona*, and there ſtrictly confined [g]. The king treated Donna *Sybilla* with a degree of ſeverity that was by no means natural to him; the crime of which ſhe was accuſed was faſcinating or bewitching the deceaſed king, and this upon the evidence of a *Jew*, who acknowleged he had ſome hand therein. Upon this, ſeveral were put to the queſtion, and, being found guilty upon their own confeſſion, ſuffered death; and, in all probability, the queen herſelf had been in danger, if, very happily for her, the pope had not ſent cardinal *de Luna*, with the title of his legate, who interceded for that princeſs, her brother Don *Bernard*, and the count *de Pailbars*; upon which the king pardoned them as to their lives, but he deprived the queen-dowager of her jointure, which he beſtowed on his own queen Donna *Violante* [h]. On the eighth of *March*, the king confirmed the privileges of the *Catalans*, declared void all his father's grants to the prejudice of the crown, and appointed the viſcount of *Roccaberti*, governor of the countries he held in *Greece* [i]. The count of *Ampurias*, who, in the quarrel between this prince and his father, had been ſtripped of his territories for adhering to the former, was no ſooner informed of his acceſſion than he returned home, and took poſſeſſion of them; which, at firſt, the king took extremely ill, as if it had been in contempt of his authority; but, in a little time, and upon better information, he reſtored him to his favour, and cancelled all that had been done to his prejudice in the for-

Don Juan I. *ſucceeds his father, and deals ſeverely with his mother-in-law Donna* Sybilla.

A. D. 1387.

[f] Hieronymi Blancæ, Zurita, Ferreras. [g] Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [h] Zurita, Ferreras. [i] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Geſtarum. Ferreras.

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mer reign [k]. By which some think, he scarce did more tha repair the injuries done him in his own.

His court distin guished by cultivating music, dancing, poetry, and other diversions.

THE famous *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, upo his return from that expedition, of which we have given large account in a former section, thought he had some re son to take offence at the conduct of the king of *Aragon* he sent therefore the archbishop of *Bourdeaux* to demand sum of money from that prince as an equivalent for not fu nishing him with a certain number of horse every campaig as by his treaty with the crown of *England* he was bour to do. The king answered, that the troops were alwa ready; and, as they were never demanded, he did not thin himself obliged to pay any such sum of money: the prelat however, replied in such rude terms, that the king cause him to be arrested; upon which, the duke his master ravage the territories of *Arragon*, but, in a little time, these di ferences were appeased [l]. The emperor *Wenceslaus* sent a ambassador to compliment Don *Juan* upon his accession, wh received this testimony of the emperor's respect with grea kindness [m]. In *Sardinia*, he granted all the estates of he father to Donna *Leonora de Arborea*, which restored peace i that island, and procured the new viceroy, Don *Simon Pe rez de Arenas*, a quiet administration [n]. At this time ther was a schism in the church; but the king was prevailed up on to acknowlege pope *Clement* the seventh, who reside

A. D. 1388. at *Avignon*, and thither he went to do him homage for th island of *Sardinia* [o]. The character of Don *Juan* was cer tainly that of a mild and merciful prince, but he was too uxorious, and the queen Donna *Violante* much too fond o pleasures; her favourite Donna *Carazza Villaragut* had, for that age, a very refined taste in poetry and music, and she was so delighted with works composed in a mixed kind of language, which in *Arragon* they called *Gaya*, and, according to *Mariana*'s interpretation, was no other than the dialect called in *France Limosine*, that she prevailed upon the king and queen not only to entertain poets who excelled therein, but to erect schools and academies for the improvement of this kind of poesy. The nobility of *Arragon* were so little pleased with the new turn taken at court, that they expostulated very roughly with the king, and were even on the point of taking up arms. The queen and Donna *Ca-*

[k] ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [l] ABARCA, BARNES's History of Edward III. FERRERAS, [m] MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [n] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [o] RAINALD, MARIANA.

razza

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razza had also their party. However, in an assembly of the states, held at *Monçon*, that lady was banished, and these new-fashioned foreign diversions were prohibited under very severe penalties [p]; neither did these disturbances break out any more. A. D. 1389.

THE count *de Armagnac* sent his brother count *Bernard*, with a great body of troops, to make an irruption into *Catalonia*. The *Spanish* historians say, that they were *English*, *French*, *Flemings*, and, in short, a mixture of all nations; and that the cause of this irruption was a mere appetite to plunder: but from other historians we learn it was not so. The count *de Armagnac* pretended a right to the dominions of the crown of *Majorca*, and it was in support of this claim that his brother, at the head of all the soldiers of fortune he could collect, made this incursion in the midst of winter [q]. In the spring he besieged *Besalu*, the garrison of which made an obstinate defence, and Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, having defeated part of the *French* forces, when the king marched with a numerous army to fight the rest, Don *Bernard de Armagnac* thought it expedient to retire, rather than run the hazard of a battle [r]. The king, at the beginning of his reign, had created his brother Don *Martin*, duke of *Montalban*, and his son was entitled Don *Martin de Jerica*, from the lordship of that name [s]. The great point in view of both brothers was, that of marrying this young prince last mentioned to Donna *Maria*, queen of *Sicily*, their niece; and having with much difficulty obtained a dispensation from pope *Clement* the seventh, dated in the month of *November*, it is presumed, that they were married towards the close of the year; at least it is certain, that, in the beginning of the next, a fleet of one hundred sail, and a considerable body of land forces was assembled, on the coast of *Catalonia*, under the command of Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, with whom embarked the duke of *Montalban*, and his son and daughter, the king and queen of *Sicily*, for that island [s]. This expedition was attended with success, and that with severity towards those who opposed these princes; but the history of this war belongs to another place. As new troubles were broke out in *Sardinia*, the king of *Arragon* intended to have gone thither with a royal fleet and army; but the apprehension of the kingdom of *Valentia*'s being

The count de Armagnac sets up a claim to the dominions of the crown of Majorca.

A. D. 1390.

1391.

[p] ZURITA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [q] MARIANA, FERRERAS. [r] ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [s] ABARCA, FERRERAS.

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invaded by the *Moors*, prevented his leaving his dominion and obliged him to content himself with sending thither
A. D. numerous reinforcement, with a strong squadron [t]. The
1392. year, the infanta Donna *Violante* was married to *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, and the infanta Donna *Joanna* to *Matthew* count of *Foix*, the former being the king's daughter by the reigning queen, as the latter was by his former consort. To strengthen the present harmony subsisting between the two crowns, and to prevent disputes on that head, the limits between the kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were settled by the express command and conjunct authority of both princes [w]. A precaution which had afterwards a very good effect.

Death of Don Juan, *which occasions great confusions in the kingdom of* Arragon.

THE next year, the king renewed his preparations for passing into *Sardinia*, where things were in greater confusion than ever; but either want of money, or his own indolence, hindered him a second time, though he knew that his brother, his nephew, and his niece, were besieged in the fortress of *Catanea*, by the malecontents of *Sicily*, and he had given them the strongest assurances that, as soon as the affairs of *Sardinia* were redressed, he would infallibly come to their assistance [x]. But Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, considering that his family had been raised by the crown, mortgaged all his lands for a large sum of money, and therewith equipped a strong squadron; by the timely arrival of which under his command, their *Sicilian* majesties were saved from imprisonment at least, if not from death [y]. Upon the decease
A. D. of pope *Clement* the seventh, the cardinals of his faction at
1393. *Avignon* elected the famous *Peter de Luna*, of one of the noblest families in *Arragon*, who assumed the name of *Benedict* the thirteenth, and gave immediate notice of his accession to the papal throne to all Christian princes, and more especially to the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* [z]. The concerns of Don *Juan* continued in great disorder, the count
1394. *de Armagnac* continuing to make incursions into *Roussillon*; to which he pretended a right, the troubles in *Sardinia* increasing, and the war in *Sicily* being still kept on foot [a]. The king, who was a mild and good-natured prince, easily persuaded into wrong measures, but withal as easily set right, and who is celebrated by the historians of *Arragon*

[t] ZURITA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [u] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA. [w] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [x] ABARCA, MARIANA. [y] ZURITA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [z] RAINALD, BALUZ, ZURITA. [a] ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

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for a quality not common in kings, hearing reproofs patiently, and esteeming and preferring those from whom they came, left public affairs, in a great measure, to the queen Donna *Violante*, a princess of great spirit, and much given to intrigue; while he chiefly amused himself with the pleasures of the table, the conversation of his nobility, and the sports of the field. As he was hunting, he unluckily fell from his horse, frighted, as some writers say, by the sudden appearance of a monstrous she-wolf, of which fall he died, on the nineteenth of *May*, one thousand three hundred ninety-five, in the ninth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his life, leaving behind him two daughters married to two *French* princes, as we have before mentioned. His brother the duke of *Montalban* being at this time in *Sicily* [b].

The succession secured to Don Martin, duke of Montalban, by the spirit and address of his consort.

THE sudden and unexpected death of the king occasioned great consternation and trouble; the queen-dowager Donna *Violante*, probably with a view of gaining the regency, gave out, that she was with child. *Matthew*, count of *Foix*, claimed the crown for his wife, the eldest daughter of the deceased monarch, but Donna *Maria du Luna*, dutchess of *Montalban*, asserted the rights of her husband with equal spirit and success; and, in the month of *July*, the states of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Catalonia* declared Don *Martin*, pursuant to the testimony of the deceased king, the sole heir of his dominions, and confirmed the queen in the exercise of the administration [c]. She made no scruple of putting guards upon the dowager to prevent any imposture, and withdrew them immediately upon that princess's declaring she was not with child [d]. She granted safe conducts to the ministers sent by the count *de Foix* to the states of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, and granted that prince a copy of the clause relating to the succession in Don *Juan*'s will. She took equal pains to avoid a war by a negotiation, and to provide for it, if it was not to be avoided, which fell out to be the case. The count and countess *de Foix* passed the *Pyrenees*, and fell with a considerable body of troops into the territories of *Arragon*, assuming the title of king and queen, and made themselves master of the town of *Balbastro*, notwithstanding a very gallant resistance, and flattered themselves with the hopes of becoming possessors of that kingdom by force of arms. They were quickly convinced of their error by the steady defence of the citadel of *Balbastro*, into which the

[b] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [c] ZURITA, FERRERAS. [d] ABARCA, MARIANA.

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A. D. 1395. principal persons, amongst those who had defended the tow retired. Their army quickly found themselves invaded famine; they no sooner sent parties on any side, in order obtain a supply of provisions, than they were surrounde and cut to pieces. At length, having no other resour they retired into *Navarre*, so miserably harrassed in th retreat, that their army was become little more than escorte [e].

Don Martin settles his son's affairs in Sicily, and makes a tour to Avignon before his return.

THE king Don *Martin* received the news of his accessio and a considerable reinforcement of troops by a strong squ dron, which the queen had dispatched [f]. He did not, hot ever, immediately embark for his hereditary dominions, b employed some time in settling the affairs of his son; in o der to which, the very report of his being become king *Arragon* did not a little contribute. This, however, too up so many months, that it was the middle of *December* i the next year before he was ready to embark. He judged convenient, however, to take *Sardinia* in his way, where he settled every thing to the people's satisfaction, and provided with very strong garrisons some places that had been conquered in the island of *Corsica*. He then proceeded to the coasts of *France*, and, landing in *Provence*, went to *Avignon* to confer with pope *Benedict*, to whom he did homage for the kingdoms of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*. Having regulated several points of consequence with him, he reimbarked on board his squadron, and continued his voyage to *Barcelona*, where he arrived on the twenty-sixth of *June* [g]. On

A. D. 1397. the twenty-eighth, he declared the count and countess of *Foix* traitors, and confiscated all their estates. He went afterwards to *Saragossa*, confirmed all the rights and liberties of the people, and, before the close of the year, sent powerful succours both to *Sardinia* and *Sicily* [h].

Caresses the states in such a manner as to draw from them larger supplies than any of his predecessors.

IN the month of *April*, in the succeeding year, he held an assembly of the states at *Saragossa*, in which he expressed his gratitude for their zeal and duty in his absence, and expatiated on this subject in so happy a manner, that they assured him he had nothing to do, but to acquaint them with any thing that might be still wanting to the prosperity of his affairs, and he should find they would act with the same spirit. He then desired they would acknowlege his son, the king of *Sicily*, for his successor, upon condition

[e] ZURITA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [f] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. FERRERAS. [g] RAINALD, BALUZ, ZURITA, ABARCA, MARIANA. [h] FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

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that kingdom ſhould be annexed to the crown of *Arragon*; to which they conſented: they, likewiſe, granted him the ſum of one hundred and thirty thouſand crowns to pay his debts, and an annual revenue of thirty thouſand crowns in the nature of a civil liſt [i]. The count *de Foix* made a new attempt, in the autumn, to penetrate into *Arragon*, but without effect; and deceaſed, not long after, without iſſue [k]. The corſairs of *Barbary*, having diſturbed the commerce of his ſubjects, Don *Martin* fitted out a ſtrong fleet to chaſtiſe them, and afterwards ſent a ſquadron to the aſſiſtance of pope *Benedict*; which, however, being harraſſed by contrary winds, returned without performing any thing. In the mean time, pope *Boniface*, provoked by his attachment to his competitor, beſtowed the kingdoms of *Sardinia* and *Sicily* on Don *Artal de Alagon*, count *de Molineto*, provided he could find any way to get poſſeſſion [l]. A conduct in the court of *Rome*, which, however agreeable to *Italian* policy, is clearly inconſiſtent with the principles of the goſpel. A. D. 1398.

Don *Martin*, in the enſuing ſpring, prevailed upon the *French* to raiſe the ſiege of *Avignon*, upon a promiſe, that *Benedict* ſhould renounce his right to the papacy, if his competitor would do ſo too [m]. On the thirteenth of *April*, the king was ſolemnly crowned in the cathedral of *Saragoſſa*, and, on the twentieth of the ſame month, the feaſt of *St. George*, the patron of the kingdom, the queen was alſo crowned with like pomp and ſplendour [n]. *Archambaud de Grailli*, who had ſucceeded the count *de Foix* by marrying his ſiſter, offered to renounce his pretenſions to the crown of *Arragon* for a ſmall county, which the king granted him with very good will [o]. He ſent, the ſame year, a fleet of ſeventy ſail to the aſſiſtance of his ſon in *Sicily*, who, by the help of theſe timely ſuccours, put an end to all the troubles in that iſland [p]. The duke of *Anjou*, having demanded Donna *Violante*, the king's niece, with her fortune of one hundred and ſixty thouſand crowns, the king ſent both that and the princeſs, upon her renouncing all title to the ſucceſſion [q]. The next year was fatal to the royal family in A. D. 1400.

Wiſely compromiſes the diſpute with the repreſentative of the count de Foix.

[i] Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras. [k] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Geſtarum, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [l] Zurita, Ferreras. [m] Rainald, Abarca, Mariana. [n] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Geſtarum. Mayerne Turquet. [o] Zurita, Mariana. [p] Abarca, Ferreras. [q] Zurita, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

Sicily,

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A. D. 1401. *Sicily*, where, early in the spring, Don *Pedro*, the only son of their majesties, deceased [r]; and, on the twenty-seventh of *May* following, his mother Donna *Maria*, who by her will bequeathed the kingdom to her husband, who was also the heir by descent [s]. As he was in the flower of his age, many marriages were proposed for him; but, by the advice of the king his father, he preferred the infanta Donna *Blanca* of *Navarre*, and that princess was sent to him, on board a fleet commanded by Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, in the month of *September* following, where she was received with all possible demonstrations of joy and affection [t]. But he still continued in the pursuit of irregular pleasures.

1402.

The king's unexpected death without heirs occasions an interregnum.

Donna *Joanna*, the king's niece, widow of the count *de Foix*, who had formerly given him so much trouble, was exceedingly desirous of passing the rest of her days in her own country, and, upon her signifying this to Don *Martin*, he very readily assented, assigned her the palace of *Valentia*, and a revenue of three thousand crowns [u] a year. He endeavoured by the like acts of condescension to pacify the troubles in *Sardinia*, where the nobility were continually caballing against each other, and altogether against the royal authority; and the case was very much the same in the kingdom of *Arragon*, where, tho' all the lords professed great duty for the king, and really shewed it, yet, from an affectation of power and independency, they were continually embarked in factions and quarrels against each other [w]. The young king of *Sicily*, giving too much ear to some bad counsellors, the king his father sent for him, and he came accordingly to *Barcelona*; but could not be prevailed on to remain long there, alleging, that his own dominions would suffer greatly by his absence, and, therefore, in the autumn of the same year, he returned to *Sicily* [x]. The next was fatal to the old queen-dowager Donna *Sybilla*, and to the queen consort Donna *Maria*, whose death was equally lamented by the king her husband, and by his subjects [y]. The factions in *Valentia* were now become to the full as troublesome as those in the kingdom of *Arragon*; in consequence of which, Don *Raymond Boyle*, governor of the capital, was assassinated coming out of his palace, which murther the king caused to be enquired into so closely, that

[r] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ gestarum. [s] Zurita, Ferreras. [t] Abarca, Mariana. [u] Zurita, Mariana. [w] Abarca, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [x] Zurita, Mariana. [y] Hieronymi Blancæ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum.

most

moſt of thoſe, who were any way concerned in it, came to be diſcovered, and, as they deſerved, put to death; his brother, who was not altogether innocent, eſcaped with the loſs of his right hand [z]. The iſland of *Sicily*, being torn with civil diſſentions, and the lords, in the king of *Arragon*'s intereſt, having ſignified the diſtreſs they were in to the king of *Sicily*, he immediately determined to go to their relief. He did ſo; and, not long after his arrival, he gained a glorious victory, which might have reſtored that country's quiet, if the victor had not been vanquiſhed by his paſſion: for, being extremely captivated with a young woman, whom he ſaw there, he abandoned himſelf, in ſuch a manner, to his luſt, that, being ſeized with a fever, he died on the twenty-ſeventh of *June* [a]. The king his father, who was now become his heir, finding that great troubles were like to ariſe in his dominions about the ſucceſſion, endeavoured to prevent it by marrying; and, accordingly eſpouſed Donna *Margaretta de Prades*, who was of the royal houſe of *Caſtile*: and this is ſuppoſed to have haſtened his death, which happened on the laſt of *May*, one thouſand four hundred and ten [b], when he had juſt entered the ſixteenth year of his reign. A. D. 1407.

The diſputes about the ſucceſſion, begun in the days of Don Martin, *revived on his deceaſe.*

We are now arrived at an interregnum; for, upon the demiſe of this prince, the ſtates aſſumed the ſupreme authority in the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, and in the principality of *Catalonia*, till it ſhould be determined by them to whom the crown of right belonged. It is to be obſerved, that notwithſtanding they were united under one ſovereign, yet theſe three ſtates remained perfectly independent, and to theſe were now added the kingdoms of *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*. There had been many competitors for the ſucceſſion in the life of Don *Martin*, which put him under great difficulties. Amongſt theſe, the count of *Urgel* was the moſt troubleſome, and therefore he twice appointed him vicar-general of his dominions; which was very ſatisfactory to the count, who judged, that it made him known to the people, in the light of preſumptive heir: the king ſaw it in the ſame light, but had quite another meaning; for he knew that the nobility of *Arragon* would conſider it as an invaſion of their privileges, and impute it not at all to his judgment, but to the count's ambition, in which he was not at all diſappointed. The true ſcheme of the king was, in

[z] Zurita. [a] Abarca, Ferreras. [b] Hieronymi Blancæ, Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

ceaſe

eaſe he had no children by his laſt wife, to ſettle the crown on his grandſon Don *Frederic*, the natural ſon of the king of *Sicily*. Which project of his he could never bring in any degree to bear; for the lawyers oppoſed it unanimouſly as inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, injurious to the remains of the royal family, and prejudicial to the people. The lawyers had a great aſcendancy in this country, and were ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to their ancient form of government; of which, as it could not be any where elſe ſo properly introduced, we will ſpeak clearly and ſuccinctly here.

Some account of the original conſtitution in the monarchy of Arragon.

THOSE who take the antiquity of the kingdom of *Arragon* higher than we have done, ſay, that when the people, upon the ſubverſion of the *Gothic* monarchy, made choice of a prince to lead them againſt the *Moors*, they made an expreſs capitulation with him, that he ſhould govern according to their laws, and ſhould not invade their liberties; of which they were jealous to an extreme degree. But if this be true, in any ſenſe, it muſt, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, be true of the old kings of *Navarre*. It is, however, infinitely more probable, that the remains of the *Goths*, in general throughout *Spain*, adhered as ſtrictly to the old principles of their policy in the ſtate, as they did to the doctrine and diſcipline of their church. That the latter was ſooner changed than the former, was owing to the artful incroachments of the pope, whoſe authority, when it was once owned, was not eaſily to be reſiſted. But in the ſtate, all the greater and the leſſer nobility, that is to ſay, all who had any property, had ſo ſtrong an intereſt in the preſervation of their privileges, that it was much leſs eaſy to cancel or even to change them. Beſides, *Arragon*, being an inland kingdom, property underwent little alteration, and families, ſo long as they ſubſiſted, preſerved their eſtates. But be this as it will, it is beyond all queſtion, that the monarchs of *Arragon* were very limited monarchs, and that the conſtitution, during the reigns of thoſe princes, whoſe hiſtory we have written, was very little impaired. Let us now ſee what that conſtitution was. We have very ample materials; the ſubſtance of which we will repreſent as briefly as we can.

Their kings, tho' not elected, were always confirmed by the people, and ſworn to the laws.

THE men of property, thoſe who had eſtates, which, generally ſpeaking, they had acquired by their ſwords, were ſtiled originally, and in general, *Los Ricos Hombres*, that is literally, rich men; but may be more ſenſibly tranſlated, men of eſtates, or, men of property; that is, as the lawyers of this country expreſs themſelves in plain terms, barons; for they ſay, that whatever titles of honour were afterwards

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afterwards introduced, as flowing from the king's will and pleasure, yet the right of sitting amongst the states did not arise from their being dukes, marquisses, or counts, but was inherent to them as barons; and they give us a list of eleven or twelve old families, who were the original *Ricos Hombres*, or barons of *Arragon*. In process of time, they came to be distinguished into the greater and lesser nobility. The former were those, who, by the favour of the crown, were advanced to superior titles of honour; the latter such as retained only their ancient dignity: the prelates likewise sat in that assembly, and the deputies from the great cities. In this assembly of states, laws were made for the government of the whole realm, and to see those laws put in execution, and to prevent any subject, of what rank soever, from being denied the benefit of them, against the oppression of any other subject, or even of the king himself, they had a magistrate, who was the head of justice, whom they stiled, *El Justicia de Arragon*, or chief justice of *Arragon*, to whom appeals might be made from the king; who might controul the king if he acted against the law, and who was not accountable, for any thing he did in the discharge of his office, to the king, but to the states.

High office of chief justice of Arragon *defined and described.*

The historians of *Arragon* affirm, and there is good reason to believe, that this office was as ancient as their monarchy; but, however, the history of these chief justices, which is very copiously and distinctly written, rises no higher than to the taking of *Saragossa* from the *Moors*. It is said, that, at the inauguration of their kings, the chief justice sat on a high tribunal in his robes, with his head covered; the king then came before him, and kneeling down bareheaded swore to maintain their privileges, and to govern according to law. Upon which proclamation was made, on the part of the assembly, in these words: *Nos que valemos tanto como vos os hazemos nuestro Rey y Segnor con tal que guardeis nuestros fueros y libertades, si no, no:* We, who are as good as you, have taken you for our king and lord, so long as you respect our laws and liberties, and no longer. It is said, that the king Don *Pedro* the first, by great art and management, and by the promise of other privileges less dishonourable to the crown, and as advantageous to the people, procured this form to be abolished by the states; and, it is added, that having the parchment in one of his hands, which contained the law, he drew his dagger, and wounding the hand, in which he held it, suffered the blood to stream over it, adding these words: *Ley de poder eligir Rey los Vassalhs sangre de Rey avia de costar.* A law that gives vassals

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vassals a power to elect their king, ought to be effaced with a king's blood: from whence he was surnamed Don *Pedro el Pugnal*, or *Peter* with the dagger; and as a sufficient evidence of the truth of this, they shew his statue with the dagger in one hand, and the parchment in the other, in the *Casa de la Deputation*, or house of commons at *Barcelona*.

A common mistake on this subject stated and rectified.

THIS, though written by very grave authors, and taken upon trust by strangers, has very much the air of a fable and so indeed it is, but not without a ground of truth. The king was not Don *Pedro* the first, but Don *Pedro* the fourth surnamed the ceremonious; and the law was not of election but that for establishing the union, which he cancelled in an assembly of the states, by cutting it in pieces with his dagger: in doing which, he struck his finger by accident, and when he saw the blood run, he said to the states: A law that has occasioned so much bloodshed, is happily wiped out of your statutes by the blood of a king. It is however certain, that though *Arragon* never was an elective kingdom, yet the confirmation of the states to the next heir's title was held so necessary, that it was very ill taken, if he either did any regal act, or even assumed the title before he had sworn to preserve their privileges: and, in consequence of that oath, was recognized and acknowleged for their sovereign by the states. They likewise took upon themselves to examine and decide when any disputes arose, in relation to the succession, as we shall see at large in another section; but, at present, it is requisite to give the reader, as we have undertaken, the histories of all the monarchies in *Spain*; that of *Majorca*, under the few kings that it had, in which the reader will find various circumstances worthy of his notice, and which do not occur in any of the accounts published in our history.

SECT.

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SECT. XI.

The History of the Kingdom of Majorca, *from the time of its being conquered by* James I. *of* Arragon, *to its Re-union, or rather second Conquest by Don* Pedro IV. *after which it remained annexed to that Crown.*

THE possession of the island of *Majorca*, and of those that depended upon it, was an object, which those who were masters of the continent of *Spain* had ever in view, and sooner or later atchieved it. The *Moors*, as the reader will see in another place, made themselves masters of them, and lost them again; but, pursuing their designs some time after, they had better fortune, and had been actually sovereigns here upwards of four centuries, when Don *Jayme* of *Arragon* formed the design of augmenting his own dominions, by the junction of these islands [a]. It must not, however, be understood, that, in all this space of time, they had received no interruption; for the contrary is true. Several of the counts of *Barcelona*, provoked, in some measure, by the depredations committed on their coasts by the *Majorcan Moors*, who had a natural turn to piracy, but chiefly out of a desire to make conquests, or, at least, reprizals by descents of a like nature, had given them a great deal of trouble, ruined some of their best towns upon the coast, and enriched themselves and their troops by the plunder [b]. But, as in most of these expeditions, they were indebted to the *Pisans*, the *Genoese*, or some other of the *Italian* states, for the best part of the naval force that was employed in them, we thought it expedient, as well to avoid swelling this part of our work, as to prevent repetitions, to refer those expeditions, till, in the natural course of our undertaking, we shall come to treat of the history of these maritime states [c]. Here, therefore, the reader is to expect only what regards the royal house of *Arragon*. Some historians have suggested, that when Don *Pedro* the second went into *Italy*, and was crowned by the pope, one great motive of his voyage

The conquest of the Balearcs projected many years before it was accomplished.

[a] Historia general del Reyno Balearico por JUAN DAMETO. FRANCISCO DIAGO Historia de los antiquos Contes de Barcelona. Barcelona 1603. fo. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [b] See the respective Histories of the Republicks of Pisa, Lucca, and Genoa.

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was to negotiate a league with some of the republics beforementioned, in order to facilitate a design he had formed of invading and reducing these islands [d]; but, as we have shewn in the history of his reign, he quickly found himself so much embarrassed, with a variety of troublesome affairs that he had upon his hands, that he left his project to be accomplished by some of his successors, under a probable expectation they would see the facility and expediency of this conquest for the security of the rest of their territories.

Majorca, or Mallorca, in much better condition then, than since or now.

As a sufficient account of these islands have been given in other parts of this work, a particular description will not be expected of them here; and yet there are some things that, for the better understanding of the history, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of. These islands, but more especially *Majorca*, or, as the *Spaniards* write it, *Mallorca*, was in a far different condition from what it has been since [e]. All writers agree, that there is hardly any country more indebted to nature; for though one part of it be mountainous, and consequently not very fertile, yet the greater part of it is flat, and of so excellent a soil, that it produces prodigious quantities of corn, as good in its kind as any in *Europe*; oil, wine, and salt in vast abundance; cattle and sheep sufficient for the inhabitants: but deer, rabbits, and wild fowl in such plenty, as might alone have furnished their subsistence [f]. The air is very pure and temperate, and by its situation the heat in summer is so qualified by the breezes, that it is not only the largest and most plentiful, but by much the pleasantest of all the islands [g]. These and other advantages were, at this juncture, improved to the utmost; for the *Moors*, ever industrious and indefatigable, and withal wonderfully populous, surrounded the whole coast with fortifications, that is, with a kind of towers, and lines between them; cultivated every spot that was not either rock or sand; carried on a great trade with their countrymen in *Spain* and *Africa*, and had no less than fifteen great towns, whereas there are not now above three [h]; neither was it at all difficult for the *Moorish* sovereign to bring into the field an army much superior in number to the inhabitants that are now upon it, taking in all ranks, sexes, and ages. In a word, at this time the king

[d] Historia general del Reyno Balearico, por JUAN DAMETO.
[e] DIAGO, ZURITA, MARIANA. [f] DAMETO, COLMENARES Abbe d'VAYRAC. [g] DAMETO, DU BOIS, COLMENARES.
[h] DAMETO, ZURITA, MARIANA.

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of *Majorca* was very powerful, and his subjects rich and happy, through the exercise of trade with their own countrymen, and piracy upon the Christians [i].

A very slight cause occasions the war, by which the island was conquered.

We need not wonder that, in circumstances like these, both prince and people were less prudent than if they had been in a worse situation. They had, upon some slight pretences, taken two vessels belonging to *Barcelona*, one of which was very richly laden. Of this, the people of that city complained to their king Don *Jayme*, who was at that time but a very young man, much perplexed in his affairs, and who, in all probability, had never thought of attacking these islands; at least nothing of this kind appears from his conduct; for, upon this complaint, he sent an ambassador to the king of *Majorca* to demand satisfaction, which might have been easily given; for the *Catalans* were in reality the aggressors, and had taken a tartane of *Majorca*, though of no great value [k]. But very unfortunately for the *Moorish* prince, he enquired of a *Genoese* master of a ship, what strength the king of *Arragon* had; who answered, that he was a poor pitiful prince, who, with the whole force of his dominions, was not able to take the castle of *Peniscola* [l]. When the ambassador had his audience, the *Moorish* king put on an affected ignorance, and asked him, who his master was? My master, answered the ambassador, is Don *Jayme*, king of *Arragon*, the son of Don *Pedro*, who, at the memorable battle of *Tolosa*, cut many thousands of your nation to pieces [m]. This unexpected answer so ruffled the *Moor*, that he was on the point of seizing him who gave it; and though upon reflection he did not do that, yet he answered him with contempt, and ordered him to quit his dominions without delay. A conduct inexcusable in itself, and of which he had quickly cause to repent [n].

Don Jayme I. *makes an oath not to desist till the* Moors *were at his mercy.*

At his return, the ambassador found his master at *Barcelona*, to whom he gave a very particular account of the reception he had met with, which so irritated Don *Jayme*, that he swore, at the altar, never to desist from his enterprize against *Majorca*, till he had the king by the beard, that is, till he had his enemies at his mercy. There is however great probability, that there was a mixture of policy with his resentment. He was desirous of being at the head of an army entirely under his own

[i] Colmenares, Du Bois, Abbe d'Vayrac. [k] Dameto, Zurita, Mariana. [l] Historia de Cataluna, por Bern. Desclot. [m] Historia general del Reyno Balearico. Zurita, Mariana. [n] Dameto, Mariana, Abarca.

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command, and of accuſtoming his nobility to obey him; his couſin Don *Nugno Sanchez* was very deſirous of having the command given to himſelf, but the king would not hear of it [o]. The nobility of *Arragon*, and even the pope's legate, adviſed him to turn his arms rather againſt *Valentia*, but he was determined. The nobles of *Catalonia* furniſhed him with all he could deſire: and in what condition they were able to do this, will appear from the quota furniſhed by the archbiſhop of *Tarragona*; which was, a thouſand marks in gold, five hundred quarters of wheat, one hundred men at arms, and one thouſand foot, to be paid by him till the conqueſt of the iſland [p]. His whole force conſiſted of fifteen hundred horſe, and about fifteen thouſand foot, of whom about a thouſand were mere adventurers from *France*, *Provence*, *Gaſcony*, &c. He put to ſea on *Wedneſday* the firſt of *September*, and, after two or three ſtorms, came upon the coaſts of *Majorca*, where the *Moors* oppoſed his landing, which was not effected without much trouble and ſome loſs; at length, however, his whole army was debarked, and a reſolution taken to give the enemy battle: in which the ſoldiers were ſo eager, that they would have marched without their officers [q], who only laboured to reſtrain them till they were recovered a little from their fatigues: however their impetuoſity prevailed.

A. D. 1229.

The king of Majorca *and his ſubjects abſolutely reduced within four months.*

THE *Mooriſh* king lay with an army of five thouſand horſe, and thirty-ſeven thouſand foot, in the beſt poſition he could take for covering his capital; Don *Jayme* attacked him with ſuch fury, and his troops, who were all old ſoldiers, and accuſtomed to the field, were ſo much ſuperior to the *Moors*, that, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in point of numbers, they were quickly routed, and ſo totally, that the king had much ado to collect eight thouſand men, nor could he do this till the city of *Majorca* was inveſted, into which he got with his forces by a ſtratagem [r]. While Don *Jayme* remained before the place, ſeveral of the *Mooriſh* lords ſubmitted to him; ſo that he was maſter of a great part of the iſland before the city was reduced [s]. At length, the *Mooriſh* king offered to pay the expences of the war; and that being rejected, he propoſed to ſurrender the place, and to pay a certain ſum of money for every head, to pre-

[o] Hiſtoria de Cataluna, por BERN. DESCLOT. ABARCA, MARIANA. [p] Hiſtoria general del Reyno Balearico. ZURITA, MARIANA. [q] DAMETO, ABARCA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [r] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Geſtarum. ABARCA, Abbe VAYRAC. [s] DAMETO, ZURITA, MARIANA.

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serve them from being put to death, which the king would have accepted, but the army refused, and demanded to be led to the assault. The *Moors*, absolutely desperate, defended themselves with great obstinacy, and some of the lords proposed to the king renewing the negociation; which Don *Jayme* refused, adding, it is too late to be wise, now we must conquer or die. At length, however, the place was taken [t]. The *Moorish* king endeavoured to conceal himself, but was taken, and presented to Don *Jayme*, as was soon after his son, a youth of thirteen years old. The king of *Arragon*, in discharge of his oath, took his enemy by the beard, but spoke to him kindly, and promised him good usage; as for the son, he was instructed in the Christian religion, baptized by the name of Don *Jayme*, and the king gave him a very large estate in *Valentia*, where his posterity were still remaining in the days of *Mariana* [u]. The city was taken, and the island of *Majorca* consequently reduced, on the last day of the year; so that this expedition was executed in about four months, and the king enabled to comply with the promises he had made to his nobility, and to those of other nations, who, under the specious pretences of religion and honour, were in reality cutting out settlements for themselves with their swords [w].

Citadel of Majorca demolished, and a cathedral and palace erected in its room.

It was some years before the *Moors* were brought thoroughly into subjection; for, having a natural abhorrence to their new masters, as *Catalans* as well as Christians, they were perpetually taking up arms; and when they could no longer keep the field, they sheltered themselves in the natural fortresses of the island, that is, vast caves in the sides of high mountains, the entrances of which were easily defended, and the room within was so great as to admit many families without any considerable inconvenience [x]. By degrees however they were brought under, but it is judged that, by the slaughter during the war, and these insurrections, and the numbers that quitted their country, and retired into the kingdom of *Granada*, or to *Barbary*, this island lost one half of her inhabitants. The king, Don *Jayme*, however, greatly augmented and adorned the city of *Majorca*, or *Palma*, which, at the time it fell into his hands, was built chiefly on the sea coast, and on the side of the mountain;

[t] Historia general del Rey Balearico. Abarca, Ferreras. [u] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Historia general de Espana lib. xvi. Mayerne Turquet. [w] Dameto, Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras. [x] Dameto, Zurita, Armstrong's History of Majorca.

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upon the summit of which stood a citadel that protected, but, at the same time, commanded the town [y]. This the king caused to be demolished, and instead of it built a most beautiful cathedral, a noble palace, and other public edifices, which were also well defended by towers, and other fortifications; the port he secured by a most noble mole, and established an excellent form of government, which, by rendering the inhabitants easy and happy, drew thither continual supplies of people from all parts [z]. In 1232, he made a second voyage thither, when he summoned the *Moors*, who inhabited *Minorca*, to submit, and, by a stratagem of lighting many fires every night along the opposite coast, terrified them to such a degree, with the apprehensions of an invasion, that he brought them to submit, and to pay him an annual tribute [a]. In 1256, he established his son Don *Jayme* in the possession of these dominions, which, however, gave great offence to the heir apparent of the crown of *Arragon*, and notwithstanding, as we have shewn in the former section, that he had formerly bestowed them upon the infant Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, as an equivalent for the countries which he had acquired by marriage [b].

Don Jayme II. *succeeds in the kingdom of* Majorca, *in virtue of his father's will.*

Don *Jayme* the second, upon the demise of his father, succeeded to the throne, in virtue of his father's will, who bestowed upon him, not only the kingdom of *Majorca*, and all its dependencies, but likewise the lordship of *Montpellier*, the counties of *Rousillon*, *Collioure*, *Conflant*, *Cerdagne*, *Valespir*, and all that he possessed in *France* [c]. Don *Pedro* the third of *Arragon*, though he was by no means satisfied with this disposition, yet confirmed it, upon condition that his brother should do him homage, and hold his territories as a feudatory to the crown of *Arragon*; which appears clearly from a treaty between them, in the month of *January*, in the year following the death of their father [d]. However, Don *Jayme* was so offended with this, and with his not having the kingdom of *Valentia*, which he surmised his father likewise intended him, that when *Philip* the hardy, in pursuance of the pope's invitation, determined to invade

A. D. 1276.

1278.

[y] Dameto, Colmenares, Abbe d'Vayrac. [z] Historia general del Reyno Balearico, Les Delices de l'Espagne, tom. iv. p. 577. Abbe d'Vayrac. [a] Hieronymi Blancæ Arragonenfium Rerum Commentarii. [b] Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. [c] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Mariana Histoire de Languedoc. [d] Historia de Malorca, por Vincete Mut, Fol. in Malorca 1650. Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras.

Arragon,

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Arragon, he not only granted him a free paſſage through his territories, which perhaps might have been juſtified, as he was his feudatory for the countries held on the continent, but alſo aſſiſted him in his war againſt his brother [e]. This ſo provoked that monarch, that he ſent his ſon, the infant Don *Alonſo*, with a potent fleet and army to depoſe his uncle, which he accordingly did; the people willingly ſubmitted, on account of the heavy taxes that had been impoſed upon them by Don *Jayme*; he likewiſe reduced the iſland of *Yvica*, and left ſtrong garriſons therein, and at the ſame time projected the entire reduction of *Minorca* [f]. The reaſon of this ſeems to have been, that the inhabitants, notwithſtanding their ſubmiſſion to Don *Jayme* the firſt, continued their piracies; for which the ſole remedy his prudence could ſuggeſt was to expell them that country: and this, after a vigorous war of two years, he glorioufly effected, by the capitulation of *Port Mahon*, and of *St. Agatha*, when the *Moors* conſented to give him a certain ſum of money for every head to obtain leave to retire into *Barbary*, and that ſuch as had it not to give, ſhould remain, and ſubmit to ſuch terms as he thought fit to preſcribe [g]. A. D. 1283. 1285.

THE king Don *Jayme*, who ſtill retained *Rouſillon* and the reſt of the countries he held in *France*, gave his nephew all the diſturbance he could; but this ſerved only to encreaſe the weight of his misfortunes, as all his attempts proved unſucceſsful. However, by the interpoſition of the pope and the king of *France*, Don *Alonſo*, upon the concluſion of a general peace, conſented to reſtore his uncle to all his dominions, to be held, as before, by homage rendered to the crown of *Arragon*; but before this treaty could be fully accompliſhed Don *Alonſo* died [h]. His brother and ſucceſſor Don *Jayme* the ſecond was content that things ſhould remain in this ſituation, as appears by a large and full treaty, which is ſtill extant, concluded between them at *Argilers*, in which the former ſtiles himſelf Don *Jayme*, by the grace of GOD, king of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Murcia*, and count of *Barcelona*; and the latter king of the *Majorcas*, that is, *Majorca* and the iſlands dependant upon it, count of *Rouſillon* and *Cerdagne*, and lord of *Montpellier*; in which they ſtipulate a perpetual friendſhip for 1287. *Deprived of his dominions by one nephew, and reſtored to them by another.* A. D. 1291.

[e] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Geſtarum. ABARCA, FERRERAS. [f] ZURITA, MARIANA, ARMSTRONG's Hiſtory of Minorca. [g] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Geſtarum. ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [h] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, ZURITA, MARIANA.

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themselves and successors against all powers whatever, subject to the homage formerly stipulated; and this treaty bears
A. D. 1311. date, *June* 9, 1298. By virtue of this treaty [l], Don *Jayme* found himself once more in the peaceable possession of his dominions, and so continued to the time of his decease; which was about four years after. By his queen *Esclaronda*, who was the daughter of the count *de Foix*, he had Don *Jayme*, who became a monk, Don *Sancho*, who succeeded him, Don *Ferdinand*, and Don *Philip*, who was an ecclesiastic. He had also a daughter Donna *Sancha*. The body of this prince Don *Jayme* the second lies interred in the cathedral church of *Majorca* [k].

Don Sancho succeeds his father, and governs his dominions peaceably.

Don *Sancho* did homage to *Philip* the fair, king of *France*, on the eighth of *December* the same year, for the lordship of *Montpellier* [l], and, on the seventh of *July* in the year following, he likewise did homage to Don *Jayme* the second [m]. He had afterwards some dispute with the crown of *France* about his lordship of *Montpellier*, which the king of *Arragon* pretended was to be held of him, independent of the crown of *France*; and some proceedings there were upon this matter before the parliament of *Paris*; but *Philip* the long took the cognizance of this difference from them, and adjusted it with the two kings himself [n]. Don *Sancho* was a prince of a mild and equitable disposition, content with his small dominions, which he governed in peace to the time of his demise, which happened on the fourth of *September*, one thousand three hundred twenty-four, without issue [o].

The king of Arragon disposed to seize these territories upon his dying without issue.

Don *Jayme* king of *Arragon* immediately seized his dominions, as has been mentioned in the former section: but the *Spanish* historians, and even those of the kingdom of *Arragon*, who very highly commend his justice in restoring them, do not give us any clear account upon what motives the original measure was taken. It seems in the will of Don *Jayme* the conqueror, king both of *Arragon* and *Majorca*, there was a substitution of the royal house of *Arragon*, in case the heirs male should fail of Don *Jayme*, king of *Majorca*; and some of the courtiers of the king of *Arragon* persuaded him, that Don *Sancho* dying without

[l] Historia de Malorca, por Vincente Mut, lib. iv. Zurita, Ferreras. [k] Vincente Mut, Zurita, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [l] Histoire de Languedoc. [m] Vincente Mut, Zurita, Ferreras. [n] Zurita Hist. de Languedoc. [o] Vincente Mut, Indices ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Mariana.

heirs,

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heirs, he had a just title to the kingdom under that will [p]. But the infant Don *Philip* of *Majorca* represented to him, that Don *Jayme* the second left four sons, of whom the late king Don *Sancho* was not the eldest, but succeeded in the place of his brother, who had renounced the world; that his next brother Don *Ferdinand*, who should have been his successor, was indeed dead, but had left by his wife Donna *Izabella*, heiress of the *Morea*, a son Don *Jayme*, who was indisputably the heir male of his grandfather, and consequently entitled, under that will, to the kingdom of *Majorca*, and its dependencies [q].

Don Jayme III. does homage to the king of Arragon, and espouses his daughter Donna Constantia.

The infant Don *Philip* of *Majorca* did homage, as guardian of his nephew, and in his name, on the first of *October*, one thousand three hundred twenty-seven, to Don *Jayme* the second of *Arragon*, and by the interest of the same Don *Philip* a marriage was concluded, for the young king, with the infanta Donna *Constantia* of *Arragon*, daughter to Don *Alonso* heir apparent of that kingdom [r]. It is indeed suggested by *Mariana*, that it was in regard to this marriage Don *Jayme* of *Arragon* sacrificed his claim to the crown of *Majorca*; but this seems very improbable, since the young king had infinitely more interest in marrying that princess than her grandfather could have in disposing of her, since he might, without difficulty, have matched her to princes of equal rank and greater power. On the twenty-fifth of *October*, one thousand three hundred twenty-eight, Don *Jayme* of *Majorca* did homage in person to king *Alonso* the fourth of *Arragon* his father-in-law [s]; when, without question, the treaties between the two crowns were renewed: by which it was settled, that they should assist each other with their whole force; and in case any differences arose between them, the points in controversy were to be determined by the pope: neither is there any reason to suppose, that Don *Alonso* would insist upon any harder terms from a prince of his blood, and his son-in-law, than the kings his predecessors had done from the ancestors of this young prince; but, on the contrary, there is nothing more probable, than that Don *Jayme* looked upon himself as very secure of support from *Arragon*, as well in consideration of this alliance, as of those treaties by which he was strictly speaking entitled to it [t].

[p] Historia de Malorca, por Vincente Mut. Histoire de Languedoc. [q] Vincente Mut, Mariana. [r] Corps Diplomatique de Droits des Gens. [s] Vincente Mut, Zurita, Ferreras. [t] Vincente Mut, Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

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before the ſtates; let him juſtify his own conduct, and I will grant his requeſt. As to two of the three points of the charge, that is, that he had entered into a war with the king of *France* without his conſent, and that he had impoſed very heavy taxes upon his ſubjects, they were plainly things with which he had nothing to do; for, by the treaty ſubſiſting between them, they were reciprocally obliged to aſſiſt each other if attacked; but the king of *Majorca* was not at all reſtrained from making war or peace as he thought fit: and, in reſpect to taxes, it is in expreſs words declared, the king of *Majorca* might impoſe and levy them as he thought proper [e]. In regard to the third head, of coining money at *Perpignan*, the king of *Majorca* was not ſo excuſable, as there was a clauſe which prohibited this in the treaties; and as it appeared to have been the intention of the original donor Don *Jayme* the firſt of *Arragon*, that no money ſhould be current in the five counties, beſtowed upon this prince's grandfather, but what was coined at *Barcelona* [f]. We are aſſured by *Mariana*, that, beſides the heads beforementioned, there were other accuſations, of a far more heinous nature, ſuch as having formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate the king of *Arragon* at their laſt interview, which, out of humanity and the affection due from a ſiſter, the queen Donna *Conſtantia* had diſcovered to Don *Pedro*; and that he had offered to enter into an alliance againſt him, not only with the king of *France*, but with the king of *Morocco* [g]. Theſe, very probably, were only thrown in to make up weight, or to deter the king from appearing, if he had any ſuch deſign; ſince, if they had been founded in truth, they would have been far better reaſons for depriving him of his dominions than thoſe which were aſſigned.

From whom he takes that iſland, and all its dependencies by an invaſion.

THE king of *Majorca*, being no longer at a loſs to know his brother-in-law's intentions, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he loaded him with reproaches, declared war againſt him, and took the beſt meaſures he could for his own defence. The hiſtorian of *Majorca* aſſerts, that, in the midſt of his misfortunes, his ſubjects were never wanting in their fidelity, and produces a public inſtrument of their's [h], by which they approve and juſtify that monarch's conduct; which is directly contrary to what the hiſtorians of *Arragon* aſſert,

[e] VINCENTE MUT, ZURITA, ABARCA. [f] Hiſtoria de Malorca. ZURITA Hiſtoire de Languedoc. [g] Hiſtoria general de Eſpana, lib. xvi. [h] Hiſtoria de Malorca, por VINCENTE MUT.

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as to their being universally discontented, and of their inviting Don *Pedro* to deliver them [i]. But perhaps truth in this case may lie on both sides, that is, the people of *Majorca*, while the king was in possession, might publish, or might allow him to publish, whatever he thought proper, in their names, for his justification, and yet be secretly discontented, and entertain a private correspondence with his enemies. At least there seems to be some cause to suspect this, from the slender resistance that Don *Pedro* met with, when he soon after invaded *Majorca* [k]. It also appears, that there must have been great errors in government, from the condition that things were then in; for, notwithstanding the extremity to which he was reduced, and the necessity he was under of raising the whole force of his dominions, Don *Jayme* was not able to bring into the field above a third part of the troops which the *Moorish* king assembled, when in the like circumstances; neither did these make any considerable defence: but all things fell immediately into such confusion, that the king, though personally brave, was constrained to seek his safety in flight, and that with a few followers only, while Don *Pedro* made a public entry into *Majorca* with loud acclamations of the people, leaving a viceroy behind him, with a small number of forces, who held these territories afterwards without trouble or dispute on the part of the people, whom the historians of *Arragon* therefore affirm to have been very well pleased with this revolution [l].

The king of France *seizes what small territories the king of* Majorca *had left.*

A. D. 1345.

We have in a former section related how this war ended, and the unfortunate king of *Majorca* was despoiled of all his dominions, and even of his regal title, by his enemy, which induced him to retire to the count *de Foix*, to preserve his life and liberty, with a power at least of meditating revenge: he sent a long memorial, containing the history of the injuries that had been done him, to pope *Clement* the sixth, who interposed with Don *Pedro*, in regard especially to the king's family, exhorting him to restore at least his queen and his children, if not his dominions; upon which Don *Pedro* suffered his sister Donna *Constantia* to go to her husband [m]. It is also certain, that he solicited the king of *France* to interpose in his behalf, who treated him very unkindly, though he gave him fair words and fine promises [n]. Don *Jayme*, to

[i] Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras. [k] Abarca, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana. [l] Indices rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus gestarum, Abarca, Ferreras. [m] Zurita, Abarca, Histoire de Languedoc. [n] Historia de Majorca, Hist. Languedoc, Baluz.

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fallen into upon his account, will sufficiently justify our conduct.

Adventures of Don Jayme IV. *from his birth, to his escape out of prison.*

We cannot fix the time of this prince's birth, though we can come pretty near it, for, in the ratification of his father's sale of the lordship of *Montpelier*, dated *May* 15th, 1349, he is said to be more than eleven, and under fourteen [y]. In *October* the same year he was taken prisoner in *Majorca*, and sent by his uncle to be kept at *Barcelona*, where, on the first of *May*, having found means to furnish himself with false keys and with arms, he opened the prison-doors, and, having slain *Nicholas Rovira*, who was his keeper, and would have hindered him, he made his escape to *Avignon*, where he was protected and caressed by the pope [z]. As he was at this time esteemed one of the handsomest and most accomplished princes of the age, queen *Joan* of *Naples*, who was just become a widow, offered him her person and her crown, which, in his circumstances, he thought it prudent to accept [a]. His sister Donna *Isabella* likewise espoused *John* the marquis of *Montferrat*, and received from her uncle Don *Pedro* a considerable fortune [b]; but, notwithstanding this seeming turn of fortune, he was still so possessed with a desire to recover his hereditary dominions, and found so many circumstances that imbittered his stay at *Naples*, even with the regal title; that, four years afterwards, we find him at *Bourdeaux*, soliciting *Edward* the black prince to assist him in the recovery at least of his dominions on that side the *Pyrenees*; which the prince promised him, provided he would attend him in his expedition into *Spain*; which he did [c], and, in his passage, must have marched through his uncle's territories, who could not be very well pleased to see a young monarch, who, contrary to the ties of nature, and the law of nations, he had so much injured.

A. D. 1362.

A. D. 1366.

Marries queen Joan *of* Naples, *and dies, endeavouring to recover his dominions.*

THE next summer, when the prince of *Wales* retired out of *Castile*, he was constrained to leave Don *Jayme* sick behind him, and by this means it was that he fell into the hands of Don *Henry*, king of *Castile*, a prince, who, having felt the weight of misfortunes himself, had a generous concern for the distresses of others [d]. He treated the king of

[y] Histoire de Languedoc. [z] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus gestarum, ABARCA. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. [a] ZURITA, PANDELFO COLLENUCCIO, Historia del Reyno de Napoli, BRANTOME. [b] Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus gestarum. ABARCA, FERRERAS. [c] RAINALD, FERRERAS. [d] BARNES's History of Edward III. lib. iv. cap. 2.

Naples

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Naples kindly, but kept him a prisoner till he had made his peace with *Arragon*, when Don *Pedro* was in hopes that he would either have delivered him up, or have confined him closer; but the king Don *Henry* suffered him soon after to go to *Avignon*, where, by the assistance of the duke of *Anjou*, he for four years together alarmed the king of *Arragon* at least, and at length assembled an army, with which he advanced as far as the *Pegro*, where, finding himself distressed for provisions, and his forces in danger of being surrounded, he sent to Don *Henry* of *Castile* for assistance and advice [e]. That great and gallant monarch gave him both; he offered him his court for an asylum, and he promised to perfuade or to compel the king of *Arragon* to grant him an establishment; and, to deliver him out of his present perplexity, he ordered a corps of troops to advance to *Soria*, where the king of *Majorca* joined them. But unhappy princes are commonly deceived by the glimmerings of good fortune; Don *Jayme* fatigued himself so much in this forced march, that, being seized by a malignant fever, he died in a few days, and was buried in the monastery of *St. Francis*, in the town of *Soria* [f]. The reader will judge what credit is due to those historians who so positively assert, that his consort queen *Joan* of *Naples*, having found him in bed with a mistress, caused him to be beheaded [g]. A. D. 1375.

His sister D. *Isabella*, widow of *John* marq. of *Montferrat*, was with him at that time, and, by the interposition of the king of *Castile*, a convention was concluded with the king of *Arragon*, by which a sum of money was given her for the pay of the troops that were about her, and they were allowed to retire without molestation [h]. It was this princess, who, after the decease of her brother, confirmed the donation, which, in conjunction with him, she had made of all their rights to the duke of *Anjou*, to whom they were under very great obligations [i]. How these pretensions were afterwards transferred, and at length extinguished, has been shewn in its proper place, so that we are now at liberty to return to the history of *Arragon*. But, before we do this, it may not be improper to take notice of an observation made by *Ferreras*, that the misfortunes of Don *Jayme* the third, king of *Majorca*, ought to be a perpetual warning to all princes in his

His sister, Donna Isabella, conveys her pretensions to the duke of Anjou.

[e] Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras. [f] Zurita, Abarca; Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [g] See the article of Joan Queen of Naples, in Bayle's Dictionary. [h] Indices rerum ab Aragoniæ regibus gestarum. [i] Abarca, Histoire de Languedoc, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana.

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situation, who should be extremely careful to preserve their dominions in peace, and by that means secure the affections of their subjects, who, jealous of their own happiness, will make such efforts for its preservation as they would think impracticable in defence of any monarch's title. Time, and a prudent use of favourable events, may gradually aggrandize even the smallest sovereignty; but a little king who racks his subjects, that he may make a figure which he esteems worthy of a crowned head, takes the surest and speediest method of being no king at all [k]. To this we may add, that, if Don *Jayme* the younger had lived to be an old man, he would have been the indubitable heir of his persecutor's dominions, and consequently have prevented that struggle amongst the competitors for this succession, of which it will be our business to give the reader a comprehensive view at the beginning of the next section, which will conclude the history of *Arragon*, and all the territories annexed to it, before its conjunction with *Castile* in the persons of Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella*.

[k] Historia de Espana, sect. 14.

SECT. XII.

The History of the Kingdom of Arragon, *continued from the Interregnum on the Death of Don* Martin, *to the Union of the Crowns of* Castile *and* Arragon, *under their Catholic Majesties Don* Ferdinand *and Donna* Isabella.

A succinct view of the state of Arragon, Catalonia, *and* Valentia, *during the interregnum.*

THERE never was a country left in a more miserable or exposed condition than this of *Arragon*, by the death of the king Don *Martin*, who, in the last months of his life, employed all his thoughts to preserve himself in ease and safety, without being obliged to declare in favour of any of the pretenders, who he knew could none of them be settled in the legal and quiet possession of the throne, but by the authority of the states, to whose decision therefore he was inclined to leave it [a]. Upon his demise, all things seemed to fall to pieces; *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Catalonia*, became at once sovereign states, without any other union than their mutual regard for their own interests, which were better consulted

[a] Hieronymi Blancæ Arragonensium rerum Commentarii, Mariana, Ferreras.

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by their having but one sovereign, than any other way; and yet separately they were in great confusion. In *Arragon* the factions of the *Lunas* and the *Urreas*, the former espousing the party of the count *de Urgel*, while the latter, who were his declared enemies, scattered discord through every corner of the kingdom [b]. In *Valentia*, the *Contellas* and the *Villaraguedes*, by their dissensions, did the like [c]. In *Catalonia* things were in a more composed condition, the states immediately assembled, and assumed the government [d]. In *Majorca*, and the islands dependent upon it, all things were perfectly quiet, through the care of Don *Roger de Moncada* [e]. *Sardinia* was torn to pieces by a civil war; and in *Sicily*, Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, count of *Modica*, held a very suspicious conduct, seizing by force most of the considerable places, putting garrisons in them, fitting out several squadrons to cruise upon the coasts, though he pretended to aim at nothing more than preserving the island for the crown of *Arragon*; and yet he besieged the queen dowager Donna *Blanca*, who had assumed the title and power of queen regent for the same purpose [f]. What is most extraordinary, notwithstanding all these quarrels and disturbances, there was nothing lost; and though it was a long time before they were appeased, yet, when that happened, all things fell into the old chanel, and the lustre of the crown of *Arragon* was not at all diminished. A felicity that has scarce ever attended a complicated succession left in such a manner. A. D. 1410.

Pope *Benedict* the thirteenth, who was himself an *Arragonian*, used all imaginable methods to quiet the minds of the people in that kingdom, and in *Valentia*, to very little purpose [g]. Some indeed of the nobility in both kingdoms acted like good patriots, and acted to the utmost of their power for the welfare of the state; in order to which, they procured a truce to be made in *Arragon* for three years, by which all private quarrels, on what pretence soever, were to be suspended during that time, and to this they were sworn. It was in general so well observed, that, when Don *Antonio de Luna* demanded a conference with the archbishop of *Saragossa*, Don *Garcia Fernandez de Heredia*, he made no scruple of consenting to it, though he was the head of the opposite faction. When they met, Don *Antonio* picked a quarrel

The states appoint a standing committee to regulate the ensuing election.

[b] Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Abarca, Mayerne Turquet
[c] Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. [d] Abarca, Mariana.
[e] Dameto, Mut, Historia de Malorca por Vincente Mut.
[f] Historia general de la Isla y Reyno de Cerdena, Zurita.
[g] Rainald.

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with the archbishop, and, having posted an ambuscade conveniently for that purpose, attacked and murdered him, which threw the whole kingdom into a flame, and alarmed not a little the parliament, then sitting at *Callatayud*; to oppose which, Don *Antonio* and his party called another assembly, to which they gave that title in another place [h]. In *Valentia* the troubles were very near as great, and the malecontents had recourse to the same method of meeting again in another place, and of calling themselves a parliament. In both kingdoms they were forced to have recourse to the infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, to desire that he would send troops to protect them, and to give a proper degree of weight to the only legal authority subsisting in either country [i]. In *Catalonia* things went somewhat better; the parliament at *Tortosa* were generally and chearfully obeyed; so that when the count *d'Urgel* advanced with a body of troops, the parliament sent him so quick a message, that he thought fit to retire. They likewise desired the infant Don *Ferdinand* to withdraw his forces; from which he excused himself, as they were not sent to awe but to protect the parliaments of *Arragon* and *Valentia* [k]. These three assemblies, having conferred by deputations, agreed to lose no time in the election, or rather declaration, of a king, for which purpose they appointed a standing committee to take the preparatory measures, who were to meet and hold their deliberations at *Alcaniz*. The troops, however, of the count *de Urgel* committed so many disorders, that the parliaments were obliged to have recourse to the infant of *Castile* for troops sufficient to keep the passages to that place clear and safe; and, after this, the deputies from all three parliaments resorted thither, and began to enter in earnest upon the business [l] entrusted to their care.

A. D. 1411.

At length nine judges are chosen, to determine the title of the claimants.

After mature deliberation, it was resolved, that this great affair should be decided by nine judges, men of experience and integrity, and that each state should chuse three; and that they should meet at *Caspé*, a place standing very conveniently on the frontiers of *Valentia* and *Catalonia*, belonging to the knights templars; but upon this occasion, by the permission of the pope, there was put into it a very strong garrison, composed of *Arragonese* and *Catalan* troops, for at that time the two parliaments of *Valentia* kept that country

[h] Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Zurita, Ferreras. [i] Abarca, Mariana. [k] Hernando Perez de Guzman, Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. [l] Mariana, Abarca, Mayerne Turquet.

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so divided, that it was not easy to distinguish where the authority lay. Orders were given to the several competitors to send their agents to *Caspé* [m]. In the mean time the civil war which had begun the year before in *Valentia*, rose to such a height, that the viceroy, who was intirely in the interest of the count of *Urgel*, endeavoured to join a body of his forces with all the strength of his own party; but, being intercepted by the chiefs of the opposite faction, an action ensued on the twenty-seventh of *January*, in which there were five thousand slain, and, amongst them, the viceroy and the grand bailiff [n]. There happened at this time an incident which manifests the true spirit of party; the victors obliged Don *Arnold de Bellera*, the son of the viceroy, to carry his father's head upon a pole, when they made their public entry into *Morviedo*. This melancholy affair, however, was attended with some good events, for the people in general began to see the folly of keeping up these divisions, and consequently the rage of parties gradually declined; insomuch that, towards the end of *March*, the two parliaments united, and sent a detachment of troops to make their quota of the garrison of the fortress of *Caspé*, into which, without any dispute, they were received, and all things disposed for the reception of this august tribunal [o], to whom the preservation of so many kingdoms was consigned.

THE judges were not chosen with the same facility. The *Catalans* and *Valentians* especially were much divided. At length, understanding that the *Arragonese* had referred the choice of their commissaries to the viceroy and chief justice, they all agreed to leave the nomination of their judges to the same persons; who declared for the kingdom of *Arragon*, Don *Dominic Ram*, bishop of *Huesca*, Don *Francisco de Aranda*, Don *Berenger de Bardogi*; for the principality of *Catalonia*, Don *Pedro Zaggariga*, archbishop of *Terragona*, Don *Gulermo de Balseca*, and Don *Bernard de Galbes*; for the kingdom of *Valentia*, Don *Boniface de Ferrier*, general of the chartreux, his brother *Vincent de Ferrier*, of the orders of frier preachers, a man of a vehement disposition, but who, by his probity and disinterestedness, had acquired a general reputation of a saint, and Don *Gines de Rabaza*, the most celebrated civil lawyer in the kingdom. But when the judges were all arrived, had taken their respective seats, and, in their first sessions, appointed tutors to maintain the cause

Who, by the consent of all the parliaments, are named by the viceroy and chief justice of Arragon.

[m] ZURITA, RAINALD, FERRERAS. [n] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MAYERNE TURQ. [o] ABARCA, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

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of Don *Frederic*, count *de Luna*, on account of his youth, the last of these judges, Don *Ginez de Rabaza*, either lost, or pretended to lose, his senses; upon which his family had leave to withdraw him; and *Pedro Bertran*, another very eminent lawyer, was appointed in his stead [p].

These judges meet at Caspé, *open their tribunal, and hear the claims of the several pretenders.*

We have insisted the longer upon this affair, as there are but very few instances in history where the rights of succession have been canvassed before a tribunal composed of judges who were immediately to become the subjects of him in whose favour they declared, and whose authority, after their decision, was as properly owned and submitted to as before. It is true, that some exceptions were taken by two of the parliaments, upon their nomination, against some of the judges, upon a presumption that their sentiments were already known; but, in answer to this, it was alleged, that stations change men, and that the notions of the private person might give way to the lights acquired by the judges; that it would not be easy to replace them by men of as great character, not liable to the same objection; and, lastly, that these exceptions came too late, since it was unanimously agreed to adhere to the persons named by the viceroy and the grand bailiff; and at length all the parliaments acquiesced [q]. It is now time to inform the reader who the competitors were, and how their claims were supported; since, in the course of this or perhaps of any other history, there is scarce a parallel of a proceeding of this nature, in which all things were conducted with a dignity and an impartiality suitable to the importance of that question which they were to decide.

Who the claimants were, and how their pretensions were founded.

There were in the whole seven competitors, five princes and two princesses. The first of these was Don *Alonso*, duke of *Gandia*, the son of the infant Don *Pedro*, and the grandson of Don *Jayme* II. king of *Arragon*, so that he was a direct male descendant of the royal house of *Arragon*. This prince died while the controversy was depending; upon which Don *Juan* count *de Prades*, his brother, claimed in preference to his nephew the count of *Denia*, son to the deceased duke. But the judges determined clearly that the right accruing to the duke of *Gandia*, in case he had any right, accrued at the death of the king Don *Martin*; and that therefore the title, whatever it was, must be in his son, who was his representative, and not his brother. Don *Jayme* count *de Urgel* was the next claimant, as being the son of Don

[p] Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Ferreras, [q] Abarca, Mariana.

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Pedro count *d'Urgel*, and the grandſon of the infant Don *Jayme*, who was ſo created by his father Don *Alonſo* the fourth, the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Don *Jayme* the ſecond; ſo that it was alleged he had clearly a better right than the duke of *Gandia*, ſince, Don *Jayme* the ſecond being their common anceſtor, he claimed under the eldeſt, whereas the duke claimed under the youngeſt ſon. The third was Don *Frederic* count *de Luna*, natural ſon to Don *Martin* the younger, king of *Sicily*, who would have been indiſputably the heir of all theſe dominions, but for the flaw in his birth; to help which, three legitimations were inſiſted upon, that of his father, that of his grandfather, and that of the pope. However, upon examining theſe legitimations, it appeared, that the intention of them all was to qualify him for the ſucceſſion in *Sicily*; and, in the act of legitimation by his grandfather, it was declared, in expreſs terms, that he ſhould not be qualified or intitled thereby to ſucceed to the crowns of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Majorca*, or to the counties of *Barcelona*, *Rouſſillon*, and *Cerdogne*. *Lewis* of *Anjou*, duke of *Calabria*, and count *de Guiſe*, claimed in right of his mother, Donna *Violante*, queen of *Naples*, daughter to Don *Juan*, the elder brother of Don *Martin*. That queen herſelf alſo claimed, as did Donna *Iſabella*, the wife of the count of *Urgel*, as being the daughter of Don *Pedro* the fourth. Laſtly, the infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* ſet forth his title, being the ſon of Donna *Leonora*, the eldeſt ſiſter of the two laſt kings.

Method in which the Caſtilian lawyers ſtated Don Ferdinand's title to the crown.

THE advocates for his title ſeem to have been much abler men than thoſe intruſted with the concerns of the other candidates; they ſet out with overturning all the old doctrine about the right of heirs female, which, in a military ſtate, as that of *Arragon* originally was, they affirmed could never ſubſiſt, becauſe an heir female is a perpetual minor, and therefore incapable of being at the head of ſuch a ſtate. As to the caſe of *Petronilla*, upon which all the other lawyers had ſtumbled, they removed it by a very ſubtle, but at the ſame time by a very plauſible, diſtinction, aſſerting, that ſhe neither had, nor was ever underſtood to have by the ſtates, any right in her own perſon at all. Her huſband Don *Raymond* never aſſumed the title of king, but adminiſtered the government till there ſhould be one; that, upon his demiſe, ſhe indeed aſſumed the title of queen, but it was only that there might be the greater formality in her act, by which ſhe devolved the government upon her ſon Don *Alonſo*, tho' an infant, who was the true heir of his grandfather Don *Ramiro*, ſurnamed *the Monk*. Upon this, the true rule of

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succession was laid down to be, that heirs female were excluded; but that the heirs male descended from females were capable of the succession, in proportion as they stood nearest in alliance to the last deceased prince, and were capable of administering the government; upon which principle the king of *Castile* had declined making any claim, tho' the representative of his father, who had a right prior to the infant Don *Ferdinand*, because he was at this time himself a minor. That, with regard to the duke of *Calabria*, the states had already precluded him, by setting aside his mother, as well as the countess of *Foix* her sister, when they called the late king Don *Martin* to the throne; so that, upon the whole, the infant Don *Ferdinand* was the nearest heir male to the last reigning prince, capable of the succession[r]. However this had been received in *Arragon*, the *Castilian* lawyers had so fully possessed Don *Ferdinand* with an opinion of this title, that he would have asserted it by force.

The majority of the judges decree in his favour, and the rest also acquiesce.

THE judges spent thirty days in hearing with great candour and calmness whatever could be offered to them in behalf of any of the candidates. This being done, they assembled, and debated the matter among themselves. *Vincente Ferrier* was the first who spoke, and declared for the infant Don *Ferdinand*; five more of the judges concurred with him; the archbishop of *Tarragona* gave his voice for the count *d'Urgel*, *Gulermo de Balseca* was of his opinion; as for *Pedro Bertran*, he declined giving any opinion at all, as not having had time to acquaint himself with their several pretensions. But as the three judges for *Arragon*, two of the *Valentians*, and one *Catalan*, were of the same opinion, they proceeded to draw up the decree, which was made public on the twenty-eighth of *June*, in the church of *Caspé*, with all the marks of solemnity that could be devised, and with great acclamations of the people, who were glad to see the interregnum at an end, and the antient form of government restored[s]. It cannot, however, be supposed, that, in a case of this nature, any decree could be made that would have no malecontents. St. *Vincent*, as they stiled him, plainly perceived this, and that the count of *Urgel* had still a very strong party, who complained openly that they called an infant of *Castile* to the succession of the crown of *Arra-*

[r] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA, FERRERAS.
[s] Chroniques de Espanya, que tracta dels Reys, dels Gots, y dels Comtes de Barcelona, e Reys de Arago, compilada per MIGUEL CARBONEL, Barcel. 1536. MAYERNE TURQUET.

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gon, in prejudice to the noble race of the counts of *Barcelona*, from whom the count was indisputably descended; and therefore he endeavoured to dispel their melancholy by a sermon that he preached the next day with great emphasis, but which, notwithstanding, made very little impression on those who were of another opinion, though it very strongly confirmed such as were in the same sentiments, as, in disputes of this nature, is commonly the case. The *Castilian* writers, when they tell us, that, exclusive of his pretensions, Don *Ferdinand* was, of all the candidates, the prince who, for his personal great qualities, best deserved the throne, cast a shade of calumny upon the judges, whom they labour to commend, for they were not appointed to consider of conveniencies, but to decide a point of right † by the known laws of their country,

Good reason to believe they decided according to their consciences in this affair.

UPON the closest inspection, however, it will probably appear to the candid and impartial reader, that they really discharged their consciences; though it must be allowed that they cast the succession upon a prince, who, if they had been free to make their choice, would have best deserved their suffrages. Those who were in the interest of the count of *Urgel* magnified his descent in a direct line from the counts of *Barcelona*, without distinguishing that this could only give him a title to the principality of *Catalonia*, and and this too upon a supposition that heirs male, descending from females, were not capable of inheriting. But the principality of *Catalonia* and the kingdom of *Valentia* being united to the crown of *Arragon* by the assent of the states, the rule of succession to that crown was to be the rule of succession in the present case; and as the counts of *Barcelona* had acquired the regal dignity by their descent from a female, there was no reason that another family should not acquire it in the same way, which was the unanimous sense of the commissioners of *Arragon*. Besides, the count of *Urgel* had taken up arms, had committed hostilities against his country, and was looked upon to be the author of the most execrable assassination of the archbishop of *Saragossa*. To all which we may add, that, to prevent the miseries of a civil war, the parliaments of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Catalonia*, who had an unquestionable right of declaring and confirming the titles of their kings, had in the most solemn manner devolved their power upon this occasion on the nine judges, and were therefore bound to follow their decree, it being made upon mature deliberation, freely, and without

† HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, FERRERAS.

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any ſuſpicion of corruption [u]. A kind of reaſoning, which through the whole of this affair, they had approved and purſued.

He is acknowleg'd, proclaim'd, accepts the crown, and comes immediately to take poſſeſſion of it.

ACCORDINGLY each of the parliaments ſent deputies to the new king Don *Ferdinand*, to acknowlege his title, and to do him homage; which having accepted, he confirmed all who were in employment, and, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, he held an aſſembly of the ſtates, received their oaths of fidelity to himſelf and to his ſon the infant Don *Alonſo*, his heir apparent; the kingdoms of *Sardinia* and *Sicily* likewiſe ſubmitted, and the *Genoeſe* concluded a truce with him for five years [w]. He went afterwards to *Barcelona*, where he held the ſtates of *Catalonia*, confirmed their privileges, and received their oaths [x]. The count of *Urgel*, however, could not be perſuaded to acquieſce, or to pay his homage, though the king Don *Ferdinand* aſſured him of his favour, of indemnity for what was paſſed, and, as he had no children but daughters, offered to marry the eldeſt of them to his ſon the infant Don *Henry*, and to create him duke of *Montalban*. The count for ſome time kept the treaty on foot, and ſeemed to act as if he intended a ſubmiſſion, demanding an immenſe ſum of money for the expences he had been at in purſuing his title to the crown, and other favours; which granted, he was content to do homage: however, Don *Ferdinand* would liſten to nothing of that kind, but inſiſted on his doing homage firſt; which ſtep taken, he was willing to do for the count whatever he could reaſonably deſire; and with this conduct the ſtates of *Catalonia* were perfectly ſatisfied. But the count was privately taking other meaſures, in conjunction with Don *Antonio de Luna*, and other buſy ſpirits, who were bent upon raiſing a civil war [y], which turned not at all to their advantage, though it gave much diſturbance to the new king, and brought many and great miſeries upon their country.

A. D. 1412.

Reduces the count de Urgel, who had taken up arms againſt him.

AT the opening of the next year it appeared, that the count *de Urgel* had entered into an alliance with the duke of *Clarence*, had promiſed him his eldeſt daughter in marriage, and expected great ſuccours from him out of *Gaſcony*; he took likewiſe every other meaſure that he thought capable of

[u] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. ZURITA, ABARCA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [w] ABARCA, HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [x] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. FERRERAS. [y] MIGUEL CARBONEL, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. MAYERNE TURQUET.

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exciting domeſtic troubles, or bringing in foreign invaders. He prevailed ſo far as to cauſe ſome tumults in *Saragoſſa*, and to bring a multitude of adventurers of all nations, to try what was to be got by plundering *Arragon* and *Catalonia*; but he was not capable of bringing a ſtrength into the field ſufficient to look the king in the face, which obliged him to take ſhelter in the fortreſs of *Balaquer*, a very ſtrong place, on the north ſide of the *Segro*, commanding a very pleaſant and fertile country, which he defended with great courage and ſpirit for a long time, in hopes of being ſuccoured by his foreign allies [z]. The king, Don *Ferdinand*, commanded the ſiege in perſon, in which the duke of *Gandia* ſerved with great courage and reputation, and at length the count of *Urgel* was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion, and to go and throw himſelf at the feet of the king Don *Ferdinand* [a]. The ſtates of *Catalonia*, who at the beginning had declared him a traitor, paſſed ſentence upon him of perpetual impriſonment; the king having abſolutely promiſed him his life, they confiſcated all his eſtate, and that of his mother, by whom he was principally encouraged to act as he did. The king ſent the count to be kept in *Caſtile*, and ordered him to be treated with all poſſible lenity and reſpect, as [b] ſome authors ſay. A. D. 1413.

In the month of *January*, Don *Ferdinand* was crowned with great ſolemnity at *Saragoſſa*, where he created his eldeſt ſon prince of *Gironne*, and the infant Don *Henry* prince of *Penafiel*; gave audience to the ambaſſadors from the emperor, and moſt of the other crowned heads in *Europe*, and made ſeveral good laws. In the aſſembly of the ſtates [c], the ſame year, he had an interview with pope *Benedict* the thirteenth [d]. A conſpiracy was ſoon after diſcovered, by the mother of the count of *Urgel*, to poiſon the king; and by the aſſiſtance of foreign troops to raiſe her ſon to the throne. The king cauſed her with great ſecrecy to be arreſted; in her cuſtody letters were found from the king of *Portugal*, the duke of *Clarence*, and other princes who were acquainted with her intrigues. The king confined her and her daughters ſtrictly, but would not proceed to extremities [e]. He ſent his ſon the infant Don *Juan* into *Sicily*, having ſigned the contract of marriage for him with the young queen of *Is crown'd with great ſolemnity at* Saragoſſa, *and is as well received at* Arragon *as poſſible.* A. D. 1414.

[z] Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. [a] Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras. [b] Annal. Arragon. Abarca, Hernando Perez de Guzman. [c] Miguel Carbonel, Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Mayerne Turquet, Mariana. [d] Rainald, Abarca. [e] Zurita, Annal. Arragon.

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Naples, but that princess had married the count *de la Marche*, of the house of *Bourbon*, before his arrival. The *Neapolitans* were extremely piqued at the queen's conduct, and made the king of *Arragon* offers of taking up arms in favour of the young prince; but Don *Ferdinand* told them, he had kingdoms enough already, and that, considering the inconstancy of their queen, he thought his son had a good escape[f].

A. D. 1415. *The states of Catalonia expostulate with him, on which he retires into Castile, and dies.*

THE countess of *Urgel* intending to send her daughters into *France*, the king sent for the two eldest to court, and left the two youngest with her, upon a promise that she would not send them out of the kingdom[g]. He had demanded of the states of *Catalonia*, a year before, a sum of money, to enable him to regulate the affairs of *Sicily*, which they were not inclined to grant; he made the same demand again this year at *Barcelona*, and was without ceremony refused; but was given to understand, that it was not out of disrespect to him, or for want of money, but to vindicate their privilege of refusing when they thought fit[h]; which the king took so extremely ill, that he went to make a tour into *Castile*, where, his health being before infirm, he died,

A. D. 1416.

on the second of *April*, when he had governed the kingdom of *Arragon* three years nine months and five days. He had by his consort Donna *Leonora de Albuquerque* five sons, Don *Alonso*, prince of *Girona*, the infants Don *Juan*, Don *Henry*, Don *Sancho*, and Don *Pedro*; all of whom, except Don *Sancho*, survived him; and as many daughters. He was a prince of the most unblemished character that the age produced, of real piety, strict justice, and great moderation; the only fault his new subjects found with him was, that he loved his countrymen the *Castilians* too much, and had too many of them about his person[i]; which, though in itself a virtue, was, in his situation misplaced.

Don Alonso V. succeeds, and applies himself with great vigour to settle the government.

THE prince of *Gironne* succeeded his father by the title of *Alonso* the fifth, and found the first moments of his reign perplexed by the insolence of pope *Benedict* the thirteenth, who, having amused his father with a promise of giving peace to the church by a resignation, was so much provoked at his renouncing obedience to him, and sending embassadors to the council of *Constance*, as other Christian princes did, that he declared him a schismatic, and fallen from his regal dig-

[f] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. ABARCA, FERRERAS.
[g] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQ.
[h] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. [i] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

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nity[k]; notwithstanding which, his partisans had the confidence to desire the king's leave to supply him with provisions in the fortress of *Peniscola*, where, without this indulgence, he must have perished. However, the king consented to their demand, without departing any farther from his father's measures[l]. About the same time Don *Antonio Luna* involved a great many persons of quality in a very black design against the king's life, and for putting Don *Jayme*, count of *Urgel*, upon the throne; for the carrying on which scheme, he had amassed from the friends of the count a million of florins; but, when it was upon the point of being carried into execution, it was discovered, and a list of all the nobility that had any share in it put into the king's hands; who tore it without reading it, contenting himself with saying, that he would at least force them to acknowlege he had more regard for their lives than they for his[m]. The wars in *Sardinia* and *Corsica* gave him great disturbance, so that at length he meditated an expedition in person; but he found the same difficulty his father had done in procuring supplies; instead of which the states of *Catalonia* sent deputies to expostulate with him on the keeping so many *Castilians* about him; but he told them, that he employed none of his *Castilians* in public affairs; and that he would not be dictated to as to the servants who were about his person[n]. We have in another part of this work given an account of the share he had in the affairs of *Castile*, and therefore shall not mention them here. His brother the infant Don *Juan*, whom he had recalled in the beginning of his reign from *Sicily*, from an apprehension that mutinous people might have set him upon the throne, married about this time the queen dowager Donna *Blanca*, who was the heiress of *Navarre*, with the king's consent[o]. Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, having obtained, by the assistance of pope *Martin* the fifth, a sufficient supply of money, executed his design of going in person to *Sardinia*, where, as he expected, he settled every thing to his own satisfaction, and obtained from the states of that island a free gift of one hundred thousand florins for the expences of his voyage, and to enable him to proceed A. D. 1419.

[k] Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Miguel Carbonel, Mayerne Turquet, Rainald. [l] Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Rainald. [m] Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Miguel Carbonel, Ferreras. [n] Hernando Perez de Guzman, Mariana, Zurita. [o] Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Ferreras.

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proceed to *Sicily* [p], where his presence was become absolutely necessary.

Is adopted by Q. Joan of Naples, and resolves to vindicate his title by force of arms.

WHILE he was providing for this new expedition, *Antonio Carracca* applied to him on the behalf of queen *Joan* of *Naples*, against whom the pope, the duke of *Anjou*, and the constable *Sforza*, had entered into a confederacy to depose her, offering that she should adopt him for her son and heir, and give him immediately the duchy of *Calabria*, if he would assist her. The king, knowing that the duke of *Anjou* had entered into a treaty with the *Genoese*, accepted the proposal, and sent a stout body of troops to her relief, by whom the siege of *Naples* was raised; upon which the queen installed Don *Alonso* by proxy heir apparent of her kingdom, and duke of
A. D. *Calabria* [q]. However, in his expedition against *Corsica*, the
1420. king of *Arragon* was not altogether so fortunate. The next year he went to *Sicily*, and, having assembled a great fleet and army, passed over to *Naples*, and made his entry into that city on the seventh of *June*, where he was very kindly received by the queen, who, notwithstanding, began to alter her sentiments in relation to the services done her by that
1421. prince, and to consider some way of revoking her adoption [r]. The pope, in point of dissimulation, fell not at all short of this princess; for some writers say, that he confirmed the adoption of Don *Alonso*; but all agree, that he caused several places in the territories of *Naples* to be delivered up to him, as heir of the kingdom, at the very time he was carrying on intrigues against him [s]. The king Don *Alonso* was in the mean time employed in reducing that part of the kingdom of *Naples* which still adhered to the duke of *Anjou*; and his success, which ought to have endeared him to the queen and her minister, served only to increase their hatred, from a persuasion that whatever augmented his power must lessen theirs [t]. The plague being at *Naples*, the king and queen retired to *Gaeta*, where the latter carried on her intrigues with the pope, the duke of *Milan*, and even her competitor *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*; of all which tho' the king was not ignorant, he took no sort of notice; but, as soon as *Naples* was free from the plague, he marched back thither by land with his forces, having appointed a squadron of gallies

[p] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [q] MIGUEL CARBONEL, ALBINUS, PONTANUS, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [r] ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ABARCA, MARIANA. [s] RAINALD, MIGUEL CARBONEL. [t] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. FACIO, Æn. Sylo. Sand. FERRERAS.

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to transport the queen, who, surmising on the sudden, that those gallies might have orders to carry her to *Spain*, absolutely refused to go on board, and, with those who were about her, took shelter in the strong fortress of *Capua*; so that now the breach between the king and queen became public, though as yet there were no acts of hostility committed; on the contrary, both sides affected to give out, that their disputes were far from being irreconcileable; and that, upon a proper explanation, there was nothing more likely than that they should become good friends [u].

Becomes master of the city, and constrains the queen to take shelter elsewhere.

THE queen, coming to *Naples*, took up her lodgings in one of the castles, the king of *Arragon* residing in another, all exterior marks of civility being still kept up between them. At length the queen having entered into an alliance with the powers before-mentioned, and procured a promise from the pope, that he would cancel her adoption of the king of *Arragon*, and confirm that she was about to make of *Lewis*, duke of *Anjou*, she judged the shortest and surest method of bringing this new scheme to bear, was to remove the king of *Arragon* secretly; in order to which, she sent her high steward to invite him to a conference. Don *Alonso*, having intelligence of the design, caused that lord to be arrested, and set out immediately to go to the conference which the queen had proposed; but when he drew near the castle, they not only refused him admittance, but discharged such a flight of arrows as wounded his horse in several places, and killed some of the nobility who were about him; which so provoked him, that he attacked and besieged it, though to no purpose [w]. By this means a civil war broke out in the very city of *Naples*, which lasted till the subjects of Don *Alonso* sent him such powerful assistance, that the queen was glad to escape, and leave him in possession of the capital; where he did not however remain long; but leaving his brother Don *Pedro*, who came with these succours, his viceroy, he embarked on board his fleet, in order to return to his hereditary dominions, and, in his passage, landed his troops, and made himself master of *Marseilles*; which though he suffered to be pillaged by his soldiers, yet he placed guards upon the churches, to protect the ladies who had taken refuge in them; and when, in return, they would have made him a valuable present out of the jewels which they had saved, he refused it, saying, that he revenged the injuries

A. D. 1423.

[u] MIGUEL CARBONEL, ALBINUS, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. MARIANA, FERRERAS.

[w] PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, FACIO, MARIANA.

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he had received as a prince, and did not come thither to plunder [x]. It is neceſſary to remark, that at this time the city of *Marſeilles* was in poſſeſſion of the houſe of *Anjou*.

Returns into his hereditary dominions, without abandoning his claim to Naples.

ONE of the principal reaſons of the king of *Arragon's* returning home was, to procure the liberty of his brother the infant Don *Henry*, whom Don *Juan* of *Caſtile* had very juſtly impriſoned for the diſturbances he had created in that kingdom, and of which, in ſpeaking of the reign of that prince, we have given a large account. While this affair was depending, the infant Don *Juan* of *Arragon* became king of *Navarre* by the death of *Charles the Noble*, and, by his interpoſition, prevented a war from breaking out between the crowns of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*; and the liberty of his

A. D. 1425. brother Don *Henry*. But, notwithſtanding this, jealouſies between theſe two monarchs continued, and even increaſed; inſomuch that, Don *Alonſo* of *Arragon* apprehending that ſome advantage might be taken of the count *de Urgel's* remaining a priſoner in *Caſtile*, he cauſed him to be taken from thence by force, and carried to the caſtle of *Xativa* [y]. Upon the death of *Benedict* the thirteenth, who, ſome writers ſay, was poiſoned, the king of *Arragon* protected *Giles Munoz*, who had aſſumed the title of pope in oppoſition to *Martin* the fifth, whom he conſidered as his determined enemy; for which this laſt-mentioned pope cauſed him to be cited at *Rome*, with an intent to form a proceſs againſt him;

1427. but it being the intereſt of neither to come to extremities, matters were at length compromiſed between them, and the king promiſed to uſe his endeavours with the pretended pope to lay aſide that title, which he afterwards did [z]. The miſunderſtandings with *Caſtile* ſtill continuing, the laſt-mentioned monarch entered into intrigues with ſome powerful ſubjects, who were diſcontented with the king Don *Alonſo*, and amongſt theſe was Don *Alonſo de Arguillo*, archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*; but, the conſpiracy being diſcovered, moſt of them were arreſted; however, only one ſuffered, who was beheaded; and this prelate, concerning whom there are many differ-

1429. ent reports, was never ſeen afterwards. *Ferreras* is very angry with a certain ſucceſſor of his, for inſinuating that it was not barely treaſon, but a treaſon of a kind not to be divulged, which induced the king to treat the archbiſhop with ſo much ſeverity. But if there had been nothing in

[x] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ABARCA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. [y] HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS. [z] RAINALD, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. FERRERAS.

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this story, it is not easy to conceive the death of the primate of *Arragon* should not have drawn upon the king greater censure [a].

The true cause of his resolving to undertake another expedition into Italy.

THE affairs of Don *Alonso* in *Italy* had declined from the time he left that country; and his brother the infant Don *Pedro* came in person to acquaint him how little hopes there were of retrieving them; which however did not hinder the king from sending such succours as he was able to those who still adhered to his interest [b]. At last, when things were almost grown desperate, and the duke of *Anjou* was become master of the best part of the kingdom of *Naples*, Don *Alonso* was surprised by an application from queen *Joan* and her high steward, who, on the part of the queen, represented to him, that she was very desirous of seeing him at *Naples*; and from the high steward, that he had a corps of six thousand horse and foot ready to join him as soon as his fleet should appear. The king sent a minister of his own to *Rome*, to learn the pope's disposition; to whom *Martin* the fifth very frankly declared, that he would give the king all the assistance in his power; upon which Don *Alonso* began to think in earnest of another expedition; for undertaking which he made vast preparations in the kingdom of *Valentia*. While he was thus employed, the pope died [c], which gave him great uneasiness, but did not however intirely defeat his scheme, though he thought it prudent to give out that his armament was intended against the king of *Tunis*. When things were in proper order, the king appointed his consort regent of *Catalonia*, and gave his brother the king of *Navarre* the like authority in the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia* [d]. The reader perhaps will not be displeased if we inform him, that, exclusive of the reasons assigned in history, an author [e] who may be depended upon acquaints us with the private but principal motive which induced this monarch to spend the remainder of his days in perpetual action and fatigue. He was one of the most graceful, as well as one of the most accomplished princes in *Europe*; and his queen Donna *Maria* of *Castile* was so jealous of him, that he found it impossible to live in peace. It is true that this was not without reason, since by one of

[a] ABARCA, Historia de Espana, sec. 15. [b] MIGUEL CARBONEL, Æn. Sylv. Sand. [c] RAINALD, PONTANUS, ALBINUS. [d] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [e] Las Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES, Consescolios proprios de Don JUAN VITRIAN, P. i. p. 3.

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A. D. 1431. the ladies of her court he had a son Don *Ferdinand*; which provoked the queen to such a degree, that she put the lady to death; and this affected Don *Alonso* so much, that he resolved upon this method of dissipating his cares [f].

He carries it into execution, and at length resolves upon conquering Naples.

THE king's fleet consisted of nine sail of ships of war, twenty-six gallies, and a great number of transports. His first exploit was attacking the island of *Gerbes*, upon the coast of *Africa*, where, on the first of *September*, he gained a decisive victory by land over the troops of the king of *Tunis*, took his tent with great riches therein, and twenty-five pieces of artillery, and, having reduced the island, and left a garrison there, proceeded to *Sicily* [g]. There he received an application from pope *Eugenius* the fourth, who was desirous that he should enter into a league with the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*; which he offered to do, provided he would grant him the investiture of the kingdom of

A. D. 1432. *Naples*, to which however the pontif would not consent [h]. However, in the winter he made a new treaty with the queen of *Naples*, who promised to revoke all she had done in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, and to declare him her successor [i]. The next year passed intirely in negotiations, as did also part of the following, during which *Lewis* duke of *Anjou* died; and not long after the queen of *Naples*, notwithstanding all her treaties and all her professions, called his brother *Rene* to the succession, though he was at that time prisoner to the duke of *Burgundy*; however, he sent his consort *Isabella*, duchess of *Anjou*, to *Naples*, who, by the assistance of the pope, was received and treated as queen [k]. In the mean time the queen of *Arragon*, who had sent the infants Don *Pedro* and Don *Henry* to prevail on the king to return into his own dominions, but without effect, at length

1434. engaged Don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*, to make a voyage to *Sicily* for the same purpose, not doubting that, upon his representations, the king his brother would return, and [l], from his own observations, be induced to remain.

Involves himself in a war with the

HE found Don *Alonso* absolutely bent upon attempting once more the conquest of *Naples*, and, with a fleet and army ready for that purpose, the king of *Navarre* and the

[f] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. FERRERAS. [g] ABARCA, MIGUEL CARBONEL, PONTANUS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [h] RAINALD, ZURITA, ALBINUS, BENEDICTI. [i] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [k] FELIPE DE COMINES, PONTANUS, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. MAYERNE TURQUET. [l] ABARCA, MARIANA.

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infant Don *Henry* embarked with him; but the infant Don *Pedro* was left to command in *Sicily*. The duke of *Sessa*, and some others of the king's party, made themselves masters of *Capua*, to which city the king and his brothers repaired; and, having held a council of war there with all the *Neapolitan* grandees in his interest, the siege of *Gaeta* was resolved on; and thither accordingly the king sailed with his fleet, with which he blocked up the place by sea [m]. Two brave men, *Otho Zopo* and *Francisco Spinola*, commanded in *Gaeta* for the duke of *Milan*, and the republic of *Genoa*, who found themselves under the necessity of turning out women, children, and other useless mouths, from within the place; whom the generals of the king of *Arragon* advised him to turn back, as a certain means of taking *Gaeta* quickly; however, Don *Alonso* received, relieved, and dismissed them, with this memorable expression, that he had much rather lose any city in his dominions than the reputation of humanity [n]. The *Genoese* sent a squadron of twelve men of war and three gallies, commanded by *Blaise Acereto*, chancellor of the republic, exceedingly well manned and provided, to relieve the place. The king sent two gallies to bring him intelligence; and, as soon as he knew their strength, he sailed with fourteen ships of war and eleven gallies to meet and fight them. In three days he distinguished the *Genoese* fleet, and on *Friday* the fifth of *August* he engaged them. The chancellor *Acereto* brought only nine ships and three gallies into the line, giving orders to three of his stoutest ships to fall in upon any critical juncture, where they saw it necessary [o]. The *Genoese*, being better seamen, and their ships in all respects better furnished, had the advantage, and the king's ship was particularly very roughly handled; however, he would have made a tolerable retreat, if the three great men of war had not unexpectedly borne down, and in a few minutes distressed him to such a degree, that the ship was sinking; upon which, to save those who were with him, he caused his flag to be struck to the duke of *Milan*. The vessels that were near him followed his example, and, except a single ship, the whole fleet was taken [p]. This action lasted ten hours: there were about six hundred slain on the side of the king of *Arragon*, and about as many thousand taken prisoners, amongst whom were the kings of *Arragon* and

duke of Milan, the republic of Genoa, in which he is taken prisoner.

[m] Albinus, Miguel Carbonel, Facio. [n] Zurita, Ferreras. [o] Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [p] Hieronymi Blancæ, Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

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Navarre, the infant Don *Henry* of *Arragon*, Don *Juan de Soto Major*, grand maſter of the order of *Alcantara*, Don *Diego Gomez de Sandoval*, count *de Caſtro*, with his two ſons *Diego* and *Ferdinand*, Don *Ruy Diaz de Mendoca*, ſurnamed *the Bald*, and the ſons of Don *Ruy Lopez de Avalos*, with a multitude of other perſons of diſtinction, *Arragoneſe*, *Valencians*, and *Catalonians*; the prince of *Tarento*, duke of *Seſſa*, the count *de Campo Baſo*, and many others of the prime nobility of *Naples* [q]. The victory itſelf became in ſome meaſure a burden to thoſe who gained it; inſomuch that the chancellor *Blaiſe Acereto*, apprehenſive of the conſequences that might attend keeping ſuch a number of priſoners on board the fleet, under colour of generoſity ſet four thouſand private men on ſhore the very next night, amongſt whom many gentlemen eſcaped [r].

Landed at Savona, *and conducted by the duke's general to his capital at* Milan.

UPON the news of this victory the ſiege of *Gaeta* was raiſed; but the chancellor of *Genoa* would not carry the fleet into that port, from an apprehenſion that the command would be immediately taken from him by *Francis Spinola*; he ſailed therefore to the iſland of *Iſchia*, and demanded of the king Don *Alonſo*, that he ſhould order the fortreſs and iſland to be put into his hands; but he anſwered, that he would not give a fort to prevent his throwing him into the ſea; upon which the *Genoeſe* admiral returned to *Savona*, which at that time belonged to the duke of *Milan*, and there landed the two kings, and other perſons of diſtinction; from thence they were carried to *Porto Venere*, where they were met by *Nicholas Picinino*, one of the duke's principal generals, who, with an eſcort of ſix hundred horſe, conducted them to *Milan*, into which city the king of *Arragon*, and the reſt of the great perſons who were the companions of his misfortunes, made their public entry on the fifteenth of *September*: and thus ended the triumphs of the duke and the *Genoeſe* [s].

The king draws over the duke of Milan, *and engages him in a new alliance.*

GREAT trials and ſudden changes of fortune are the true teſts of abilities. The fifth of *Auguſt* was not the moſt unfortunate, the fifteenth of *September* was the moſt happy, of this monarch's life. The duke of *Milan*, from a point of generoſity worthy of ſo great a prince, treated the king of *Arragon* with equal magnificence and reſpect; but what at firſt was mere complaiſance and generoſity, became very

[q] ALBINUS, PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET.

[r] ABARCA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

[s] ALBINUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon.

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quickly ſomething more. The very ceremonies of his reception were hardly over, when the king of *Arragon* told the duke, that he was amazed they ſhould be enemies, whoſe tempers and whoſe intereſts were the ſame: he ſaid, that, in preferring the neighbourhood of the duke of *Anjou* to that of a king of *Arragon*, he acted wiſely, and like a politician; but that he ought to conſider, that, if a *French* prince became once king of *Naples*, it would be a conqueſt made for *France*, who would not fail to pour in troops through *Piedmont* and the ſtate of *Genoa*; by which they would ſoon have *Lombardy* at their mercy, and conſequently he, who who was now the protector of the duke of *Anjou*, would be in great danger of becoming the king of *Naples*'s vaſſal. The duke was ſtruck with this obſervation very much, more eſpecially when the king added, that theſe were always the ſentiments of *John Gallias* his father, which the chief counſellors of the duke confirmed. The conſequence of this was, that within a few weeks the duke of *Milan* changed ſides, and entered into a treaty offenſive and defenſive with the king of *Arragon*, againſt all the princes in the world, the pope not excepted; with which news the king of *Navarre* was ſent away into *Spain*, and the king of *Arragon*, his brother the infant, and the *Italian* princes, after receiving rich preſents and the higheſt honours, were diſmiſſed without ranſom [t]; which happy turn in his affairs the king knew ſo well how to ſecond by his inſtructions to his generals, that, upon *Chriſtmas-day* in the ſame year, the infant Don *Pedro* became maſter of *Gaeta*, and thereby opened a paſſage to the conqueſt of the whole kingdom of *Naples* [u]. The republic of *Genoa* could not at all reliſh this ſignal act of generoſity, but took advantage from thence to revolt from the duke of *Milan*, and to declare war both againſt him and his new ally [w].

THE news of the king's captivity, and that of his brother the king of *Navarre*, made a great noiſe in *Spain*, more eſpecially as the affairs of *Arragon* were not at that time in the beſt condition, the diſputes with *Caſtile* remaining yet unſettled. The queen Donna *Maria* acted upon this occaſion with a prudence ſo much the more laudable, as it was ſcarce to have been expected from her ſex, and under ſo much affliction. She diſpatched a herald at arms immediately

States of Arragon, Valentia, *and* Catalonia, *vie with each other in granting him ſupplies.*

[t] ABARCA, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, FERRERAS. [u] ALBINUS, FACIO, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [w] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. FERRERAS.

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with letters to the king her husband, and assembled as soon as possible the states of *Arragon* at *Saragossa*; upon which occasion they shewed the true spirit of a free people; for they advised her to call a general assembly of the states of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Catalonia*, and *Majorca*, in some convenient place, and took upon themselves to dispense with the usual formalities, alleging, that they were contrived only to guard against the royal prerogative, from which they had now nothing to fear [x]. The queen fixed upon *Moncon*; to which place the deputies resorted, and took all the steps necessary for the security of their respective kingdoms; after which the queen had an interview with her brother Don *Juan* of *Castile*, who, at her request, prolonged the truce [y]. While the states were contriving how to procure the sum necessary for the king's ransom, the king of *Navarre* very unexpectedly arrived, and laid before them the surprising alteration of that monarch's circumstances, and his earnest desire that they would afford him such a supply as his exigencies required. The states at this time were at *Alcaniz*; but, upon receiving this information, they immediately separated, those of *Valentia* retiring to *Morella*, and those of *Catalonia* to *Tortosa*, that they might make their levies with the greater ease [z]. As for the states of *Arragon*, they remained where they were; and, to give a good example, granted the king one hundred and twenty thousand florins; in *Valentia* they gave him one hundred thousand, and the like sum in *Catalonia*, where they ordered it to be laid out in fitting out a great fleet under the command of the
A. D. 1436. count *de Modica* [a]. Thus the king was in all respects a gainer by his defeat before *Gaeta*, and was himself amazed at the receiving of succours, which nothing could have procured but the surprize attending such a misfortune, happily improved by the application and address of the queen Donna *Maria*.

His hereditary dominions suffer many inconveniencies in his absence.

THIS part of the war in *Italy* has so close a connection with the affairs of *Arragon*, and it was so necessary to explain the reason of Don *Alonso*'s continuing in that country, that we could not avoid entering into the particulars; but if the reader is inclined to pursue the history of this war farther, he will find it under the history of *Naples*, to which it properly belongs. Don *Alonso* being accounted from this

[x] ABARCA, ZURITA, MARIANA. [y] HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MAYERNE TURQUET. [z] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. [a] ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

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time king of that country, the poſſeſſion of which not without great difficulty he acquired by his arms; and tho', being often preſſed, he ſometimes promiſed to return to his hereditary dominions, yet it never ſeems to have been his intention, and perhaps he was as little inclined to draw the queen thither, though he ſometimes requeſted it, and particularly when he ſent for his natural ſon Don *Ferdinand*, who, notwithſtanding her ſeverity to his mother, the queen cauſed to be educated with great care [b]. As for the king of *Navarre*, and the infant Don *Henry*, they were wholly intent on promoting their intereſts in *Caſtile*, where they had the diſpleaſure of hearing that the infant Don *Pedro* had loſt his life before *Naples*; and, what added to their trouble, the duke of *Anjou* procured a great body of adventurers to make an irruption into *Arragon*, which however produced little [c]. On the other hand, the ſucceſs of Don *Alonſo* alarmed the *Italian* princes ſo much, that a league was formed againſt him by the pope, the duke of *Milan*, the count of *Sforza*, the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Genoeſe*; notwithſtanding which, he became the very next year maſter of *Naples*, and broke that confederacy to pieces [d]. A. D. 1442.

THE enſuing year was ſtill more glorious for Don *Alonſo*; the inhabitants of moſt of the provinces of which the kingdom of *Naples* was compoſed, being weary of the miſeries of war, ſubmitted themſelves willingly to that prince, who, by the advice of ſome of his beſt friends, reſolved to call together the ſtates general of the whole kingdom, which he did at *Beneventum*, from whence, at their own requeſt, they were transferred to the capital city of *Naples*, into which the king made a public entry, very little inferior to that of a *Roman* triumph; the prelates and clergy preceding his chariot, before which was led a white horſe richly capariſoned, the chariot being drawn by four horſes of the ſame colour, being open, and very richly gilt, in which was the king alone, followed by all the princes and nobility of the kingdom on foot [e]. What added a luſtre to the ceremony was, the unaffected modeſty of the king, who did not wear either diadem or crown, but behaved towards every body with ſo much eaſe, and yet with ſo much dignity, that he was beloved in the ſame degree he was admired. In this aſſembly

Becomes ſole and abſolute maſter of the kingdom of Naples, and is ſo acknowleged.

[b] ALBINUS, ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [c] Las Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES, &c. FERRERAS. [d] PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, BENEDICTI, ALBINUS, PANORMITA, MARIANA. [e] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon, ALBINUS, PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, &c.

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of the ſtates, his ſon Don *Ferdinand*, whom he had created duke of *Calabria*, was acknowleged ſucceſſor to the crown; and the king created marquiſſes and counts, tho' their number was conſiderable enough before [f]. He was now reconciled to the duke of *Milan*, by whoſe interpoſition he concluded a peace with pope *Eugenius*, and who negotiated a marriage for his natural daughter Donna *Maria* with *Lionel d'Eſte* duke of *Ferrara* [g]. This diſobliged *Francis Picinini*, the ſon of *Nicholas*, who had rendered the king great ſervices during the war, and who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of marrying this princeſs by way of reward, and who, finding himſelf diſappointed, quitted his dominions in twenty-four hours [h]. Towards the end of the year, two very conſiderable officers in his ſervice, *Broylo de Mure* and *Pietro Brunoro*, formed a project of ſeizing his perſon, in hopes of being gratified by count *Sforza*; but the plot being diſcovered when it was almoſt ripe for execution, the king ſeized and ſent them into *Arragon*, where they remained for many years priſoners in the caſtle of *Xativa*. The duke of *Milan*, whoſe ſon-in-law count *Sforza* was, and who had hitherto lived upon bad terms with him, now thought fit to grant him his protection, and preſſed the king to deſiſt from making war [i].

1443.

Gives law, and is eſteemed the great arbiter of war and peace through all Italy.

THE continuance of his good fortune augmented, inſtead of extinguiſhing, the envy of his neighbours; but though it gave him ſome diſturbance, the loſs fell upon them, and the king carried his point. The pope was obliged to grant him the inveſtiture of *Naples*, which he had ſo often refuſed. He likewiſe legitimated his ſon, which, tho' a point of complaiſance in him, was however very convenient to the king, ſince it took away all doubt about the right of ſucceſſion; for *Naples* being held as a fief of the ſee of *Rome*, the pope, by this act of favour, removed the ſingle advantage that himſelf and his ſucceſſors might have taken againſt him [k]. About the ſame time this young prince was married to *Iſabella de Clermont*, niece to the prince of *Tarento*; and, to crown his felicity, the *Genoeſe*, who had hated him ſo heartily, and from whom he had received ſo much hurt, were conſtrained to demand his protection [l]. His ſubjects in *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, regretted his abſence extremely, as they gave him frequently to underſtand, tho' at the ſame time

[f] ABARCA, ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [g] ZUR. Annal. Arragon. MAYERNE TURQ. [h] ABARCA, MAR. [i] ALBINUS, PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARB. FERR. [k] RAINALD. ZUR. Annal. Arragon. MAR. [l] ALBINUS, PONT. FACIO, ABARCA.

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they persisted steadily in their duty, of which they gave him many substantial marks. His brother Don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*, tho' not a little opinionated, often demanded his advice, which he did not often follow; for Don *Alonso* always recommended a good understanding with the king of *Castile*, to whom he sent several embassies; and though he could not prevent his brother's taking contrary measures, yet he hindered, in a great measure, the bad consequences that might have attended them, and enabled the queen Donna *Maria* to remain always on good terms with her brother. He excited a spirit in the states of *Arragon*, that enabled him to controul Don *Juan* of *Navarre* in those violent measures he took in regard to his son the prince of *Viana*, and in his intrigues with the malecontents of *Castile*, with which crown a solid peace was on the point of being concluded, when the king Don *Juan* of *Castile* died. This was actually concluded with his successor Don *Henry* upon the very terms that *Alonso* desired [m], and, during his life, punctually kept on both sides. 1455.

But meets with troubles and disappointments, which imbitter the decline of his life.

As the flower, so the decline, of his age was spent in the hurry of negotiations, political intrigues, and the din of arms; neither were they without some disagreeable scenes and uneasy apprehensions. His nephew Don *Carlos*, prince of *Viana*, after having sustained a war against his father Don *Juan*, and suffered a tedious imprisonment, was at length compelled to retire to *Naples*, in hopes of enjoying some repose under the shadow of his protection. Don *Alonso* received him with a generosity worthy of so great a prince, and the tender affection that might be expected from so near a relation [n]. His cousin the duke of *Calabria*, either in imitation of his father, or from a principle of compassion, shewed him all the respect and kindness imaginable; so that he enjoyed, while he remained with them, all the happiness that it was in their power to bestow, and, through their mediation, things were compromised to his satisfaction with the king his father [o]; but afterwards the flame burst out with greater violence than ever, the people of *Navarre* having proclaimed him king, by which the civil war was renewed; which so provoked the king Don *Juan*, that he disinherited him and one of his sisters [p].

[m] Hern. Perez de Guzm. Zurit. Ferrer. [n] Mic. Carb. Abarca, Mayerne Turq. [o] Zurit. Annal. Arragon. [p] Abarca, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

Don

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His death, at which he bequeaths the kingdom of Naples *to his natural son Don* Ferdinand.

DON *Alonso*, having prevailed on his nephew to leave all things to his decision, dispatched one of his ministers to the king Don *Juan*, who came at the critical conjuncture when things were on the point of being determined by a battle; but he executed his commission with such firmness and dexterity, that the king of *Navarre* consented to admit his brother's mediation, to declare all his proceedings against his son null and void, and to leave the terms of pacification to be settled as that monarch should think fit [q]. At this time, tho' he had conquered many difficulties, and had united his old antagonist *Francis Sforza*, now duke of *Milan*, to his interests, by the marriage of his grandson to the duke's daughter, and his grand-daughter to the duke's son, yet fresh sources of trouble broke out. Pope *Calixtus* II. tho' born his subject, was not well-affected to him, and the *Neapolitans* in general disliked the duke of *Calabria*, who was of a cloudy and reserved disposition, and had nothing of that easy address and natural affability, which had contributed more to his father's success than either his courage or his abilities; in which, however, few princes were his equals. But what troubled Don *Alonso* most was the discovery that some of the principal nobility of his kingdom had tampered with his nephew Don *Carlos*, who had not given so clear and direct an answer as the obligations he was under both to the father and son required. This affected the king so much, that he fell into a fever; and Don *Carlos*, suspecting the cause, very prudently withdrew into *Sicily*, while the king, restless and uneasy, caused himself to be carried from one castle in *Naples* to another, and at length expired on the 22d day of *June*, 1468, in the 43d year of his reign over *Arragon*, and the countries dependent upon that crown.

The character of Don Alonso.

THE character of Don *Alonso* V. of *Arragon*, and the first of *Naples*, having long ago exercised, as a certain author [r] reports, the pens of more than threescore eminent historians, stands not at all in need of any thing we can say; and yet there are certain circumstances that, for the satisfaction of our readers, ought not to be omitted. He was, beyond all doubt, the greatest prince that ever sat upon the throne of *Arragon*; a very able statesman, and one who did his business directly; disdaining, as became him, whatever looked like cunning; a gallant soldier, and a great captain, perfectly skilled in the art of war, which he managed openly, and without cruelty [s]; learned himself, and the greatest pa-

[q] ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. MAR. [r] MAR. FERRER.
[s] VARILL. Anecdotes de Florence.

tron

tron of learning that age produced. He gave for his device a book opened; and it was his common saying, that an unlettered prince was but a crowned ass. He had, with many and great virtues, some vices, which, however, regarded rather his private than his public life. The greatest of his failings was his love of women, which was fatal to Donna *Margarita de Hijar*, the mother of Don *Ferdinand*, and who was big with child by him, when she became the victim of his queen's jealousy [t]. He had, besides, a *Neapolitan* mistress, who made much more noise in the world, and whom some say he was inclined to marry. Her name was *Lucretia Alania*, and his fondness for her in a very advanced period of life sullied his reputation very much [u]. He died, however, with great marks of penitence, declaring, by his last testament, his brother Don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*, heir to the crowns of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, and the principality of *Catalonia*, with all their dependencies [w]. The kingdom of *Naples*, acquired by his arms, and to which he had a personal, not an hereditary right, he bestowed on Don *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*. Besides this natural son, he left behind him two daughters, Donna *Maria* marchioness of *Ferrara*, and Donna *Leonora* princess of *Rossano*, and duchess of *Sessa*. His death falling out as it did, saved the republic of *Genoa*, which was on the very point of being overwhelmed by his arms [x], and furnished new matter for intrigues to all the refined politicians in *Italy*.

Don Juan II. *succeeds to the hereditary dominions, and the queen dowager dies soon after.*

As soon as the news of the king's death reached *Arragon*, Don *Juan* II. was acknowleged and proclaimed king at *Saragossa* on the 25th of *July* [y]. His first care was to appoint his daughter, the countess of *Foix*, vice-queen of *Navarre*, and to send Don *Lope Ximenes de Urrea*, with the title of viceroy, into *Sicily*, where he was apprehensive that his son, the prince of *Viana*, would have created some disturbances; but Don *Carlos* removed that fear by his letters, in which he declared he was willing to reside in any part of his father's dominions that he should assign him; which gave him great satisfaction, though he could not presently resolve where to place him [z]. On the fourth of *September*, the same year, died at *Valencia* Donna *Maria*, queen dowager of *Arragon* [a]. In the succeeding month of *November*, the king went to *Catalonia*, where he confirmed the privileges of the inhabitants;

[t] Mayerne Turquet Histoire General d'Espagne, liv. xx.
[u] Zurit. Ferrer. [w] Mariana. [x] Albinus.
[y] Zur. Annal. Arragon. [z] Hieron. Blancæ Comment.
[a] Ferr.

and

and the next spring he did the same at *Valencia* [b]. The prince Don *Carlos*, by his command, quitted *Sicily*, and came to *Majorca*. During his residence there, a treaty was concluded between him and his father, by which the prince gave up all that was held by his partisans in *Navarre*, and, on the other hand, he was permitted to live in any part of his father's dominions, excepting that kingdom and in *Sicily*: in consequence of which also he was restored to his father's favour, such as had been imprisoned on his account were set at liberty, her appenage restored to his sister Donna *Blanca*, and the revenues of his principality of *Viana* secured to him [c]. This treaty thus concluded, the prince quitted *Majorca*, and went to *Barcelona*, where he made the deepest submission possible to the king his father, and to the queen his mother-in-law Donna *Juana*, daughter to the *Amirante* of *Castile*; and thus, in appearance, all past disputes were buried in oblivion; but as children often fall out with their parents, so it seldom falls out that these differences are thoroughly healed [d]. The king held the states of *Arragon* at *Fraga*, where it was expected that he should have caused the prince Don *Carlos* to be acknowleged for his successor: as he did not, it occasioned some murmurs; to silence which, he united the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for ever to the crown of *Arragon* [e]. He went from thence to *Lerida*, where he held the states of *Catalonia*, where, tho' he managed things with great dexterity, yet he could not hinder the *Catalans* from proposing that the infant Don *Carlos* should be acknowleged for his successor; but he found means to elude that proposition after it was made, and at length dissolved that assembly, without giving them any definitive answer. It was not long, however, before this troublesome affair created fresh confusion, which issued at length in a very melancholy catastrophe, which it is necessary for us to relate, and which we shall endeavour to do as clearly and succinctly as possible, tho' there are few points in the *Spanish* history, about which authors are more divided in their opinions, or indeed with a greater shew of reason on both sides.

1460.

Quarrel between that king and his son the prince of Viana.

THE king of *Portugal* had proposed to D. *Juan* of *Arragon* a match between the prince of *Viana* and the infanta *Catalina*, or *Catherine*, of *Portugal*, with which the king seemed to be pleased, and to which the prince shewed no dislike. But the ambassadors sent by Don *Henry* of *Castile* to the court of *Arragon* found means to acquaint the prince, in their master's

[b] HIBLON. BLANCÆ Comment. [c] MIGUEL CARB.
[d] ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. [e] MARIAN. [f] FERR.

name,

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name, that he should not trouble himself about the hard usage he met with, since their master was desirous he should marry the infanta Donna *Isabella*, his sister; in consideration of which marriage, he would maintain his rights, and set him upon the throne by force. The prince, who saw but too much reason to doubt of his father's intentions towards him, did not reject this proposition, but gave a general answer, which the *Castilian* embassadors might interpret as they pleased [g]. It was not long before the admiral of *Castile* obtained intelligence of this treaty, and gave notice of it to the queen of *Arragon*, who laboured to persuade the king that this was little better than a contrivance to dethrone him. When her arguments failed of persuading, she had recourse to tears; and the old king, to quiet her, promised to arrest his son, and keep him in prison. To seize him at *Barcelona* was impossible; he sent for him therefore to *Lerida*; and though the prince was told what his father's intentions were, yet nothing could prevent his going; notwithstanding which the king caused him to be seized in his presence, and to be afterwards transferred from prison to prison, as if he had been guilty of some great crime; and, which was worse, he gave out that the prince had conspired against his life [h]. *His imprisonment and death.*

The states of *Arragon* remonstrated upon this; the states of *Catalonia* did more; they demanded the prince's liberty, and that he should be declared heir apparent; and they raised a numerous army, and fitted out a good fleet to procure it [i]. The king Don *Juan* armed on his side; but the queen grew afraid, desired her husband to set the prince at liberty, and to comply with their demands; to which he consented, and she had the credit of it. The states of *Catalonia* thanked her for it by their deputies; but they would not suffer her to come with the prince to *Barcelona*, and the king found himself obliged to leave the whole principality of *Catalonia* in his hands [k]; but, as if he intended to shew how much this was against his will, he entered into a treaty with the king of *Castile*, whom he easily engaged to abandon and betray his son, and committed to prison a gentleman whom he had sent to execute a commission of some importance to them both; which behaviour, as it manifested an irreconcileable aversion, affected the prince to such a degree, that he fell into a slow fever, of which he died at *Barcelona*, on *Wednesday September* the 23d, 1461, in the 41st year of his age.

[g] Miguel Carbonel.
[h] Zurit. Annal. Arragon.
[i] Mig. Carbonel.
[k] Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

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Some particulars of this young prince's life and character.

This prince was highly remarkable for his great qualities and his extensive learning, and still more for his misfortunes. He was certainly intitled to the crown of *Navarre*, of which his mother was the heiress. His courage, his modesty, and his steady adherence to his friends, made him generally beloved. He was a great master of antient literature, as appears from his writing a commentary on the *Ethics of Aristotle*. He composed likewise a history of *Navarre*. He was a great admirer of poetry, and delighted principally in the conversation of men of letters. He gave for his device two mastiffs snarling over a bone; and sometimes told his friends that bone was the kingdom of *Navarre*, which sometimes felt the teeth of *Castile*, and sometimes those of *France*. On his death-bed he desired his father's pardon, and, by his testament, bequeathed the kingdom of *Navarre* to his sister Donna *Blanca*. His favourites would have persuaded him to have married his mistress Donna *Brianda Vaca*; but he refused it, probably out of respect to his sister. He left by that lady two sons, Don *Philip* count of *Beaufort*, Don *Juan Alonso*, and a daughter Donna *Ines*, or *Anne* of *Navarre* [m]. It was generally believed that he was poisoned; and that the poison was given him by a physician at the instance of the queen his mother-in-law, while he was confined [n]. He was so intirely beloved by the people of *Barcelona*, that they believed miracles were wrought at his tomb. Their resentment of his ill usage ran so high, that they were strongly inclined to set up for a free state; and to this they were not a little encouraged by *Lewis* XI. of *France*. We will end this subject by observing, that the infanta Donna *Catalina* of *Portugal* entered into the convent of *Santa Clara* at *Lisbon* as soon as she heard of the prince's death. A point of honour very common amongst princesses in those days, but intirely voluntary, and might be omitted without reproach [o].

The Catalonians revolt against their king, out of hatred to the queen Donna Juana.

As the queen Donna *Juana* was a princess of infinite dexterity and address, she prevailed, notwithstanding these prejudices, on the states of *Catalonia* to acknowlege her son Don *Ferdinand* for the legal successor, and to take the oaths to him, considered in that light. The people, however, were intractable; insomuch that a general insurrection ensued, partly owing to the indiscretion of the queen, who encouraged the peasants in a certain district to throw off the yoke of their lords; which disgusted all the nobility, and the queen found herself obliged to retire with her son to *Gironne*, where she

[m] Miguel Carbonel. [n] Idem. [o] Zurita Annal.

was

was soon after besieged by the rebels [p]. In the mean time the king Don *Juan*, being in great want of money, entered into a treaty with *Lewis* XI. of *France*, to whom he mortgaged the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* for 200,000 crowns; and by the help of this money, and with the assistance of *French* troops, raised the siege [q]. He not long after seized his daughter Donna *Blanca*, carried her by force over the *Pyrenees*, and put her into the hands of the count and countess of *Foix*, who, though they were her nearest relations, were her bittersest enemies. That unfortunate princess wrote to the king of *Castile* for assistance, to whom she bequeathed her right to the kingdom of *Navarre*. She was imprisoned for about two years in a castle in *Bearn*, and then poisoned [r]. In the mean time the *Catalans* still continued in arms, and, as we have already shewn, offered their principality to the king of *Castile*, proclaimed him at *Barcelona*, and procured succours from him several times, till he was prevailed upon to leave all disputes with the crown of *Arragon* to *Lewis* XI. of *France*, who declared these proceedings void [s]. The *Catalans* then called in Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, 1465.
under whom they continued the war, though with no great success, the king gaining several advantages over them, and particularly a battle on the last of *January*, in which several persons of distinction were taken prisoners [t]. The credit of this was given to the infant Don *Ferdinand*, though some writers say that he was no otherwise intitled to it than by being in the rear of the army. This was followed by the loss of many places of importance; and, on the 29th of *June*, in 1466.
the year following, the infant Don *Pedro* died, leaving his claim to the principality of *Catalonia*, which arose from his mother, descended from the count *d'Urgel*, to the infant Don *Juan* [u]. This, however, had little effect; for, on the one hand, the king reduced *Tortosa*, and, on the other, the *Catalans* called in *Rene* duke of *Anjou*, and his son *John* duke of *Lorrain*, as being descended from a house that once set up a claim to the crown of *Arragon*.

THE duke of *Anjou* was then so far in years, that he was in a manner superannuated; but as ambition is the last inclination subdued by princes, so this application of the people of *Catalonia* revived him as it were from the grave; and tho' himself, like the rest of his family, had been hitherto unfortunate

Great actions and death of that princess, and

[p] FERRERAS. [q] Las Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES. [r] HIERON. BLAN. [s] Las Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES. [t] ZURIT. Annal. [u] HIERON. BLAN. Comment.

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what she is reported to have said on her death-bed.

tunate in all his pretenſions, yet he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in raiſing forces, which were embarked for *Catalonia* under the command of his ſon *John* duke of *Lorrain* [w]. The king of *Arragon*, foreſeeing that this affair would give him a great deal of trouble, ſolicited aſſiſtance from all quarters; and, tho' he was very old and infirm, put himſelf at the head of his armies, and ſhewed great ſpirit and experience in the conduct of the war; for the maintenance of which the people of *Barcelona* ſpent without reluctance that immenſe wealth which they had gained by their commerce [x]. On the other hand, the queen was no leſs active; and though many princeſſes have, like her, entered into their huſbands councils, yet there are few examples of their commanding an army as ſhe did. What is ſtill more extraordinary, ſhe formed the project of embarking troops, in order to beſiege *Roſes*; which, however, ſhe found it not eaſy to reduce: after which ſhe made a tour into the county of *Foix*, where ſhe regulated ſeveral points of importance in regard to the kingdom of *Navarre*. Theſe fatigues, however, became at laſt too great for her conſtitution; ſo that, finding herſelf indiſpoſed, ſhe retired to *Tarragona*, where, after a long illneſs, ſhe breathed her laſt on the 13th of *February*, in the year 1468 [y]. In her laſt moments, it is ſaid, ſhe exclaimed with great paſſion, *My ſon, my ſon*, Ferdinand, *how dear has thy greatneſs coſt me!* Some authors pretend, that ſhe acknowleged the death of the infant Don *Carlos*; and that when the king Don *Juan* was informed of it, he expreſſed the greateſt horror and deteſtation of the fact imaginable [z]. He was, not long after, in great danger of being taken priſoner by the duke of *Lorrain*, who took all his baggage, and afterwards formed the ſiege of *Gironne* [a]. The king then went to *Saragoſſa*, where he held an aſſembly of the ſtates, in which he declared his ſon Don *Ferdinand* king of *Sicily*, and his coadjutor in the throne of *Arragon*. The ſame year Don *Juan*, who had been ſome years almoſt blind by cataracts on both eyes, was couched by a *Jew*, and recovered his ſight [b].

The Catalans, notwithſtanding her death, perſiſt ob-

THERE wanted not many who thought the death of the queen would be very detrimental to the king's affairs; but it proved quite otherwiſe; for the people had been accuſtomed to attribute moſt of the violences in his reign to the aſcendency ſhe had over him; and it quickly appeared that the people are not always miſtaken in their ſentiments. The

[w] ZURIT. Annal. [x] MIGUEL CARBONEL. [y] ZUR. Annal. [z] MIGUEL CARBONEL. [a] HIERON. BLANC. Comment. [b] MARIANA.

king

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king assembled a good army for the relief of *Gironne*, before which the duke of *Lorrain* lay with an army of 15,000 men; but when the troops of *Arragon* drew near the place, they found it had already surrendered: upon this the king quitted the command of the army, and retired with a small body of troops, in order to enjoy the pleasure of hunting [c]. Don *Ferdinand* king of *Sicily*, finding himself at the head of an army, was prevailed upon by some of his favourites to attempt surprising the duke of *Lorrain*, who being a brave and a better soldier than himself, beat him thoroughly, and would have made a great use of this victory, if the old king had not advanced to *Urgel*, and thereby hindered his son's troops from flying farther [d]. When both armies were gone into winter-quarters, the count *de Foix* made an irruption into *Navarre*, against whom Don *Juan* was obliged to march; but matters were quickly compromised. What gave him more trouble than all these, was his extreme want of money, his treasury being in a manner exhausted by the presents and subsidies which were requisite for promoting his son's marriage with the infanta Donna *Isabella*. He found means, however, to fit out a good fleet, in order to intercept the enemy's succours; and, by the sale of some places to the prelates and clergy, he was in some measure delivered from his distress [e]. His subjects in *Sicily*, and his nephew Don *Ferdinand* sent him also assistance. 1469.

Stinately in their rebellion.

About the middle of *May* in the next year, the king assembled the states of *Catalonia* at *Moncon*, where things passed rather better than he expected; however, nothing decisive happened in the campaign; and, in *September*, when he came to hold the states of *Arragon* at *Saragossa*, they granted him all that he demanded; so that he found himself in a condition to put a good army on foot against the ensuing spring [f]. On the 16th of *December* the duke of *Lorrain* died at *Barcelona*; and, in his last moments, advised the *Catalans* to make their peace with the king Don *Juan*; which, however, they refused to do, and employed a considerable sum of money in hiring *Italian* and *French* troops for their own defence [g]. *Nicholas*, the eldest son of the duke of *Lorrain*, little regarding his father's dying admonition, assumed the title of king of *Arragon*, notwithstanding that the major part of the inhabitants of *Barcelona* were inclined to submit 1470.

Are defeated in a general action by Don Juan, *with a considerable loss.*

[c] Hieron. Blanca Comment. [d] Zurita Annal. [e] Miguel Carbon. [f] Mariana. [g] Hieron. ubi supra.

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to the *French* [h]. The king Don *Juan* reduced *Gironne*, and several other places; but ran a very great risk at the siege of *Peralada*, where the count of *Campo Basso*, at the head of a corps of mercenaries, broke into his camp in the night, and forced the old king to save his life by flying on horseback, without any thing on but his shirt: he returned, however, the next day to the siege, and carried the place [i]. The inhabitants of *Perpignan* also cut the throats of the *French* garrison in the night, and opened their gates to the king's troops [k]. The rebellion was now in a manner confined within the walls of *Barcelona*, and the king gave orders to his natural son Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, and the count of *Prades*, to block up that city, in hopes it would produce a treaty; but the rebels, grown desperate, and provoked by the scarcity of provisions, ordered their generals, Don *Denis* of *Portugal*, and *James Galeot*, to march out and attack the king's forces [l]. This engagement happened on the fifth of *November*, and at the very beginning the *Catalans* gave way; however, about 4000 remaining firm, Don *Alonso* and the count *de Prades* surrounded and cut them and their two generals to pieces; and soon after, the count *de Prades* defeated the count *de Campo Basso*, and his *Italians*. In all probability, the king had put an end to the war, if he had not been obliged to attend to the affairs of *Navarre*, and to those of his son Don *Ferdinand*, whose marriage with Donna *Isabella* required continual supplies of money [m], since his business could not otherwise advance in a corrupt court.

1471.

Barcelona, *after a most gallant defence, surrenders, but prescribes its own terms.*

In the ensuing spring, Don *Ferdinand* came to make his father a visit, and found him employed in the siege of *Barcelona*, which was carried on both by land and sea. The pope's legate cardinal *Borgia* came thither also, and had an audience of the king [n]. In the mean time *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, and the duke of *Lorrain*, made various efforts in order to raise the siege of *Barcelona*, but without effect. At length things were brought to such an extremity that the besieged had nothing to hope, when the king offered to receive them all to his mercy, to confirm their privileges, to bury in eternal oblivion all that was past, and not to punish any of them either in person or in property; which terms they rejected, chiefly by the influence of the count *de Pailhars*, whom he had pardoned the year before [o]. The army, on the other hand, was very earnest in being led on to the

[h] Mariana. [i] Zurita. [k] Las Memorias de Felipe de Comines. [l] Zurita Annal. [m] Idem ib. [n] Mariana. [o] Ferreras.

assault,

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assault, in hopes of having the plunder of the place. The king, upon this, wrote a letter to the citizens, dated the 6th of *October*, in terms as tender and as affectionate as if they had been his children, bewailing the miseries they had brought on themselves, and concluding with a protestation, that they, and not he, must be answerable for future events. Upon this, at the persuasion of a priest, who had the reputation of sanctity, they sent their deputies to the king, and made a capitulation on the 17th of the same month; in which the king took all upon himself, acknowleged they took arms upon just motives, and pardoned every body, the count *de Pailbars* excepted, who, however, was suffered to escape P. 1472. On the 22d, the king made his public entry into the city, and confirmed their privileges q. The same year a marriage was concluded between Don *Frederick*, the second son of Don *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, and the infanta Donna *Joanna* of *Arragon* r.

THE inhabitants of *Perpignan* and *Elne* having massacred the *French* garrisons, in order to put themselves again under the obedience of the king of *Arragon*, began to be very apprehensive of the vengeance of *Lewis* XI. who was assembling a great army, on purpose to chastize them. The king came in person to direct the new fortifications of *Perpignan*, and brought with him his son Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, the counts of *Cardona* and *Prades*, and several other officers of distinction, who omitted nothing that could be devised for the security of the place s. When the strength of the enemy was thoroughly known, they intreated the king to retire; but Don *Juan*, having observed consternation in the countenances of the inhabitants, called a general assembly in the great church, where he told them, that he knew very well the character of the prince they had offended, and the danger to which they were exposed; that they could be only safe by a vigorous defence; and, to encourage them to this, laying his hand suddenly on the gospels, he swore he would remain with them, and undergo all the fatigues of the siege t. The place was presently invested by a numerous army, under the command of *Philip* count of *Bresse*. The *Catalans* no sooner received advice of this, than, forgetting their former disposition, they took arms every-where throughout the principality, and sent deputies to desire Don *Ferdinand* king of *Sicily* to come and put himself at their head. That prince,

The inhabitants of Perpignan in the utmost terror of being besieged by the French.

P HIER. BLANCÆ Comment. q ZURITA. r MARIAN. s Las Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES. t MAYERNE TURQUET.

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ever famous for his prudence, would have excused himself from the perplexed state of his own affairs; but Donna *Isabella*, and the archbishop of *Toledo*, told him, that his duty required him to forget all things but the danger of his father and his king. He set out therefore immediately for *Barcelona*, where he found an army of 25,000 men in complete order, and ready to march.

Are gloriously defended in two sieges by the old king, who forces the enemy to raise both.

THE king Don *Juan* defended *Perpignan* with a steadiness that exceedingly perplexed the *French*, and notwithstanding a circumstance very extraordinary, which was that the citadel was yet in their hands. Their army was at first near forty thousand men; but by *Midsummer*, when Don *Ferdinand* passed the *Pyrenees*, they thought themselves too weak to continue the siege, and therefore set fire to their camp, and retired [w]. The old king marched out with his garrison to meet and embrace his son, who in a few days followed the *French* with his army, but found them so well intrenched that he did not think fit to attack them. Upon their motion a truce was concluded for a time; upon which Don *Ferdinand* returned with his troops to *Barcelona*, where he dismissed the greatest part of them [x]. On the other hand, *Lewis* XI. after bestowing the bitterest reproaches upon his generals, cancelled the truce, and, having reinforced the army with 10,000 men, sent them back to see if they could take *Perpignan*, now there was no army to relieve it. The king Don *Juan* was still there, when the place was a second time invested; and, finding himself pushed hard, he caused a report to be spread, that the great cities behind the *French* army had revolted, and were marching with a great force to attack them in their trenches; upon which they raised the siege a second time, and he handled their rear-guard so roughly, that there was no bringing them to look at *Perpignan* any more [y]. On this *Lewis* XI. thought fit to send a minister to negotiate a peace, which, both parties being heartily weary of the war, was very speedily concluded, upon easy and reasonable terms [z]. The king Don *Juan*, returning thro' *Catalonia*, was received with the loudest acclamations, and those who had been the most forward in the rebellion were not the most backward in paying their court to the victorious monarch, who received them with great courtesy and kindness, and exhorted them to make use of the peace to restore their country to its former flourishing condition [a].

[w] MARIANA. [x] ZURITA. [y] HIERON. BLANCÆ Comment. [z] Las Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES. [a] ABARCA.

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BUT he was quickly convinced that this treaty, which had been negotiated with so much seeming candour, required many improvements and explanations, in order to render it a safe and solid peace. He sent therefore two persons of distinction to *Paris*, with full powers to adjust every thing, and to set the most difficult points in a full and clear light. These ministers found so many obstacles on the road, that it was a long time before they got to *Paris*, and when they came there, they found the king absent. They would have followed him, but those intrusted with the administration caused them to be arrested [b]. This method of acting answered two ends; it gave the *French* an opportunity of destroying all the harvest in the neighbourhood of *Perpignan*, in hopes of causing a scarcity there, when they entered it, as they did with a powerful army; and, on the other hand, it kept the old king of *Arragon* in the dark, so that he had no kind of certainty whether peace or war was to be expected [c], He went, however, to *Barcelona*, where he held an assembly of the states, who granted him all he could desire, or rather all they were able [d]. He sent also for his son Don *Ferdinand*, and though his affairs were much embarrassed in *Castile*, yet, by the advice of Donna *Isabella*, he set out for *Arragon*, and travelled with great dispatch; but, on his arrival at *Saragossa*, he found things in much confusion, the whole country being rent with faction [e]. He obtained, however, what forces he could, and, having assembled the states, desired them to enable the viceroy and the chief justice to put the laws in execution, and to restore the public tranquility, giving them to understand that where there was no law, there could be no liberty. In the mean time, the old king, having received a supply of provisions from *Naples*, had re-victualled *Perpignan*, and, with the assistance of the troops his son brought him, had a tolerable army in the field [f]. Don *Ferdinand* returned again in a little time to *Saragossa*, where there was one *Ximenes Gordo*, who had gained such an ascendancy in the city, that nothing could be done without him, whose relations and creatures were possessed of all the good employments, and who, notwithstanding, were guilty of the most outrageous acts of oppression. Don *Ferdinand* inquired why these mischiefs were not redressed, and was told that *Gordo*'s exorbitant power was too strong for the laws. Upon this he sent for him to the palace, and conducted him into a

The French, by an insidious treaty, gain what they could not gain by a fair war.

[b] ZURITA Annal. [c] HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. [d] FERRERAS. [e] ZURITA Annal. [f] HIER. BLANC. Comment.

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private apartment, where there were some of his guards, a hangman, and a priest, in whose hands he left him; and, as soon as he was informed that he was dead, he ordered the body to be publickly exposed, and then went to the states, and told them that it was their business to do the rest: upon which they seized his creatures, convicted and executed them by due course of law. Having thus restored the public peace, he returned to *Castile* [z]. The *French*, having a superior power in *Rousillon*, made themselves masters of *Elne*, and ravaged the best part of the country without measure or mercy, the circumstances of Don *Juan* being such as put it out of his power to oppose them.

1474.

Distressed state of Arragon *by plague, war, and factions.*

THE king Don *Henry* of *Castile* being dead, and that country in the utmost confusion, *Lewis* XI. took the opportunity of pouring in multitudes of troops upon *Rousillon*; so that at length his generals were in a condition to besiege *Perpignan* for the third time [h]. The old king Don *Juan*, tho' laden with cares and infirmities, neglected nothing that could be done for the relief of that place, and would certainly have relieved it, if he had either been possessed of money himself, or if his subjects had been wealthy enough to supply him. But, for want of this, the *French* prevailed. The inhabitants, after eating cats, dogs, and all kind of vermin, surrendered, upon tolerable terms, about the middle of *March*; and, having stipulated a liberty of quitting the place, most of them retired into *Catalonia* [i]. After this conquest, *Lewis* thought fit to propose a truce for six months, which Don *Juan* was forced to accept, that he might have some time to provide against the next campaign. As soon as the truce was ended, the *French* renewed their hostilities, and pushed their conquests to the very frontiers of *Catalonia* [k]. At the same time that they made war on *Arragon*, the *French* attacked the dominions of *Castile* likewise, and made two irruptions into *Biscay*, but with little effect. However, the last obliged Don *Ferdinand* to make a tour into that province, which gave him an opportunity of having an interview with his father, whose affairs were never in a worse situation than at this juncture [l]. *Arragon* was so torn by factions, and over-run by banditti, that all the states could do to restore quiet was to authorize holy confederacies, that is, voluntary associations of private men taking arms for the public service. In *Valentia* the like mischiefs prevailed, and the plague ravaged *Barcelona*, and a great part of *Catalonia* [m]. The *French* heightened

1475.

[z] ZURITA Annal. [h] Idem ibid. [i] FERRERAS. [k] ZURITA. [l] ABARCA. [m] MARIANA.

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all these mischiefs by continuing the war, while the *Catalans* found it impossible to assemble an army, till necessity obliged them to lay their hands upon the treasure belonging to the city of *Barcelona*, with which the inhabitants were very little pleased; but as there was no remedy, they were obliged to submit, more especially as it was not done without the king's orders. 1476.

Don Juan compels the pope to grant the administration of Saragossa to a bastard of six years old.

AMONGST the rest of those potent persons, who made no scruple of increasing the calamities, and adding to the confusion in which affairs then were, Don *Jayme* of *Arragon* was one of the most troublesome. Having assembled a band of lawless persons, by their assistance he took possession of the duchy of *Villa-Hermosa*, and fortified several places for their own security. Upon this the king dispatched his orders to the viceroy of *Valentia* to set up the royal standard, and to make a fair trial whether the people of that kingdom would not enable him to redress these disorders, and to bring this powerful criminal to justice. The viceroy, in obedience to the king's orders, assembled what forces he was able, besieged the fortress into which Don *Jayme* had retired, and, having made him prisoner, sent him to *Barcelona*, where the king caused him to be beheaded, but gave his whole estate to his grandson [n]. In the month of *August*, the infanta Donna *Joanna* embarked on board the fleet sent from *Sicily*, and, having touched first at *Genoa*, went from thence to *Naples*, in order to espouse the king Don *Ferdinand* [o]. In the last interview the king of *Arragon* had with his son Don *Ferdinand*, he had pressed him exceedingly to receive the archbishop of *Toledo* again into his favour; to which all the answer he received was, that he would labour to overcome the extreme resentment that the queen Donna *Isabella* had against him; and it was with great satisfaction Don *Juan* received the news that this was accomplished; but he was by no means pleased that his son and daughter were determined to conclude a peace with the king of *France*; in consequence of which he saw plainly that the counties of *Rousillon* and *Cerdagne* would be lost. To protract, however, the evil hour as much as possible, he negotiated a truce for another year, in hopes by that time he might be in a better condition to carry on the war [p]. His natural son Don *Juan de Arragon*, archbishop of *Saragossa*, being dead, he, in conjunction with his son Don *Ferdinand*, solicited the pope to give that archbishoprick to Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, who was the natural son of the king Don *Ferdinand*; which the pope absolutely 1477.

[n] HIERON. BLANC. Comment. [o] ZURITA. [p] FERR.

 refused,

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refuſed on account of his being a child, and named the cardinal of *Montreal* to that archbiſhoprick; but the two kings adhering obſtinately to their reſolution of not having any other archbiſhop, the pope was conſtrained to declare Don *Alonſo* adminiſtrator of the archbiſhoprick, with which they
1478. were ſatisfied [q]; and which ſhews how little theſe lucrative benefices contribute to the welfare of the church, when he, who was eſteemed the head of it, could be obliged to grant adminiſtration of ſuch a ſee to a baſtard of ſix years of age, and thereby create a precedent equally pernicious and ſcandalous.

Dies at Barcelona, *by which* Arragon *and its dominions are united to the crown of* Caſtile.

THE king Don *Juan*, having appointed an interview with his ſon at *Daroca*, was preparing for his journey thither, when he was ſurpriſed by death at *Barcelona*, *January* 19th, 1479, when he had lived fourſcore and two years, and had reigned over *Arragon* twenty-one [r]. He had by his firſt queen Donna *Blanca*, the widow of *Martin* king of *Sicily*, and the heireſs of *Navarre*, the unfortunate Don *Carlos* prince of *Viana*, the ſtill more unfortunate Donna *Blanca*, who eſpouſed Don *Henry* of *Caſtile*, and, after having ſpent her whole life in ſorrow, died of poiſon in priſon, and Donna *Leonora* counteſs of *Foix*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of *Navarre*. By Donna *Juana Henriques* he had his ſon Don *Ferdinand*, who ſucceeded him in the throne of *Arragon*, Donna *Juana* queen of *Naples*, Donna *Maria*, and Donna *Leonora*, who died young. His natural children were almoſt without number. By a lady of the illuſtrious family of *Avellaneda* he had Don *Juan* of *Arragon* archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*; by Donna *Leonora de Eſcobar* he had Don *Alonſo* of *Arragon*, duke of *Villa Hermoſa*, and count of *Ribagorca*; by a lady of *Navarre* he had two ſons, that died young, and a daughter, Donna *Leonora*, who eſpouſed Don *Lewis de Beaumont* conſtable of that kingdom; and, at the very time of his deceaſe, he had a miſtreſs, who was a *Catalan*. He was naturally juſt as well as brave, very liberal, but was apt to confide too much in his wives, his miſtreſſes, and his favourites, whence aroſe all his misfortunes. His body was firſt depoſited in the cathedral of *Barcelona*, and then carried on the ſhoulders of the principal nobility of *Catalonia* to the monaſtery of *Poblete*, and there interred with his anceſtors [s]. His ſon Don *Ferdinand* confirmed the laws and privileges of the kingdom of *Arragon* at *Saragoſſa* on the 26th of *June*, did the ſame at *Barcelona* on the firſt of *September*, and from thence went to

[q] ZURITA Annal. [r] Idem ibid. [s] MARIANA.

Valentia

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Valentia for the like purpose[t]; and thus the crown of *Arragon* was united to that of *Castile*.

SECT. XIII.

The History of the Spanish *Monarchy, from the Accession of their Catholic Majesties* Ferdinand *and* Isabella, *to that of the Emperor* Charles *the Fifth, and the first of that Name in* Spain.

THE news of Don *Henry*'s death no sooner reached the ears of the archbishop of *Toledo*, than he dispatched a courier with a letter to Don *Ferdinand*, then in the kingdom of *Arragon*, in which he gave him the title of king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and pressed him to lose no time in returning to his dominions[a]. His consort Donna *Isabella* did the like, but she thought it very expedient not to defer the ceremony of taking possession of the crown till his arrival. It was therefore with this view that, on the thirteenth of *December*, she caused herself to be publicly invested with all the ensigns of regal dignity, on a scaffold erected in the town of *Segovia*, upon which a throne was placed very richly adorned; and, when the queen was seated, a herald proclaimed Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella* king and queen of *Castile* and *Leon*; after which, she went to the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was sung with loud acclamations of the people, and many of the principal nobility came to compliment her upon her accession, and to assure her of their fidelity, amongst whom none was more active than the cardinal of *Spain* and the archbishop of *Toledo*[b]. She dined that day with *Andrew de Cabrera*, alcayde of the citadel of *Segovia*, who delivered up to her that important fortress, with all the treasures that were in it. After dinner, she gave him the gold cup in which she drank; assuring him, that herself and her successors should annually, upon that day, send to him, or his representative, the gold cup in which they drank[c]. On the other hand, the marquis of *Villena* took all imaginable precautions for the security of the infanta; and, having renewed his intrigues with the king of *Portugal*, is supposed to have sent him the original will of king *Henry*, that he might be better satisfied as to the rights of this princess, be the

Their majesties Don Ferdinand *and Donna* Isabella *proclaimed at* Segovia.

1474.

[t] Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Abarca, Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. [a] Hernando del Pulgar, Zurita. [b] Lucius Marinæus Siculus. [c] Garibay, Historia de Espana.

more

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more inclined to marry her, and to support the faction which the marquis was forming in her favour[d], and to which his own numerous family and some other persons of quality, adhered.

Find themselves obliged to defend their title by arms against the infanta Donna Juana.

UPON the arrival of the king Don *Ferdinand* at *Segovia*, he made a public entry with great magnificence, and, in conjunction with the queen, continued all the great officers of the crown in their respective charges[e]. It was not long, however, before some differences arose about the administration of the government. Many of the nobility thought it belonged intirely to the queen, as the sole heiress of *Castile* and *Leon*. Some, however, were of a contrary opinion, and had the lawyers on their side. At length it was agreed, that this delicate affair should be referred to the cardinal of *Spain*, *Mendoza*, and the archbishop of *Toledo*; and by them it was decided, that they should govern jointly; that the king's name should precede the queen's, but that he should do nothing of importance but by her consent, with which he was not intirely satisfied[f] (A). The archbishop of *To-*

[d] DAMIAN DE GOES, EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, ZURITA, FERRERAS. [e] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, & al. [f] GARIBAY, &c.

(A) The articles settled between the arbitrators are reduced to five by *Mariana*, and are in substance these (1): 1. That in all letters, public acts, and inscriptions upon money, the name of the king should precede that of the queen; but with regard to the arms and titles of their respective dominions, those of the queen should have the preference. 2. That the governors of provinces, cities, and fortresses, should be appointed solely by the queen, hold the places in her name, and that all officers in the revenue should be accountable only to her. 3. That the provision of bishopricks, and other ecclesiastical benefices, should be in both their majesties names, but the nomination solely in the queen. 4. That when they happened to be separate, each should administer justice in the places where they happened to be. 5. And, with respect to ordinary magistrates, either of their majesties might appoint them, who had the privy council attending upon his or her person. It is very certain that Don *Ferdinand* was so little pleased, that he had some thoughts of returning into his own dominions; and it is also certain, that it was not the statesmen, but the queen Donna *Isabella*, who satisfied and made him easy (2).

(1) *Historia general de Espana, lib.* xxiv. *Hernando del Pulgar. Zurita.* (2) *Alonso de Palencia,*

ledo

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ledo was so much displeased at the regard shewn by their majesties to cardinal *Mendoza*, that, after visible signs of discontent, he quitted the court intirely, under pretence of being desirous of spending the rest of his days in quiet, but in reality, as himself more truly expressed it upon another occasion, that he might contrive ways and means to make them sensible how dangerous it was to disoblige an archbishop of *Toledo* [g]. The king Don *Juan* of *Arragon* sent two persons of distinction to soften him; the king Don *Ferdinand* sent several of the first nobility on the same errand; the queen went herself to make him a visit at *Alcala*, but to no purpose, for he sent her word, if she entered the town at one gate, he would go out at the other [h]. They tampered also with the marquis of *Villena*, who made no scruple of setting his price, but, like many great politicians, set it too high [i]. At length Don *Alonso* the fourth, of *Portugal*, in the month of *May*, entered *Castile*, espoused his niece the infanta publicly, and took the titles to which he pretended by this marriage; so that the rest of the year was spent in all the confusion of a civil war, in which though the malecontents did not make any great progress, and even the principal places in the marquisate of *Villena* revolted in their favour, yet they found themselves so much distressed for money, that they were obliged to borrow, and convert into specie the church plate, which, for many reasons, was never done without great reluctancy [k]. 1475.

THIS war was carried on, on both sides, at least as much by policy as by force of arms, which gave Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella* great advantages. The former inquired strictly, and punished with great severity, all offences against the state; but shewed great mildness and lenity in affairs that regarded the crown, received almost all into favour who desired it, and granted them pardons for what was passed, but admonished them to do their duty and obey the laws for the time to come [l]. The queen was still more active, milder, and more munificent, the fame of which had great effects. The citadel of *Burgos*, which had held out an obstinate siege, was surrendered to the queen in person; and this became so much the mode, that with a flying army of no considerable force she reduced several places of strength. The king Don *Ferdinand* had recovered the town, and was be- *The Portugueſe defeated before Toro by the king Don Ferdinand.*

[g] ZURITA, LUCIUS MARINÆUS SICULUS, FER. [h] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR. ANTON. NEBRISS. [i] GARIBAY, & al. [k] EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES. [l] MARIANA, & al.

sieging

ſieging the citadel of *Zamora*. He made an attempt upon *Toro*, which was the king of *Portugal*'s head quarters, but without ſucceſs. He managed this ſiege with greater addreſs, inveſting the citadel ſo cloſely, that no ſuccours could enter; and fortifying his camp ſo well, that it was very difficult to force. Don *Alonſo*, notwithſtanding, reſolved to attempt the relief of the place, towards which the infant Don *Juan* brought him a great reinforcement of troops out of *Portugal*, for the raiſing of which he had made free with all the churches treaſure. The army of Don *Alonſo*, thus reinforced, arrived before *Zamora* [n]. Don *Ferdinand*, tho' ſuperior in number, remained cloſe within his lines, and contented himſelf with diſappointing all the attempts that were made to throw ſuccours into the fortreſs, or to attack any of the poſts. On *Friday* the firſt of *March* the enemy retired, but in good order, the king in the centre, the prince Don *Juan* on the right, the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and his malecontents, on the left wing. Don *Ferdinand* paſſed the river with his army in purſuit of them; and about four in the afternoon, marching down the ſide of a mountain, he ſaw the enemy drawn up in order of battle, in a plain at a ſmall diſtance from *Toro*, upon which an engagement enſued. Authors differ much in their accounts of this battle; but it is however agreed, that the centre and the left wing of the *Portugueſe* were routed, the prince of *Portugal* retired towards night to an eminence, and made a good retreat from thence the next day. The loſs was far from being great, and yet the victory proved deciſive [o]. Don *Alonſo* firſt ſent the prince to cover his own country, and then followed with the reſt of the army. The citadel of *Zamora* ſurrendered, and Don *Ferdinand* was left at liberty to go into *Biſcay*, where the *French* were for the third time obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Fontarabia* [p]. The archbiſhop of *Toledo* and the marquis of *Villena* detached themſelves from the *Portugueſe*, in order
1476. to mind their own affairs. The queen Donna *Iſabella* drew over many of the malecontents, and moſt of the cities and fortreſſes that had been garriſoned by them revolted, and ſubmitted to their majeſties [q].

Inſolence of Don Alonſo de Carillo,

THE king of *Portugal* being gone into *France* to ſolicit ſuccours from *Lewis* the eleventh, Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Iſabella* had the more time to reſtore the domeſtic quiet of their dominions; a thing ſo much the more neceſſary, as in

[n] ALONSO DE PALENCIA, GARIBAY. FERRERAS. [o] DAMIAN DE GOES, HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, MARIANA. [p] GARIBAY, ANT. NEBRISS. [q] ZURITA, & al.

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almoſt all the cities and great towns there were factions that kept up a kind of civil war amongſt themſelves, without paying any reſpect to the laws, or regard to the royal authority. At *Toledo* theſe heats were carried ſo high, that, in their majeſties abſence, a battle was fought between the contending parties, in which a conſiderable number was ſlain on both ſides. At their return they cauſed a great number of the moſt factious perſons to be arreſted, and brought to a trial, where ſome were condemned to death, others to baniſhment and lighter puniſhments, according to the nature of their crimes; nor would their majeſties hear of commuting thoſe puniſhments for the ſake of money, which had a very good effect[r]. There was ſtill a kind of treaty going on with the archbiſhop; to facilitate which, their majeſties went to *Madrid*, and the king offered to treat in perſon with that prelate at the *Pardo*; but the latter brought ſuch a multitude of armed men in his retinue, that the king, who was very ſlenderly attended, thought fit to retire without ſeeing him[s]. Under colour of this treaty the archbiſhop ſent for the conſtable, the duke of *Infantado*, the count *de Haro*, and other friends and relations, to the caſtle of *Uceda*, where he prevailed upon them to ſign a letter to their majeſties, drawn up with great ſkill and art, full of promiſes of fidelity and ſubmiſſion, but inſinuating that ſovereigns ought to have a great regard for their nobility; and propoſing, at the cloſe, that the method which had been practiſed in the reign of king *Henry*, when the king did nothing but by conſent of four of his grandees, who by turns attended on his perſon, ſhould be revived. Their majeſties returned a very quick anſwer to this letter, in which they told the archbiſhop and his friends, that they would ever reſpect the laws to the maintenance of which they had ſworn, and make a ſtrict obſervance of thoſe laws the recommendation to their favour; but this being the rule of their conduct, they knew not any rank of their ſubjects that had a right to exemption; and that, deriving their authority from divine and human laws, they would govern as ſovereigns, and not as ſlaves to grandees, by whom they expected to be obeyed[t]. This anſwer mortified the archbiſhop extremely, more eſpecially when he underſtood that the conſtable, and ſome other lords, were gone to *Madrid*, to make their ſubmiſſion to the king and queen; and that all the reſt, being ſummoned, had

archbiſhop of Toledo, *and firmneſs of the king and queen.*

[r] Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Hernando del Pulgar, Garibay, Zurita, Ferreras. [s] Luc. Marin. Sic. Anton. Nebriss. [t] Mariana, & al.

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taken the same step [u]. An ambassador from *Edward* the fourth of *England* had an audience of their majesties, and was received with great respect. The marquis of *Villena* had made his peace the year before, and promised to restore all the places he held to the crown: one of the chief of these was *Truxillo*; the queen went thither and summoned it; the governor refused to open the gates; the queen sent the marquis word, that if it was not surrendered by a certain day, he was to consider the agreement as void; upon which he came in person, and put it into her hands [w], upon the twenty-fourth of *June*. In like manner the king and queen traversed most of the provinces, and settled things in the best manner possible, by a proper mixture of clemency and justice; and, by their orders, a truce for three years was concluded with the king of *Granada*, who, taking advantage of the troubles in their dominions, had made an irruption into the kingdom of *Murcia*, which, being in direct breach of a treaty, though for the present passed by, was not either forgiven or forgot [x], more especially as it was accompanied with extraordinary provocations.

That prelate, after various struggles, obliged to submit to their majesties.

THE queen spent the best part of the next year in the southern provinces of *Spain*, and was brought to bed of a son at *Seville* [y], where the factions and disputes which had reigned for many years were intirely pacified, and the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and the marquis of *Cadiz*, whose animosities were the principal source of this disorder, were commanded to quit the city, but allowed to live where-ever else they pleased. At the time their majesties quitted *Toledo*, they appointed *Gomez Manrique* corregidor or chief magistrate of that city, with instructions to look very closely to the behaviour of the inhabitants, and to prevent the reviving of those feuds which had already cost them so dear. The corregidor, who executed his office with great punctuality, suddenly called the principal inhabitants together, and, having put them in mind of the peace and happiness they had enjoyed under his government, and of the miseries to which they had been exposed for many years before, acquainted them with a design that had been formed to murder him in his bed, by the instigation of the archbishop; at which the whole assembly expressed the utmost abhorrence, caused such as were concerned in this black affair to be seized, and, upon conviction, executed, banished, or whip-

[u] HERN. DEL PULGAR, GARIBAY, FERRERAS. [w] BERNALDEZ CARVAJAL. [x] LUC. MARIN. SICUL. & al. [y] ZURITA, MARIANA.

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ped, without the leaſt trouble or diſturbance [z]. This diſappointment in his deſign ſo provoked that proud prelate, that he ſuffered his troops to ravage all the country about *Madrid*, and ſolicited the king of *Portugal* to renew the war, promiſing to put all the places that he held into his hands [a]. The king and queen, being informed of this, took a ſhort reſolution of keeping no farther meaſures with him, and thereupon ſent orders to Don *Alonſo* of *Arragon*, the king's brother, to block up *Alcala*; immediately forbad his vaſſals by proclamation to pay him any rent, or to have any correſpondence with him; and demanded of the pope, that an adminiſtrator might be named to receive the revenues of the archbiſhoprick, till, in virtue of a proceſs in form, the ſee ſhould be declared void. This had ſuch an effect upon the turbulent archbiſhop, that he very ſpeedily ſubmitted, and, to obtain their majeſties pardon, and the reſtitution of his temporalities, ſurrendered all the places he held in his hands [b]. This year the peace was concluded with *Lewis* the eleventh of *France* [c], notwithſtanding all the repreſentations made by Don *Juan* of *Arragon* againſt it, who looked on himſelf as abandoned by it. 1478.

THE death of the king Don *Juan* of *Arragon* having obliged Don *Ferdinand* to make a tour into his hereditary dominions, the weight of the adminiſtration for that time was intirely ſupported by the queen Donna *Iſabella*, who proceeded very roundly with ſuch as ſtill reſiſted, for there were very few now who diſputed her authority. The war with *Portugal* ſtill continued, and a great irruption was made in the ſpring into *Galicia*, where the enemy had ſome ſucceſs at firſt, but were beaten in the end, and obliged to retire with loſs; but they had better fortune in attacking a *Caſtilian* fleet which had been ſent to the coaſt of *Guiney*, and returned from thence with an immenſe quantity of gold, of which not ſo much as a ſhip, or even a man, eſcaped. The biſhop of *Evora*, who with a great body of troops, partly *Portugueſe*, and partly *Caſtilian* rebels, made an irruption into *Eſtremadura*, in order to diſengage ſome of the fortreſſes in that country, which were ſtill in the hands of the malecontents, and which the queen had cauſed to be beſieged, were engaged by the grand maſter of *St. James*, and beaten. The loſs was not conſiderable on either ſide, but

A peace concluded with Portugal, by which they were left in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom.

[z] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, ANT. NEBRISS. ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [a] BERNALDEZ CARVAJAL, ALONSO DE PALENCIA. [b] GARIBAY, & al. [c] Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES.

the

the greateſt part of the *Caſtilian* malecontents were taken, which made it of conſequence, and enabled the infanta Donna *Beatrix*, the widow of Don *Ferdinand*, brother to the king of *Portugal*, and aunt to the queen of *Caſtile*, to prevail upon Don *Alonſo* to allow her to treat with the queen Donna *Iſabella* of a peace between the two crowns [e]. The queen of *Caſtile* received this intelligence with great ſatisfaction; and, as ſoon as ſhe could diſpoſe things properly, had an interview with the infanta at *Alcantara*, where the principal articles of the peace were very ſoon adjuſted; and though, upon the return of the infant, the king of *Portugal* teſtified ſome diſlike to them, yet by the perſuaſions of the infanta, and of his ſon the prince of *Portugal*, he was brought at laſt to approve them, and they were accordingly
1479. ſigned on the twenty-fourth of *September* (B); ſo that now their

[e] Alonso de Palencia, Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Bernaldez, Hern. del Pulgar, Ferreras.

(B) This is commonly called the peace of *Alcacovas*, from the place where it was concluded. It is generally believed that Don *Alonſo* made this peace againſt his will, being forced to it by the remonſtrances of his ſon the infant Don *Juan* on one ſide, and wearied into it by the ſolicitations of the infanta Donna *Beatrix*, ducheſs of *Viſeo*, on the other. The terms are ſomewhat differently reported, but in the main appear to have been theſe: 1. The king of *Portugal* was to quit the title and arms of *Caſtile*, and their majeſties were likewiſe to quit all pretenſions upon *Portugal*. 2. He undertook not to marry the infanta Donna *Juanna*, or to give her any aſſiſtance. 3. The princeſs Donna *Joanna* was to make her choice, whether ſhe would marry the infant Don *Juan*, then but a year old, or retire into a convent, and this in the ſpace of ſix months. 4. The infant Don *Alonſo*, ſon to the infant Don *Juan*, and grandſon to the king of *Portugal*, was to marry, when of fit age, the infanta Donna *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*. 5. The navigation of *Guiney* was reſerved to the crown of *Portugal*, and that of the *Canary Iſlands* to *Caſtile*. 6. All who had followed the party of *Portugal* during the war were to be reſtored to their honours and eſtates, and their majeſties were to grant a general pardon, without any exceptions. 7. The *Portugueſe* were to reſtore what they poſſeſſed in *Eſtremadura*, and to evacuate that province. 8. For the ſecurity of the peace, the infanta Donna *Iſabella* was to be given in hoſtage to *Portugal*, and the infant Don *Alonſo* to *Caſtile*. 9. Laſtly, All priſoners were to be releaſed on both ſides (8). The principal apparent cauſe

(8) *Hernando del Pulgar, Mariana, Ferreras.*

of

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their majesties were acknowleged by all their neighbours, and were left at full liberty to redress all the grievances, and remove all the inconveniences, that, during so many years of confusion, had crept into the government [f].

Wise methods pursued for settling the interior affairs of their dominions.

THIS was the first care both of the king and queen, who for that purpose called a general assembly of the states at *Leon*, in the month of *January*, where several old laws were repealed, others explained, and many new ones made. Besides this, the whole frame of administering justice was reviewed, amended, and extended, in such a manner, that persons of all ranks were brought within the reach of the law, and every town and village throughout their dominions had its proper magistrates assigned [g]. The next thing that fell under their consideration was the repeal of the grants made by *Henry* the fourth, of crown lands and of pensions out of the royal revenues, upon which the deputies from the cities very strongly insisted; but the king and queen thought it was a matter required much deliberation, and that some distinctions likewise ought to be made. The nobility were likewise of this opinion; and all possessed of these grants were obliged to exhibit them to their majesties confessor, who was vested with the power of allowing, annulling, or abridging them, as he thought proper; which he exercised in such a manner, that thirty millions of marvadies annually were brought into the exchequer. The queen Donna *Isabella* ordered the first year's revenue to be

[f] ALONSO DE PALENCIA, CARVAJAL, GARIBAY, ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [g] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, MAYERNE TURQUET.

of this treaty, on the part of *Portugal*, was the great concern the infant Don *Juan* was under to see the blood and treasure of his country exhausted in favour of a title liable to so so many objections; but the real and secret cause was said to have been his desire to see his son Don *Alonso* married to the infanta *Isabella*, which he flattered himself would one day raise him to the throne of *Castile* (9). Whatever his views were of this kind, such a notion prevailed universally in *Portugal*, and the king Don *Alonso* himself was so affected with the usage, that the infanta Donna *Joanna* met with, that he had determined to resign the crown, and retire into a convent, if he had not been prevented by death (1), at the very time when he was on the point of putting this design in execution.

(9) *Nunez, Faria y Sousa, le Clede, &c. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras, & al.*

(1) *Hernando del Pulg.*

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distributed amongst the widows and children of such as had suffered in any degree for their service [h]. Amongst the criminals that suffered in consequence of the new regulations, was *Ferdinand Alarcon*, whom the marquis of *Villena* had placed about the archbishop of *Toledo*, and who had been the principal author of the archbishop's ill conduct [i]. Yet sure it was some impeachment of their majesties justice, that, while this fellow was sent to the gallows, the archbishop and the marquis were both restored to their majesties favour. But the queen shewed a laudable firmness in the case of a gentleman of *Galicia*, who was condemned to die for the murder of a public notary, who was the only person that could have proved upon him the forgery of a bond for a large sum. To save this man's life, an offer was made of forty thousand pistoles in gold, which, though at that time an object of attention even to a crowned head, was refused [k]. Ambassadors were dispatched to *Portugal*, in order to adjust some disputes that were arisen about the terms of the peace, and to be present when the unfortunate infanta of *Castile* took the veil [l]; notwithstanding which, however,
1480. things were not entirely adjusted till the next year. The *Turks* having taken *Tarentum*, and threatening the island of *Sicily*, the king Don *Ferdinand* was obliged to make a considerable naval armament for the defence of his hereditary dominions. About this time also the formidable tribunal of the inquisition was first introduced into *Spain* [m] (C).

ALL

[h] ZURITA, ANTON. NEBRISS. HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, FERRERAS. [i] LUC. MARIN. SICUL. [k] BERNALD. CARVAJAL, EMAN. DE FARIA Y SOUSA [l] MARIANA. [m] GARIB. MAYERNE TURQUET.

(C) The *Spanish* historians are not perfectly agreed as to the time and manner in which the formidable tribunal of the inquisition came to be introduced in *Spain*. *Mariana* fixes it to the year 1478, and ascribes the origin of it to the cardinal of *Spain* (6). Other writers, whom we have reason to believe more correct, assure us it was not introduced till 1480, and give a very different account of the share that cardinal *Mendoza* had in this matter; for though they agree, that he acquainted their majesties with the great danger they were in from the numerous apostasies both to *Judaism* and *Mohammedism*, more especially at *Seville*, and from that freedom of conversation there was between persons of all religions, by which Christianity suffered much, chiefly from a kind of indolence and indifference which

(6) *Historia general de Espana, lib.* xxiv.

gradually

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ALL things were adjusted with the crown of Portugal in the beginning of the year, which gave their majesties an opportunity of putting the new plan for the distribution of justice in execution; and they chose to begin with *Galicia*, which, of all the provinces in *Spain*, was in the worst condition. In order to this, Don *Hernando de Acenſa* was named governor, and Don *Garcia Lopez de Chintilla* chief juſtice. On their arrival at the city of *St. James*, the officers of the crown diſſuaded them from opening their com-

Noble firmneſs in the reſtoring juſtice, after ſuch an interruption.

gradually corrupted men's ſentiments, and brought them at length to have little or no ſenſe of any religion at all; their majeſties deſired that he would think of ſome method for correcting this evil; and accordingly, with ſome other eccleſiaſtics, he did take ſome ſteps for this purpoſe (7). But his method was judged to be too ſlow and mild; and therefore their majeſties, by the advice of other perſons, ordered their embaſſador at the court of *Rome* to demand of pope *Sixtus* the fourth a bull for the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition. At firſt there were only three inquiſitors named, and they had their reſidence in the convent of the friers preachers at *Seville*; but the number of perſons they arreſted quickly made it neceſſary to provide them another kind of eſtabliſhment, in conſequence of which they were removed to the fortreſs of *Triana*, where, in their firſt *Auto de Fe*, which was the next year, they actually burnt ſeven apoſtates, and puniſhed in a leſs ſevere degree ſeveral others (8). *Mariana* carries things much further; he makes cardinal *Turquemada* the firſt inquiſitor, and talks of putting to death two thouſand, for the offences of which they were convicted before him, which there is good reaſon to look upon as an exaggeration. But it is however very certain, that the ſecreſy and ſeverity with which they proceeded affrighted the *Jews* at *Seville* to ſuch a degree, that great numbers of them retired into *Portugal*, and many into *Barbary*. He is right in ſaying *Turquemada* was the firſt inquiſitor general; but he was not appointed ſo till the year 1483, upon the extenſion of the powers of this tribunal into many of the great cities of their majeſties dominions; and very poſſibly it is to this time that terrible execution, of which *Mariana* ſpeaks, is to be referred (9). Himſelf, and other modern writers, ſpeak with great reſpect and deference of that tribunal; but it is out of all doubt, that, at the time it was firſt introduced, the *Spaniards* confidered it, as all other nations where it is not eſtabliſhed now do, as the moſt horrid invention that ever diſgraced Chriſtianity, and capable of producing as great miſchiefs as thoſe it was eſtabliſhed to prevent.

(7) *Zuniga, Annales de Sevilla, Paramo, Bernaldez.* (8) *Zuniga, Annales de Sevilla.* (9) *Bernaldez, Hernand. del Pulgar, Zuniga, &c.*

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missions, assuring them, that the whole country was full of little fortresses, the lords of which acted despotically, each in his little district; and that, if these united their forces, the army of the crown would not be in a condition to make any resistance. Don *Hernando* and Don *Garcia* answered, that the crown might be weak, but that God was omnipotent. They ordered open proclamation to be made, that they were there ready to do justice to all who demanded it, and against any who had done wrong; and they proceeded in this so briskly, and with so little respect to persons, that fifteen hundred gentlemen, who were conscious of having deserved death, quitted their country and estates to avoid it; upon which the governor and chief justice quickly changed the face of affairs; for the people in general, perceiving what benefits accrued to them from this commission, chearfully contributed their assistance; so that when two persons of great distinction were arrested, brought to a trial, and convicted of several atrocious crimes, they were executed without any commotion, and notwithstanding they offered prodigious sums to save their lives [n]. The success that attended their endeavours in *Galicia* induced their majesties to take the same care of other provinces; so that, in much less time than could have been imagined, the peace of the kingdom was restored, and the people in many places chearfully returned to their labours, who, from the injuries and ill usage they met with, had retired into *Portugal*, or taken shelter even amongst the *Moors* [o]. In the midst of the summer their majesties made a tour to *Saragossa*, *Barcelona*, and *Valentia*, where they procured the infant Don *Juan* to be received and acknowleged as their legal successor; and in this tour they regulated many things, and composed numberless feuds that had disturbed the public tranquillity for many years [p]. At *Barcelona*, particularly, the states represented to him, that the country was very much distressed by a misfortune, for which their prudence could suggest no remedy. The deceased king Don *Juan* had made very large grants to several persons, some of them of great quality, upon a surmise that those who formerly held those lands had been guilty of treason; which those who were thus dispossessed maintained to be absolutely false, and upon this presumption disturbed the possession of such as had the king's grants, and kept the country thereby in a continual state of war. Don *Ferdinand*, having inquired into this

[n] Hernando del Pulgar, Garibay, Ferrer. [o] Luc. Marin. Sic. Mariana. [p] Zurita, & al.

matter,

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matter, found that his father was in the wrong, and declared his willingneſs to reſtore the old families to their lands, if it was practicable. The inhabitants of the city made it ſo, for, by a large free gift, they enabled the king to ſatisfy both parties, by reſtoring eſtates, or giving ſuch equivalents, as to the parties were moſt acceptable[q]. This 1481.
year, by a ſecret impulſe, ſays an eminent *Spaniſh* hiſtorian[r] (a very ſtrange phraſe for a flagrant breach of faith!) the marquis of *Cadiz* gave beginning to the war of *Granada*, by making an irruption into the territories of the *Moors*, and carrying off a great booty, in a time of full peace (E); which induced

[q] Garibay, Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras. [r] Hernando del Pulgar.

(D) There was nothing the queen Donna *Iſabella* had ſo much at heart as the expulſion of the *Moors* out of *Spain*, from the mixed principles of ambition and zeal for religion; but there was beſides a perſonal and particular reſentment towards the *Mooriſh* monarch who then governed *Granada*, whom the *Spaniſh* writers ſtile *Abohacen*, or *Abenhazan*, but whom the *Mooriſh* writers ſtile *Abul Hoſſein* (1). In his youth he had been an able officer and a very gallant man, and during the civil wars in *Caſtile* had made ſome irruptions with ſucceſs. At the time he laſt renewed his truce with their majeſties in the year 1478, the marſhal *Ferdinand Sahavedra*, being in diſgrace with Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Iſabella*, had retired for his own ſecurity to *Ronda*, in the king of *Granada*'s dominions, who thereupon invited him to his capital, and in his preſence reviewed ſeven thouſand horſe (2). Whether this was the effects of vanity, or whether he was deſirous of learning any thing from the marſhal, is not very clear; but it is certain this interview was fatal to them both. The *Mooriſh* monarch entertained ſo unjuſt an opinion of the power of their majeſties, that, upon their demanding the uſual tribute paid to their predeceſſors at the time of his renewing the truce, which was probably a matter of form, and intended only to keep alive their pretenſions, he ſent them word, *that, in the ſame place where they coined money at* Granada, *they forged* arms *likewiſe, to prevent its being taken from them.* That inability which hindered their expreſſing their reſentment at that time, made it pierce the deeper. As for the marſhal *Sahavedra*, he no ſooner returned into *Spain*, than they demanded the ſtrong fortreſs of *Tareſa* which was in his hands, and which his relations adviſed him to deliver up, which was the fruit of his journey to

(1) *Anton. Nebriſſ. Alonſo de Palencia, Zurita.* (2) *Hernando del Pulgar.*

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induced the *Moors*, on the other hand, to surprise the town of *Zahara*, on the twenty-seventh of *December*, where, after putting the inhabitants in chains, they left a strong garrison.

The beginning of the war of Granada, and the incidents that rendered it general.

THERE happened a dispute between their majesties and the pope, in regard to the bishoprick of *Cuenca*, which was of great advantage to the monarchy of *Spain*. The pope had a favourite nephew, upon whom he bestowed this bishoprick, though their majesties had recommended another person; a practice contrary to the laws of *Spain*, but which, in times of confusion, the popes had ventured upon with tolerable success. In the present case, the king ordered all his subjects to quit *Rome*, refused to admit a legate from the pope, and carried things so very high, that *Sixtus* the fourth was not only obliged to abandon his nephew, and to bestow the bishoprick as the king desired; but also to grant, to himself and his successors, by a bull, the right of nominating to all the archbishopricks and bishopricks in *Spain*, obliging himself and his successors to confirm them *. A common soldier, or, as some say, a subaltern officer, whose name was *Juan de Ortega*, undertook an exploit that immediately opened the war with the *Moors*; for, going as a spy into their territories, he perceived that *Malaga* and *Alhama* were without garrisons, and might be easily surprised. He reported this to the marquis of *Cadiz*, who made it his choice to attack *Alhama*, a very pleasant town, seated in the midst of the mountains, at the distance of somewhat more than twenty miles from *Granada*, on the banks of the *Rio Frio*: where, notwithstanding, are the finest warm baths in all *Spain*. This scheme was executed upon *Thursday* the

* RAINALD, BALUZ, FERRERAS.

Granada (3). We have no distinct lights whether the truce was expired, or not, at the time the marquis of *Cadiz* made his incursion; in resentment of which, the king of *Granada* surprised *Zahara*, instead of complaining to their majesties, or desiring to renew the truce, by which he gave them an opportunity of executing the great design they had formed of subverting that monarchy, and driving the *Moors* out of *Spain*, which they afterwards accomplished, and of which he was the first victim, being deposed by his own subjects, as the author of their misfortunes; and dying in such poverty and distress, that his body had remained unburied, if it had not been for the charity of some Christian captives, who carried it to be interred upon an ass (4).

(3) *Anton. Nebriss. Ferreras.*

(4) *Bernaldez, Hernando del Pulgar.*

twenty-

twenty-seventh of *February*, and the fortreſs ſurpriſed, all who were found therein being put to the ſword. The *Moors* in the town, which was one of the richeſt as well as pleaſanteſt in their poſſeſſion, made a very brave and obſtinate defence, but at length they were forced to ſubmit, and the place was abandoned to the pillage of the Chriſtian ſoldiers, who, not ſatisfied with an immenſe quantity of gold and jewels, actually proceeded to make ſlaves of above three thouſand inhabitants[t].

THIS, as it might well, alarmed *Abul Hoſſein*, king of *Granada*, who immediately aſſembled a body of three thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot, with which he inveſted the place in the beginning of *March*, and at the ſame time his ſubjects infeſted the Chriſtian territories on every ſide, ſo that the war immediately became general[u]. Don *Ferdinand*, who was juſt returned from *Arragon*, took a reſolution of relieving this new conqueſt; and, having ordered his forces to aſſemble at *Antequera* with a ſuperior army, *Abul Hoſſein*, upon his approach, raiſed the ſiege[w]. Don *Ferdinand*, after this, retired into his own dominions, and went to meet the queen at *Cordova*, when the king of *Granada*, with a better army than before, inveſted the place a ſecond time, and was very near taking it. When the news of this came to be canvaſſed in their majeſties councils, the queen Donna *Iſabella* cut the debate ſhort, by declaring, that *Alhama* muſt be relieved: that ſhe conſidered it as the firſt-fruits of their conqueſts, and that the time was come when the *Mohammedans* ſhould be driven out of *Spain*. The king, agreeable to this oracle, marched with eight thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot, and raiſed the ſiege a ſecond time in the month of *May*. The queen purſued her deſign with invincible firmneſs; ſhe raiſed forces, ſhe filled magazines, ſhe equipped ſquadrons, that every thing might be in readineſs when the operations of the war might require it. In the mean time the king, with the principal nobility, marched to beſiege *Loja*, a beautiful and rich town at the bottom of the mountains, about eighteen miles from *Granada*. Don *Alonſo* of *Arragon*, duke of *Villa Hermoſa*, aſſured the king, and the reſt of the nobility, that this enterprize was not ſo eaſy as they imagined, and that their forces were not numerous enough to inveſt the place; but this advice was ſlighted, till, by a ſeries of loſſes in a few days, they

Zeal of the queen Iſabella *in the maintenance of that war.*

[t] GARIBAY, ZURITA, FERRERAS. [u] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [w] LUC. MARIN. SICUL.

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were obliged to raise the siege, and that with circumstances of dishonour as well as loss. The queen affected a deep concern for this, though, as it agreed perfectly with her design, and kept the spirit of the war in full vigour, it may be her grief was not so great as it appeared [y]. The *Moors*, encouraged by this gleam of success, besieged *Alhama* the third time, under the command of prince *Muly Abul Abdali*, and were again very near taking the place, when Don *Ferdinand*, with a royal army, arrived on the fourteenth of *August* in its neighbourhood, and, the *Moors* being retired, changed
1482. the garrison, and supplied all the magazines [z]. This year was fatal to Don *Alonso de Carillo*, archbishop of *Toledo*, who had so much obliged and so much offended their majesties; to which see, in virtue of the bull before-mentioned, they appointed cardinal *Mendoza*. And this year likewise they discovered that *Lewis* the eleventh was endeavouring to marry his nephew the king of *Navarre* to the infanta of *Castile*, their competitor, whom the new king of *Portugal* Don *Juan* had brought out of her convent, and had given her a palace to live in, where she was treated in a manner suitable to her birth [a]. But, notwithstanding this, nothing more was done in favour of that most unfortunate princess.

The young king of Granada, *commonly called* Mohammed Boabdil, *but whose true name was* Muly Abul Abdali, *taken prisoner.*

THE king Don *Ferdinand*, having sent a minister into *Italy* to solicit the princes and states of that country to live upon good terms with each other, and to unite all their forces against the *Turk*, it was attended with so good effects, that the general tranquillity was in a short time restored; upon which the pope sent to compliment their majesties, and, of his motion, granted them very large ecclesiastical supplies for their war against the *Moors*, that is, powers to levy money upon the clergy [b]. The campaign in the spring was by no means favourable to the Christians. They endeavoured to penetrate through a country full of woods and rocks, with which they were little acquainted, where they suffered prodigiously during their march; and being continually exposed to the insults of their enemies, they were at length compelled to retreat with great loss [c]. The young king of *Granada*, *Muly Abul Abdali* (for at this time there was a schism in that country, his father *Abul Hassein* reigning at *Malaga*, and himself in the proper capital), elevated with this success, and willing to signalize himself at the beginning of his reign by

[y] GARIBAY, MARIANA, FERRERAS. [z] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, ZURITA. [a] BERNALDEZ, DAMIAN DE GOES, ed. Nunez. [b] RAINALD, & al. [c] GARIBAY, LUC. MARIN. SICUL. FERRERAS.

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some great action, took the field with a large body of troops, and advanced without any considerable resistance as far as *Lucena*, on the frontiers of *Andalusia*: having, in this excursion, acquired a prodigious booty, he began to take measures for his retreat; which he had scarce begun, before the count *de Cabra*, with a small corps of choice forces, passed *Lucena* in pursuit of them. It happened very fortunately that the day was misty, so that when they came up with the *Moors*, and charged them, their strength could not be discerned: some of the *Moors* crying out that the whole forces of *Andalusia* were falling upon them, a sudden panic seized them, and the route began almost as soon as the battle, those in the rear abandoning their booty, and shifting for themselves, without striking a stroke[d]. The young king did all he could to encourage his troops, both by his words and his example, but to little purpose, till at length, his horse being killed, he endeavoured to make his retreat on foot; but two soldiers following him, and attacking him with pikes, he was quickly overcome and taken. They were on the point of killing him for his rich arms, when some of the officers came up and rescued him out of their hands; and the nephew of the count Don *Diego de Cordova*, without knowing his quality, sent him prisoner to *Lucena*[e]. As soon as the king Don *Ferdinand* arrived at the city of *Cordova*, he sent to the count of *Cabra* to bring his royal prisoner thither, which he immediately obeyed; and the *Mooriſh* prince made an entry into that city very magnificent, and with all the circumstances of respect that he could desire; after which, the king sent him to the fortress of *Porcuna*, where he was likewise treated with all possible lenity. The king Don *Ferdinand* made an autumn campaign with a great army with little effect, except burning all the flat country about *Granada*, and taking and destroying the town of *Taxara*. Upon his return to *Cordova*, a treaty was set on foot for procuring the liberty of the captive monarch; upon which the council of *Castile* were much divided, some, for various reasons, which they alleged, were for rejecting all proposals of that sort. The marquis of *Cadiz* and the count *de Cabra* were of the contrary opinion. They said, if the king was detained, the *Moors* would restore his father, and act with unanimity and vigour; whereas, if he was released, there would be a divided title, and the division of the *Moors* was the advantage of the Christians. The king referred both opinions to Donna *Isabella*, who thereupon decided in

[d] Hernando del Pulgar, &c.

[e] Zurita, & al.

favour

favour of the latter. By the treaty with the king's mother, the Christian prisoners in *Granada* were to be released, the king was to become vassal to the crown of *Castile*, to pay an annual tribute of twelve thousand crowns, and to give hostages for the due performance of them. When the terms were settled, the king of *Granada* had an audience of Don *Ferdinand*; he bent his knee as he entered the room, and a second time about the middle of it, with which the king of *Castile* was displeased. He would have knelt to him when he came up, and have kissed his hand, which is the manner of doing homage; but Don *Ferdinand* prevented it, and told him, that he had treated with him as with a king, and that he was free from every thing but the engagements he had entered into in that character. He embraced, complimented him, and, after making him magnificent presents, sent him home[g]. The war, however, continued with *Abul Hossein*, who soon after drove out his son, and obliged him to retire to *Almeria*. The marquis of *Cadiz*, by a well-conducted enterprize, recovered the town and fortress of *Zahara*, upon which the king created him duke of *Cadiz* and marquis of that place[h], though the *Spanish* historians seldom stile him duke.

A great alteration in the manner of making war against the Moors.

THEIR majesties sent their embassadors into *France*, to demand the restitution of the county of *Roussillon*; and that not being granted, they were to renew their alliance with *Charles* the eighth, who was just come to that crown. The new king assured them that matter should be settled by embassadors he had sent into *Spain*, and would have persuaded them to renew the treaty; which they declined, and insisted strongly that the late monarch *Lewis* the eleventh, being convinced of their majesties right to the county in question, had actually dispatched orders for its restitution; which the regents had stopped upon his demise, and, as they refused to renew these orders, they desired leave to return home. Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella* were then in *Arragon*, where they held an assembly of the three estates at *Tarracona*, and demanded supplies for the recovery of *Roussillon*, as well as for the war of *Granada*. The king Don *Ferdinand* remaining there longer than he expected, the queen set out for *Toledo*, and the campaign of the spring was made without any event of importance. But Donna *Isabella* took care to provide every thing necessary for continuing the operations

[g] LUC. MARIN. SICUL. GARIBAY, ZURITA, FERRERAS, MARIANA. [h] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, PETER MARTYR Angl. MAYERNE TURQUET.

against

against *Granada* with effect; and laboured more especially to provide artillery, with such provisions and beasts of carriage as would enable the troops to keep the field till winter; she took care also to have a good fleet at sea, to prevent any succours that might arrive from *Barbary*; and from hence it plainly appeared, that she had in view an absolute conquest. These preparations demanded a very large expence; but she managed things with such frugality, that there was a very considerable saving out of what had been granted for these services, which she caused to be refunded, that the people might be sensible, though she desired the crown might be supported, she was very far from intending that the people should be impoverished [i]. In *June* Don *Ferdinand* arrived at *Cordova*, attended by the cardinal of *Spain*, his brother Don *Alonso* the marquis of *Villena*, and the flower of the *Spanish* nobility; and, having entered the enemies country, took *Alora*, *Alpyzana*, *Sentenil*, destroying all things up to the gates of *Granada*; after which, the winter drawing on, he retired to *Cordova* [k]. The war was now carried on in a manner very different from what it was formerly. The operations of the campaign were settled by a general council of war, and the like councils were held frequently in the field; so that every step was taken with some design, the ultimate view of their operations being to facilitate the siege of *Granada*. *Abul Hossein* was sensible of this, and sent to desire peace almost upon any terms; to which Don *Ferdinand* returned such answers, as shewed plainly enough that he would grant none [l]. 1484.

Still more alterations made, and the military system very highly improved.

The queen Donna *Isabella* applied herself all the winter with her accustomed diligence to provide every thing that was necessary for continuing the war, and the fruits of her precaution quickly appeared. The monarch of *Fez* found himself so incommoded by the *Spanish* fleets that were cruising upon his coasts, as to judge it necessary to try whether, by an embassy, he might not procure some ease to his subjects: accordingly he sent embassadors with rich presents, and their majesties readily consented to a peace, upon his obliging himself not to give any succours to the king of *Granada*. The first enterprizes in the spring were not attended with much success; but the grand army, which assembled at *Cordova*, made a very different appearance from what it had done formerly. It consisted of twelve thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, but these were all choice

[i] Garibay, Luc. Marin. Sicul. Ferreras. [k] Hernando del Pulgar, Mariana. [l] Zurita, & al.

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troops, and a numerous train of artillery, with tents, carriages, and all other neceſſaries requiſite for a long campaign; and their majeſties ſaw with great pleaſure almoſt all the nobility of *Spain* ready to attend their monarch. The king's equipage was remarkably plain, and conſiſted but of a few perſons: the king and queen took notice of this to ſome of the moſt ſenſible of the grandees, who immediately reduced their own. This had the deſired effect, and, without the formality of the law, frugality became the faſhion; and about the middle of *April* this army, the leaſt pompous and the moſt formidable that had been ſeen in *Spain*, took the field. The true deſign was the ſiege of *Malaga*; but, before this could be made, the king found it neceſſary to reduce *Coin*, *Cartama*, *Ronda*, and a multitude of other places, which coſt a great deal of time, treaſure, and blood. The *Moors* ſaw their deſtruction was coming on, and defended themſelves like brave men who were become deſperate. Don *Ferdinand*, with his uſual prudence, granted favourable capitulations, and executed them with great punctuality, inſomuch that multitudes of the *Moors* deſired leave to ſettle in the heart of his dominions. He cauſed them to be ſent thither at his own expence, and gave them houſes, land, and money in their pockets. There were many more who deſired to be tranſported to *Barbary*; which was alſo granted, and many ſhips were employed in this ſervice. Some of their captains threw the poor wretches overboard, to get poſſeſſion of their effects. Their majeſties, informed of this, cauſed a ſtrict inquiry to be made, executed the criminals, confiſcated their eſtates, and tranſmitted the produce of them to the relations of thoſe they had murdered in *Barbary*. At the cloſe of the campaign the king took the caſtles of *Cambil* and *Alhabar*, beſides many more that were demoliſhed; and though it was found impracticable to beſiege *Malaga*, yet the reduction of ſeventy good towns, and a vaſt extent of country, rendered this campaign very glorious [n]. The *Moors*, tired of their old king *Abul Hoſſein*, depoſed him, and ſeated his brother *Mohammed Al Zagel* upon the throne, who had before forced his nephew *Muly Abul Abdali* to fly
1485. into *Murcia*, after murdering moſt of his family [o]. There was this year an inſurrection at *Saragoſſa* againſt the inquiſition, and, in the tumult, the principal inquiſitor was murdered, who on that account was conſidered as a martyr and

[n] Garibay, Hernando del Pulgar, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. [o] Luc. Marin. Sic. Zurita.

a ſaint,

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a saint, and the people persuaded that miracles were wrought through his intercession.

The war with *Granada* was now so famous throughout *Europe*, that several persons of high quality and of martial disposition repaired thither from foreign countries, to have a share in so memorable an enterprize; and amongst these was an *English* lord, to whom they give the title of earl of (E) *Escalas*, who brought with him one hundred esquires, and a number of private men in proportion[q]. The army assembled at *Cordova* in the month of *April*, and consisted of twelve thousand horse, forty thousand foot, six thousand pioneers, two thousand carriages and waggons for the service of the artillery, and fifty thousand horses and mules for the baggage, and other services. As soon as they took the field, they marched directly towards *Loja*, which was now become the seat of *Abdul Abdali*'s sovereignty, who, out of zeal for his religion, had concluded an agreement with *Mohammed Al Zagel*, and renounced his alliance with their majesties of *Castile*[r]. He behaved himself very bravely upon this occasion, gave the Christians great disturbance by perpetual sallies, till he was confined to his bed by his wounds, and at length capitulated upon very honourable terms, except that he became once more a vassal to Don *Ferdinand*[s]. The Christians proceeded next to besiege *Yllora*, and to block up *Mochin*, places that were requisite towards forming the new frontier; by which the *Moors* were to be shut up within a very small district; and, when these places were reduced, fortified, and sufficient garrisons left in them, the army proceeded once more into the plain of *Granada*, in order to burn and destroy the harvest; which in a great measure they performed, notwithstanding they met with a vigorous opposition, and that the operations of the whole campaign cost a great deal of blood. We may add to this, that the expence of the war was by this time risen so high, that it must have terminated here, at least for some years, if the queen had not found resources in the reputation she had acquired by her prudent management of the finances, which enabled her to raise the necessary supplies for the next campaign by loans from her own subjects[t]. 1486.

The town of Loja *taken, and* Muly Abul Abdali *once more reduced.*

As the war against the *Moors* became every campaign more and more serious, the nobility were very careful in recruiting their respective corps in the winter, that they might be

He, by the assistance furnished

[q] Garibay, Zurita, Ferreras. [r] Luc. Marin. Sicul. Mariana. [s] Hernando del Pulgar. [t] Mayerne Turquet, & al.

(E) Lord *Scales*.

in

by the Christians, gains possession of Granada.

in a condition to attend the king early in the spring; and the great diligence of their majesties in procuring and providing all things effectually, prevented their losing any time when they were once assembled. The heavy rains that had fallen prevented any excursions in the winter season; but, by the five-and-twentieth of *March*, which was the time appointed, their majesties, who were at *Cordova*, assembled their army of twenty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, with a corps of eight thousand pioneers, and other persons belonging to the artillery, and on the seventh of *April* they opened the campaign[u]. But, before we speak of the military operations of the Christian army, it will be proper to observe, that *Abul Abdali*, after the loss of *Loja*, had been obliged to retire to the frontiers of *Murcia*, where he lived under their majesties protection. At first he had a great number of adherents, who followed his fortune; but, as his funds grew low, the number of his subjects lessened, till at length he saw himself in danger of being totally abandoned; and this made him so desperate, that he resolved to hazard himself, and the few that he had left, in an attempt upon *Granada*, in which city he knew he had a strong party. As desperate as this scheme seemed to be, it was nevertheless successful; he found entrance into the city, seized a part of it, and, being supported by a strong body of horse from *Murcia*, obliged his uncle to retire[w]. In this situation things were when the king Don *Ferdinand* invested *Velez*, or *Velez Malaga*, a well-built, pleasant, and strong town, seated in a plain surrounded by mountains, within little more than a mile of the *Mediterranean*. The *Moors* of *Mohammed Al Zagel*'s party advised him by all means to attempt the relief of this place; the reputation of which, if he was so happy as to atchieve it, would not fail to restore to him the possession of *Granada* without a blow. He assembled, with this view, a good corps of horse, and about twenty thousand foot, with which he entered the adjacent mountains, and from thence continually harrassed and disturbed the Christian army; and once made a bold attempt to seize their artillery, but without effect; so that at length the place capitulated, and the greatest part of the inhabitants submitted to their Catholic majesties. It was next resolved to besiege *Malaga*, one of the strongest and best peopled places still remaining to the *Moors*; but an attempt was first made to corrupt *Hamet Zegri*, who commanded a large body of *Barbary Moors*, in

[u] Hernando del Pulgar, Garibay, Ferreras. [w] Luc. Marin. Sicul. Mariana.

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the ſtrong caſtle of *Gibralfaro*, which commanded the town; but *Hamet* anſwered, that he was hired to defend the place, and he would never betray it; and that he hoped this anſwer would procure him favourable treatment, in caſe he ſhould be compelled to ſurrender, after the beſt defence he ſhould be able to make [y].

The ſiege and ſurrender of Malaga, with the wonderful conſequences which attend it.

THIS city was inveſted completely both by land and ſea on the ſeventh of *May*, not without very conſiderable loſs on both ſides. The Chriſtians continued the ſiege with vigour for a long time, and the *Moors* defended themſelves with great ſpirit and patience. In the mean time *Mohammed Al Zagel* collected all the troops he could, in order to afford them ſuccours; but he had ſcarce marched them out of *Guadix*, before they were attacked by *Muly Abul Abdali*, by whom the beſt part of them were cut in pieces [z]. Upon this he ſent a preſent of ſeveral horſes with rich furniture, with ſome pieces of cloth of gold and ſilk, to their Catholic majeſties, adviſing them to be very careful in preventing any ſort of proviſions from being carried into the place, where famine would ſoon force them to yield; and aſſured them, that when they were maſters, as ſome ſay, of *Almeria*, *Baza*, and *Guadix*, they might depend upon his putting *Granada* into their hands [a]. A deſperate *Moor*, however, was very near ſnatching this conqueſt out of their hands. He came out of *Malaga* in the night, and, going to the firſt guard of the Chriſtian army, demanded to be carried to the marquis of *Cadiz*. When he was brought to him, he preſſed to ſee their majeſties, to whom he ſaid he would diſcover the means of entering the town. The marquis did not regard him much; but thoſe who were about him carried him to the king's quarter, and brought him to the tent of Donna *Beatrix de Bobadilla*, who was playing at draughts with Don *Alvaro* of *Portugal*. The *Moor*, ſeeing Donna *Beatrix* very richly dreſſed, made no doubt but ſhe was the queen, and that the perſon playing with her was the king; upon which, drawing his ſcymitar, he diſcharged a blow with all his force on Don *Alvaro*'s head: Donna *Beatrix* fainting and falling down, another blow, that he aimed at her, reached no farther than her ſleeve; and, before he had time to ſtrike a third, he was diſpatched by thoſe who were in the place [b]. The king was aſleep; but the queen, being in the next apartment, hearing the noiſe, came out, and was an

[y] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, GARIBAY, FERRERAS. [z] LUC. MARIN. SICUL, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA. [a] LUC. MARIN. SIC. [b] ANTON. NEB. & al.

eye-

eye-witneſs of this ſhocking ſcene. At length *Malaga* would have capitulated; but the king refuſed any other terms than ſurrendering at diſcretion, to which they were at laſt forced to ſubmit, and the town was accordingly ſurrendered on the eighteenth of *Auguſt* [d]. By this means many thouſands were made ſlaves, ſome of the nobility having a hundred, others fifty, for their ſhare, beſides thoſe that were ſent as preſents to the kings of *Portugal* and *Naples* [e].

1487. About the cloſe of *September* their majeſties returned to *Cordova*, and went afterwards to ſpend their winter at *Saragoſſa*.

A new ſcheme of making war, by creating another frontier, by conqueſts of ſeveral places.

AFTER obtaining from the ſtates of *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, conſiderable ſupplies, their majeſties went into the kingdom of *Murcia*, where the army was to aſſemble, and which was far from being ſo conſiderable as it had been two years before, but numerous enough for the intended operations of the campaign [f]. The king began by inveſting *Vera*, to the inhabitants of which he offered very fair terms: the terror they were under of being treated with the ſame ſeverity that the inhabitants of *Malaga* had met with, induced them to ſubmit, and their example was followed by many of the adjacent places. *Mohammed Al Zagel*, apprehending that Don *Ferdinand* meant to beſiege *Almeria*, ſhut himſelf up in it with a thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot; which ſaved that place indeed, but left the reſt of the country open, ſo that Don *Ferdinand* reduced *Hueſcar*, *Galera*, *Orie*, *Tijola*, *Cuellar*, *Benaamarel*, and many other places of leſs conſequence; into which having put proper garriſons, the army marched into the plains of *Baza*, where the ſcene was changed; the *Moors*, inſtead of ſubmitting, making a moſt vigorous reſiſtance; inſomuch that the army ſuffered great loſs, and, amongſt other perſons of diſtinction, Don *Philip* of *Navarre*, natural ſon to Don *Carlos*, prince of *Viana*, was killed upon the ſpot. The king Don *Ferdinand*, judging it proper to retire, after giving the neceſſary directions for the ſecurity of the frontiers, returned

1488. to *Valladolid*. After his departure, *Mohammed Al Zagel* recovered ſeveral places, and laboured all that was in his power to revive the ſpirits of his nation, and to prevail upon them to unite firmly in defence of their religion, their country, themſelves, and their poſterity, though to little effect.

[d] HERNANDO DEL PULG. FERRERAS. [e] BERNALDEZ, GARIBAY. [f] ZURITA, LUC. MARIN. SICUL. MARIANA.

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It was the great prudence of the queen to observe an exact proportion between the means she employed, and the ends which she proposed from them. This appeared very conspicuously in the difference between the army assembled in this and the preceding year; the former was full seventy, the latter did not exceed twenty thousand men. The king joined them as soon as they were formed, and directed his march towards *Baza*, which, though not the greatest, was by far the strongest and best situated place in the possession of *Mohammed Al Zagel* [k]. That prince, being very sensible of this, threw into it two of the best officers he had, with three thousand horse and five thousand foot; besides, the fortifications were in perfect good order, and their magazines of all sorts well supplied. As the alcayde knew the importance of the place, and had an army rather than a garrison under his command, he defended the suburbs and the posts beyond them as long as it was possible, so that a great many men were lost before the place could be invested, or the siege formed. When these difficulties were overcome, the ground was found so uneven, and the lines of so great extent, that they could not avoid several unlucky impressions made by the vigorous sally of the besieged, notwithstanding that the king, by posting an ambuscade, cut off five hundred *Moors* at once. The summer advancing, and the heat being very intense, the men were much dispirited, and diseases prevailed in the camp; however, a large supply arriving from the queen revived them for the present, and her majesty having caused a track to be cut through the mountains, for the mules that were laden on one side, and another for those that returned empty on the opposite side, the convoys arrived regularly [l]. The grand soltan of *Egypt* having sent embassadors to the pope, to threaten retaliation on the Christians settled in his dominions, if their majesties continued the war against *Granada*, the pope sent them to the king; upon which a great party in his council advised him to raise the siege. This he deferred till he had the queen's opinion; which being directly contrary to that advice, the embassadors were dismissed with presents [m]. But, after all, it would have been certainly raised, from the obstinate resistance of the *Moors*, if the queen had not gone to the camp in person with a great reinforcement. This had a double effect; it raised the spirits of the army, which were sunk to a great

The siege and reduction of Baza, and the submission thereupon of Mohammed Al Zagel.

[k] Zurita. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras; [l] Luc. Marin. Sicul. Anton. Nebriss. [m] Hernando del Pulgar, Pet. Martyr Angl.

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degree; and it made such an impression on the besieged, that the alcayde offered to capitulate [n]. The king gave him as good terms for his garrison as he could desire, and still better for himself; so that he entered into his service, and undertook to negotiate with *Mohammed Al Zagel* the surrender of *Guadix* and *Almeria* without the fatigue of sieges, in which, to the great astonishment of *Moors* and Christians, he prevailed [o]. In this transaction the *Moorish* prince behaved with great prudence and magnanimity. He had consented to the surrender of *Baza*, upon a representation that it was impossible to defend it longer: he knew that *Guadix* and *Almeria* were not near so tenable; and he knew also that he had no succours or assistance to expect. He made, therefore, the best terms possible for his people, but he refused to make any for himself; all the favour he desired was, that he might have the honour of presenting the keys of *Almeria* to Don *Ferdinand* in person, which was very readily granted. The king, having appointed his uncle Don *Henry Henriquez* governor of *Baza*, marched from thence with part of the army over the mountains; while the queen, with the other part, took another route. When they drew near *Almeria*, *Mohammed Al Zagel* marched out to meet them at the head of a corps of cavalry. Some of the nobility in the Christian army advanced officiously to receive him, and persuaded him, when the king was in sight, to dismount, and to present the keys on foot; for which Don *Ferdinand* reprimanded them severely, called them a parcel of ill-bred clowns, desired the *Moorish* monarch to remount his horse, and, having placed him by his side, rode with him into the city, and treated him with all possible kindness and respect.

1489. He granted the inhabitants the same terms that had been given to those at *Baza*, kept his *Christmas* there with great solemnity, and, reviewing his army on the last day of the year, found that he had lost twenty thousand men in a campaign of seven months [p]. But of these the *Spanish* historians would have us believe the far greater part died of diseases.

Another campaign against Granada, *in which*

In the beginning of the succeeding year, *Mohammed Al Zagel* put the king in possession of *Guadix*, and prevailed upon a multitude of other places to submit, particularly the country of *Alpujarros*, which otherwise from its situation it would have been very difficult, if not impracticable, to

[n] Garibay, Ferreras, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.
[o] Hernando del Pulgar. [p] Luc. Marin. Sic. Ant. Nebriss

reduce.

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reduce. The king, in return, made him a present of the best town and one of the finest districts in that country, with a promise that if the two thousand peasants, who occupied his villages, did not pay him four millions of marvadies annually, the sum should be made up out of the royal treasury; and he farther added, that if at any time he desired to retire into *Barbary*, he should have free licence, with all his family, and have the full value of his estate given him in ready money [q]. The *Alcayde* of *Baza*, and other *Moors*, who had deserved well upon this occasion, were rewarded with like generosity [r]. The next great affair that came upon the carpet was summoning *Muly Abul Abdali* to surrender *Granada*, according to his promise. His answer was, that their majesties had put it out of his power; that the number of the inhabitants were swelled to three times what they were at the time of his making that promise, by their reducing all the places round about, and they would destroy him upon the least suspicion of such a design [s]. Their majesties then returned to *Seville*, where they consented to the marriage of Donna *Isabella* to the infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*; and, as soon as their domestic affairs would permit, Don *Ferdinand* took the field with a considerable army, with which he ravaged the plain of *Granada*, where the *Moors* gave him great opposition, and behaved very gallantly [t].

the whole country adjacent is destroyed.

AMONGST those who distinguished themselves in this expedition were *Mohammed Al Zagel* and the marquis *de Villena*; the former by a stratagem surprised a very strong castle; the latter, seeing his servant attacked by six *Moorish* cavaliers, advanced alone to his assistance, killed two of them, put the other four to flight, and brought off his wounded servant, tho' he was himself disabled in the right arm [u]. The king was recalled from this campaign by the total revolt of the *Alpujarros*, and by commotions in almost all his new conquests; so that he was forced to turn the *Moors* out of *Baza* and *Guadix*, and, with great difficulty, pacified the people in the *Alpujarros* [w]. Towards the close of the year, *Mohammed Al Zagel* came to him, and, having kissed his majesty's hand, desired his permission to retire to *Barbary* with such as were content to follow his fortunes. The king complied with his request, gave him a ship with a passport, and tho' it was very inconvenient to him, since he borrowed the

Mohammed Al Zagel desires leave to retire into Barbary, and receives it.

[q] ZURITA. [r] LUC. MARIN. Sicul. [s] FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET. [u] GARIBAY. [w] MARIANA.

money, paid him the full value of his estate [x]. After his departure, he gave the government of *Alpujarros* to the marquis of *Villena* [y]. Before the expiration of the year, their majesties received two mortifications; one was the recovery of several places out of their hands by *Muly Abul Abdali* 1490. king of *Granada*; the other, that the republic of *Genoa* having offered to submit to them, the situation of their affairs would not allow them to receive that state under their protection [z].

At length the capital of Granada *is invested and besieged by their majesties.*

THE queen having taken the necessary care for an ample supply of every thing the ensuing campaign might demand, the king Don *Ferdinand* took the field before the end of the month of *April* with an army of upwards of 70,000 men; and finding, that, in spite of their late chastisement, the inhabitants of the *Alpujarros* had supplied the city of *Granada* with vast quantities of provisions, he transferred the war thither, and punished them indeed very severely, but not without great loss, the king of *Granada* sending into that mountainous country a numerous corps of troops [a]. He next sacked all the plain of *Granada*, and completely invested the place, in which there were not fewer at this time than one hundred thousand souls. The queen Donna *Isabella* repaired to the camp, with the rest of the royal family, and were very conveniently lodged in the tent of the marquis of *Cadiz*, which stood next to the king's [b]. One night the queen complaining to one of her maids, that the candle offended her eyes, and hindered her from sleeping, she removed it into a corner, and both of them falling asleep, the tent took fire, by which the lives of the whole royal family were endangered, and the camp thrown into the utmost confusion. The king, half-naked, mounted on horseback, and, having collected a great body of cavalry, posted them in the avenues leading from the city, and so covered the camp till the fire could be extinguished [c]. The queen reflecting upon this accident, and resolving to prevent the like for the future, formed a very extraordinary project. She caused, in a convenient place, two long and broad streets to be drawn in the form of a cross, and as there were great quarries in the neighbourhood, the pioneers quickly constructed low but very convenient houses of stone. As soon as the army comprehended the queen's design, they assisted in it so chearfully, that there quickly appeared a regular and very consi-

[x] ZURITA. [y] LUC. MARIN. Sicul. [z] ZURITA.
[a] FERRERAS. [b] ANTON. NEBRISS. [c] HERN. DEL PULGAR.

derable

derable town, to which they would have given the name of *Iſabella*; but the queen expreſsly commanded it ſhould be called *Santa Fé*, that is, *Holy Faith*; and it has been ſince honoured with the name of a city [d].

THE conſtruction of this place, if it did not occaſion, at leaſt it accelerated, the reduction of *Granada*; for the court and the principal nobility being perfectly well lodged, proviſions of all ſorts were brought in great abundance to the new town, while famine raged in the city [e]. One muſt be void of humanity not to feel for theſe unhappy people, who perceiving plainly, by this diſpoſition of things, that they had nothing to hope, abandoned themſelves to all the frantic expreſſions of deſpair, ſometimes crouding their moſques, and, with loud exclamations, imploring the aſſiſtance of their prophet; at others running in troops to the burial-places of their anceſtors, weeping and lamenting over their tombs, and regretting that a fate worſe than death was appointed for themſelves. Sometimes flocking about the *Alhambra*, or palace, they loaded their king with execrations, and imputed to him a calamity of which none had ſo deep a ſenſe as himſelf; at others ruſhing out upon the Chriſtians with a fury that took from them the ſenſe of danger, and the capacity of avoiding it. At laſt, like wild beaſts in the toil, they ſunk, through very wearineſs, into a kind of calm, of which their chiefs taking advantage, propoſed, and obtained their conſent, to make the beſt capitulation they could; which, after ſome time ſpent in negotiation, was at length ſigned by the plenipotentiaries on both ſides, on the 25th of *November* [f] (F).

After a tedious ſiege and gallant defence, the king and people capitulate.

It

[d] Les Delices d'Eſpagne, p. 512. [e] HERN. DEL PULG. [f] ZURITA.

(F) The kingdom of *Granada* was already ſhrunk within the walls of that city, which had formerly occupied a large proportion of the ſouth of *Spain*, and was for a time the moſt flouriſhing of all its numerous principalities, as having under its juriſdiction thirty-two cities and ninety-ſeven walled towns, excluſive of innumerable villages, the inhabitants of which paid an annual tribute of 700,000 crowns in gold. In its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the city itſelf contained upwards of 60,000 houſes, and 400,000 inhabitants (1). In the low condition to which it was then fallen, it was ſtill formidable; and therefore their majeſties very prudently granted eaſy and moderate terms, that they might once gain poſſeſſion of this laſt fortreſs of the *Moors*, knowing well that time and accident, the

(1) *Mariana, Bermudez, Colmenares, Delices de l'Eſpagne.*

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It was no sooner signed, and the hostages given, than the people repented, and mutinied. Their king, who suspected this, had fortified himself so strongly in the *Alhambra*, or palace, that he could not be forced; and having given notice to Don *Ferdinand* of his situation, his majesty immediately sent a letter, directed to the people, in which he told them, that if they did not disperse, and behave themselves quietly, the four hundred hostages they had given should be instantly put to the sword, the provisions they received daily withheld, and themselves sold for slaves, as the people had been at *Malaga*; and upon this, and the persuasions of their king, they retired dejectedly to those which they still called their houses [g]. However, to prevent any thing of the like nature, the king gave their majesties notice, that, instead of the 6th of *January*, fixed by the capitulation, he would deliver up the place on the second [h]. This year the infanta Donna *Isabella* returned a widow from *Portugal*, her husband the prince Don *Juan* dying of a fall from his horse in the sports celebrated on occasion of their wedding, to the inex-

[g] Luc. Marin. Sicul. [h] Hern del Pulgar.

passage once opened, would accomplish all their purposes (2). The substance then of the capitulation was (3), that the king and commons of *Granada* should deliver that city, with all its gates, fortresses, towers, and other dependencies, with the arms and captives then in their possession, on the 6th of *January*; the inhabitants to continue in possession of their houses, goods, and inheritances, and to preserve the free exercise of their religion, with permission to live under their own laws, and to have their differences decided by their own judges: those who were desirous of retiring to *Barbary*, were to have passports for that purpose, with free licence to dispose of their effects, or, if they made it their choice, to carry them with them. As to the king, he was to have an ample seignory in the *Alpujarras*, and a certain number of vassals; but if this should not prove satisfactory, he might also demand leave to pass into *Africa*, and likewise receive the value of the territory which he left behind him. The *Jews* were absolutely excluded from this capitulation, because their majesties were determined to have the houses they occupied for Christian inhabitants, and the *Moors* had no such affection for them as to insist upon their being comprehended; tho', as the reader will see in the text, it would have been of little consequence if they had.

(2) *Hernando de Pulgar, Anton. Nebriss. Luc. Marin. Sicul.* (3) *Antigvedad y Excellencias de Grenada, por Franc. Bermudez de Pedraza.*

presible

pressible sorrow of both courts [i]. Their majesties also concluded an alliance with the emperor *Maximilian*, and a treaty of marriage for their daughter *Joanna* with the archduke *Philip*, and another alliance with king *Henry* VII. of *England*, and a like treaty of marriage between *Arthur* prince of *Wales* and the infanta Donna *Catalina*, or *Catharine*; both which important transactions passed in the new town of *Santa Fé*, to the inexpressible satisfaction of their catholic majesties, who, about this time, understanding that the president and counsellors of the chancery at *Valladolid* had admitted an appeal in a temporal cause to the court of *Rome*, dismissed them all from their employments [k]. 1491.

The king Don Ferdinand in great danger of being assassinated.

On the second of *January*, pursuant to his own proposition, the king of *Granada* disposed all things for delivering up that capital to their catholic majesties, who, on their parts, gave the necessary orders for taking possession of it, with all the precautions, as well as all the solemnity possible. For this purpose, the count *de Tendilla*, with cardinal *Mendoza* and Don *Guttiero de Cardenas*, were sent with a strong body of troops into the city, to take possession of the *Alhambra*, where they first elevated the banner of the cross upon the principal tower, and then the standard of the king and *St. James* on the other two; after which their majesties entered the place, and received the submission of the inhabitants [l]. Thus *Granada* returned into the possession of the Christians, after it had been held by the *Moors* 779 years, two months, and nine days. As for the unfortunate monarch of the *Moors*, he retired to *Pulchena* in the *Alpujarros*, where the king gave him a very considerable estate [m]. While their majesties resided at *Granada*, they published an edict, requiring all the *Jews*, who were not disposed to embrace the Christian faith, to quit their dominions in six months; and notwithstanding all possible methods were used by that unfortunate nation to prevent the execution of this law, they were obliged to quit *Spain* at the time [n]. *Mariana* has carried the calculation of those who retired into foreign countries, to 800,000 souls [o]. Those who speak with greater moderation, fix them at thirty thousand families [p]; and it is said that they carried with them immense riches, of a great part of which they were plundered in the countries to which they retired. Politicians are much divided in their sentiments upon this measure. At this juncture, *Christopher Columbus*,

[i] Mariana. [k] Lord Bacon's History of Henry VII. [l] Mariana. [m] Zurita. [n] Garibay. [o] Historia General de Espana. [p] Id. ibid.

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after many difficulties and unwearied applications, signed the contract with the queen Donna *Isabella*, in the city of *Santa Fé*, on the 17th of *April*, for the discovery of new countries, which he accomplished with so much glory to himself, and with such advantages to the crown [q] of *Castile*, the whole expence of his armament amounting to no more than 17,000 ducats; for obtaining which sum the queen would have pledged her jewels, if the comptroller of her household had not advanced it without taking any such security. On the death of pope *Innocent* VIII. who had solemnized with great magnificence at *Rome* the reduction of *Granada*, the famous Don *Rodrigo Borgia*, who was a native of *Valentia*, ascended the pontifical throne, and assumed the name of *Alexander* the Sixth [r]. In the autumn their majesties made a tour into *Arragon*, and from thence into *Catalonia*, where, in the city of *Barcelona*, Don *Ferdinand* ran an unexpected and imminent danger of losing his life; for having, according to his custom, given a long audience to all who desired it, on *Friday* 1492. the seventh of *December*, as he was passing down the stairs from his apartment, an ideot, whose name was *Juan de Canamares*, attempted to stab him with a knife over the shoulder, but luckily cut only his ear, and penetrated a little way into his chest. Those who were about the king would have dispatched him; but he prevented it; and understanding the truth, that the poor creature fancied he should succeed him in the throne, he added to the sentence passed upon him, importing that his body should be torn to pieces with pincers and then burnt to ashes, that he should first be strangled [s].

Charles VIII. *of* France *obliged to restore the county of* Rousillon.

CHARLES VIII. of *France*, having in view the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, where the people were excessively discontented, was inclined to cut short the negotiation that had been for some time depending with the crown of *Spain*, and to promise at least the restitution of the counties of *Rousillon* and *Cerdagne*; and upon this a treaty was signed and sworn to on the 19th of *January* [t]. That monarch, however, had no real intention to restore these territories, but endeavoured all he could to frustrate and elude the engagements he had taken; but when Don *Ferdinand* began to assemble troops on the frontiers, and shewed a resolution to attempt the recovery of them by force, *Charles* thought fit to deliver them up; so that their majesties had the satisfaction of entering *Perpignan* in splendor, which had been with-held from them many years [u]. The duke of *Cadiz* having breathed

[q] ZURITA. [r] MARIANA. [s] ZURITA. [t] MAYER. TURQUET. [u] MARIANA.

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his last in the preceding year, their majesties thought it more expedient to give the title of duke of *Arcos* to his son Don *Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, together with a certain number of vassals, and an annual pension, than to suffer the port and island of *Cadiz* to remain in the hands of that or any other family [w]. From the same principle the king Don *Ferdinand* prevailed upon the pope to fortify his title to the new discovered countries as far as was in his power, and, in virtue of his own, united to the crown the grand masterships of several military orders, which was a seasonable and important acquisition [x]. The nobility and commons of the kingdom of *Naples* sent over deputies to propose to the king the uniting that to his other crowns; and they were very desirous of remaining under the dominion of the house of *Arragon*; declaring, that they were quite tired of their present monarch, and had no hopes at all of his son; but the king, having heard patiently all they had to say, told them, that the ties of blood restrained him from attempting any thing to the prejudice of their sovereign, even supposing it might be done with justice; and that wherever they applied, they might possibly find a change of masters, without any alteration of circumstances [y]. *Muly Abul Abdali*, unable to remain a private man, and as unable to attempt any thing with success against their catholic majesties, resolved to retire into *Barbary*; and the king not only permitted him freely to transport himself and his his family, but paid him also the full value of his estate in ready money [z]. 1493.

THE king Don *Alonso* of *Naples*, who had lately succeeded his father Don *Ferdinand*, demanded and received assurances of succour from the king Don *Ferdinand*, in case he was attacked. The last-mentioned monarch having received embassadors from the king of *France*, to desire that he would grant some ports in the island of *Sicily*, for the war he intended to make against the *Turks*, and for asserting his right to the crown of *Naples*, Don *Ferdinand* promised to send an answer by ministers of his own. He did so, and suggested to him, that the war against *Naples* was very unjust, as being grounded on a very indifferent title bequeathed to him, and not to punish any insult against himself, or to assert any claim either of his own or from his ancestors; and that he would find, whatever it might be in the beginning, this war would prove fatal in its progress, and ruinous in its consequences. But notwithstanding these remonstrances were

He resolves to undertake an expedition against Naples, tho' Don Ferdinand sent an embassy to dissuade him from it.

[w] LUC. MARIN. Sicul. [x] RAINALD. [y] ZURITA, [z] MARIANA.

supported

supported by some of the ablest ministers in *France*, *Charles* would not desist from his expedition; upon which Don *Ferdinand* made the necessary dispositions for assisting his allies [a]. About this time, perceiving that, from a spirit of ease and luxury, the nobility began to leave off the use of horses, 1494. and ride mostly upon mules, he forbid the use of those creatures for the saddle by any, except ecclesiastics and women, under very severe penalties; otherwise the valuable breed of horses in *Spain* had been very near lost [b].

The latter declares himself free from all engagements in the last treaty.

THE king of *France* having made a public entry into *Rome*, and obliged the pope to submit to him, Don *Antonio de Fonceca*, embassador from their catholic majesties, presented to him their letter; upon which he promised to give him an audience at *Veletri* [c]. There, in a very full assembly of the princes and nobility, *Fonceca* declared to him, in the name of Don *Ferdinand*, that having reserved to himself, in the peace of *Roussillon*, the right of taking up arms, in case the dominions of the church were attacked, and knowing nothing at that time of any claim pretended by him to the crown of *Naples*, he looked upon himself as absolved from all engagements, and would not fail to repel his unjust pretensions by force of arms; and, to convince the *French* king that his master was in earnest, he pulled that treaty out of his bosom, and tore it before his face; for which some of the *French* lords would have killed him, but the king prevented it [d]. Don *Alonso* of *Naples* perceiving that a strong spirit of disaffection prevailed amongst his subjects, who, at the same time, pretended to have a high esteem for his son the duke of *Calabria*, resigned the crown to him, and retired into *Sicily* [e]. This did not prevent the reduction of the best part of the kingdom by the *French*; but, while they pushed their conquests, Don *Ferdinand* negotiated a league, and formed such an army behind them, under the command of the marquis of *Mantua*, as obliged them to a precipitate and hazardous retreat [f]. He likewise sent over to *Naples* the famous Don *Gonzales de Cordova*, with a good fleet and a strong body of forces, with which, tho' unable to meet the *French* army in the field, yet, being bred in the *Moorish* way of fighting, he made use of so many stratagems, and laid so many ambuscades, that the *French* were afraid to stir out of their garrisons [g]. The king went in person into *Arragon*, in order to obtain the necessary supplies for attacking *France* thro'

[a] ZURITA. [b] MARIANA. [c] HERN. DEL PULGAR. [d] ZURITA. [e] Idem. [f] ANT. NEBRISS. [g] LUC. MARIN. Sicul.

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Biscay and *Roussillon* [h]. This year proved fatal to cardinal *Mendoza* archbishop of *Toledo*, who was succeeded by father *Francis Ximenes*, who will make a great figure in the future part of this history; and, towards the close of the year, died Don *Alonso* king of *Naples* [i]. 1495.

THE war with *France* on the side of *Roussillon* continued, tho' the operations of it were not very remarkable. However, Don *Gonçales de Cordova* having expelled the *French* out of the kingdom of *Naples*, and thereby acquired the glorious title of *The Great Captain*, induced *Charles* VIII. to propose a suspension of arms to Don *Ferdinand*, which was readily accepted [k]. The reciprocal marriages, which had been some years before proposed to their catholic majesties, now took place; and the infanta Donna *Joanna* was sent on board a strong squadron into *Flanders*, to espouse the archduke *Philip*; which squadron was to return with the archduchess *Margaret*, who was to espouse Don *Juan* prince of *Asturias* [l]; and the other marriage was also perfected between *Arthur* prince of *Wales* and the princess *Catharine*; but it was agreed that the consummation of the marriage should be put off till his royal highness had attained the age of fourteen [m]. On the seventh of *October* died Don *Ferdinand* II. king of *Naples*, who was succeeded in the throne by his uncle Don *Frederic*; and that prince immediately demanded the assistance of Don *Ferdinand*, assuring him that his dominions and his person should be always at his devotion; with which the king was extremely pleased [n]. About two months before Don *Ferdinand* died, Donna *Joanna*, the widow of Don *Juan* the second, king of *Castile*, and the mother of queen *Isabella*, likewise departed this life, in a very advanced age, after having been subject for many years to great infirmities [o]. At this time, as *Zurita* assures us, pope *Alexander* VI. bestowed the title of *Catholic* upon Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella*, tho' the *Spanish* writers make no scruple of bestowing on them this appellation throughout their whole reign [p]. The king Don *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding the *French* had taken some advantages upon the expiration of the last truce, which he found himself in a condition to have made them repent, yet, at their motion, the king thought it more convenient for his affairs to suffer a new suspension of arms to take place, which might afford 1496.

The double marriages between the archduke Philip and the infanta Donna Joanna, and the infant Don Juan and the princess Margaret.

[h] FERRERAS. [i] Hist. du Cardinal Ximenes, par M. ESPRIT FLECHIER, Eveque de Nismes. [k] GARIBAY. [l] ZURITA. [m] Lord BACON's History of Henry VII. [n] MARIANA. [o] ZURITA. [p] Annal. Aragon.

him

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him an opportunity of taking the proper measures to bring the great designs he had formed in his own mind to bear; yet he was not so much taken up with these political meditations as not to have his eyes open to all that happened in the countries adjacent, or not to improve any event that might be turned to his advantage. An instance of this appeared in *Africa*, where the kings of *Fez* and *Tremecen*, after a long war for the acquisition of the city of *Melilla*, which had extremely weakened both their forces, at length agreed that it should be, with all its district, left uninhabited, and serve in that respect as a common boundary to both their territories. The king Don *Ferdinand* had no sooner intelligence of this, than he sent orders to the duke *de Medina Sidonia* to use the utmost secrecy and dispatch in surprising that place; which commission, notwithstanding the difficulties that attended it, he executed with so much spirit and address, that, landing 5000 men, he took possession of the place, and, having put it in a state of defence, took such effectual measures for repeopling it, that it was in a very little time out of all danger of being recovered by the infidels [r].

Death of the infant Don Juan, *and marriage of the infanta Donna* Isabella.

THE pleasure which the king received from hence was in some measure, however, qualified by the news of a dispute that had happened between the garrison and the inhabitants of *Perpignan*, in composing of which the governor Don *Henry Henriquez* received a blow upon the temples, of which he immediately died upon the spot [s]. As to the family-affairs of their catholic majesties, they suffered, in the compass of this year, very considerable alterations, and such as might have affected them alternately with the warmest sensations of pleasure, and with the deepest anxiety and regret. The return of their fleet from *Flanders* brought the princess *Margaret* of *Austria* into *Spain*, who was conducted in great ceremony to *Burgos*, where their catholic majesties then were, in order to her marriage with the prince of *Asturias*, and where, on the 4th of *April*, they received the nuptial benediction from the hands of the archbishop of *Toledo*, which filled the court with joy [t]. The king of *Portugal* not long after discovered the reason of his declining to accept the infanta Donna *Maria*, with which their majesties were somewhat offended, by demanding the infanta Donna *Isabella*, who, during her widowhood, had passed her time in acts of piety and devotion. Their majesties readily yielded to his request; but it was with some difficulty that the infanta

[r] HERN. DEL PULGAR. [s] ZURITA. [t] PET. MART. Angl.

could

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could be brought to hear of a second marriage. At length, however, the treaty was concluded, and the king and queen conducted her towards the frontiers [u]; but, before the marriage was concluded, they received advice that the prince Don *Juan* was fallen ill at *Salamanca*, to which city the king his father returned, in whose arms that hopeful prince expired on the 4th of *October* [w]. His death being concealed from Donna *Isabella*, the marriage was celebrated between the king of *Portugal* and the infanta. Those who pretend to penetrate the decrees of Providence have suggested, that Don *Ferdinand* received this severe stroke at the very time that he had formed that unjust project of dividing the dominions of the king of *Naples* with the king of *France*. Whatever truth there may be in this conjecture, certain it is, that the princess dowager of *Asturias*, being left big with child, miscarried soon after of a daughter, by which all the remaining hopes they had of that marriage were totally extinguished [x]. 1497.

The death of that princess, then queen of Portugal, *on a visit to her parents.*

In the succeeding year the king and queen of *Portugal* made a visit to their parents at *Toledo*, where they were entertained with equal affection and magnificence, and received the homage of the states of *Castile*; after which they proceeded to *Saragossa*, and were in like manner acknowleged by the states of *Arragon* [y]. If this, in some measure, consoled their catholic majesties for the death of their only son, their satisfaction lasted not long; for, on the 23d of *August*, the young queen, being brought to bed of a son at *Saragossa*, expired an hour after [z]. This year the king concluded a peace with *Lewis* XII. soon after his accession to the throne of *France* [a]. He likewise sent, in conjunction with his son-in-law the king of *Portugal*, embassadors to *Rome*, to admonish the pope of his duty, to require him to mind his family less and his pontifical dignity more; but the motives to, and the consequences of, this extraordinary proceeding, will appear in their proper place, when we come to speak of that pontif, and his scandalous administration [b]. 1498.

General conversion of the Moors *in the new conquests by the arch-*

The first care of their catholic majesties was to cause the young prince Don *Michael* to be acknowleged heir of *Castile*; and the like care was taken in *Portugal* [c]. About this time it was that king *Ferdinand* concluded with *Lewis* XII. a secret treaty for the division of the kingdom of *Naples* between them; the motives to which are not very clearly expressed by any of the *Spanish* historians. What they deliver upon this

[u] Bernaldez. [w] Pet. Mart. Angl. [x] Zurita.
[y] Ferreras. [z] Pet. Mart. Angl. [a] Zurita.
[b] Mariana. [c] Garibay.

subject,

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bishops of Toledo *and* Granada.

subject, may be reduced to this; that Don *Frederick* had refused to marry his son to the princess *Joanna*, his catholic majesty's niece; and that having made overtures of an alliance to the king of *France*, he had transmitted to him Don *Ferdinand*'s letters, which the latter could never forgive. The former conjecture seems to be in some measure confirmed by the return of the queen dowager Donna *Joanna* of *Naples*, with her daughter, into *Spain*, where the king appointed them the city of *Valentia* for their residence, with an establishment suitable to their rank and near relation to him[d]. Their majesties being informed, during their residence in the kingdom of *Granada*, that the greatest part of the inhabitants held secret intelligence with their countrymen in *Barbary*, invited them to make descents upon the coast, favoured them in these predatory expeditions, and shared with them in the booty; upon which it was thought a necessary resolution to oblige these people to embrace the Christian religion, or to embark for *Africa*. The archbishops of *Toledo* and *Granada* were charged with the execution of this project, in which they both laboured with equal diligence, tho' by very different methods. The primate had a high and hasty spirit, tho' with very great abilities; the other prelate not at all inferior to him in the last-mentioned quality, was remarkably mild and gentle, applying himself chiefly to the conversion of the more learned among the *Mohammedans*, upon whom he made great impressions by the strength of his arguments and the smoothness of his conduct. Between both, and by the assistance of the civil arm, the people in general were converted, or said
1499. to be converted; insomuch that, on the 18th of *December*, the principal mosque was consecrated, and turned into a christian cathedral[e].

This appears to be but insincere, from a general insurrection.

THE next year it plainly appeared, that these sentiments were not so general or sincere as they had been represented; for the greatest part of the inhabitants of the *Alpujarras* threw off the *Spanish* yoke, and sent agents into *Barbary* to demand the assistance of their countrymen, in support of a war grounded solely upon religion; but, before they had time to bring their affairs into any tolerable order, the king Don *Ferdinand* arrived at *Granada*, and, marching from thence with a formidable army, quickly reduced these unhappy people, notwithstanding the natural strength of that country which they inhabited; so that, on the 8th of *March*, they made a solemn submission, consented to pay the sum of 50,000 ducats, by way of fine, for their late insurrection, and

[d] HERN. DEL PULG. [e] PET. MART. Angl.

to

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to give thirty-two hoſtages for their future obedience [f]. The king Don *Frederick* of *Naples*, having ſome intelligence of the ſtorm that was ready to burſt upon himſelf and his dominions, addreſſed himſelf with great humility to Don *Ferdinand*, offered to conclude the marriage which he had before refuſed, and to put his dominions under his protection; to which the king, for reaſons that will hereafter appear, returned only general anſwers [g]. In the month of *May*, the *Great Captain*, with a ſtrong fleet, ſailed to *Sicily*, under pretence of defending that iſland from the *Turks*, but in reality to execute the treaty of partition concluded with the crown of *France*; towards which, even in the compaſs of this year, he made no inconſiderable progreſs [h]. The archdutcheſs Donna *Joanna* being delivered on the 24th of *February* of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of *Charles*, in reſpect to the memory of the duke of *Burgundy*, his grandfather, the news was received with great joy in *Spain* [i], where, on the 20th of *July*, the young prince Don *Michael* breathed his laſt; which did not hinder the concluſion of the marriage of Don *Manuel* king of *Portugal* with the infanta Donna *Maria*, who was firſt offered him, the ſiſter of his former wife, and aunt of the young prince, whoſe death we have juſt mentioned [k].

THE diſturbances that had hitherto happened in the new conqueſts were of little conſequence in compariſon of thoſe that broke out this year, either from the chagrin and obſtinacy of the *Moors*, or from the avarice and ſeverity of thoſe appointed to govern them. The places that revolted were chiefly caſtles in the mountains, where the people depended partly on the advantages ariſing from their ſituation, and partly on the ſtrength of thoſe forts. As to the latter, they were quickly convinced of their error, by their being almoſt as quickly reduced as they were inveſted. However, they began to entertain ſtrong prejudices in favour of the former, from ſeveral advantages they gained over the Chriſtian troops, and particularly one in which Don *Alonſo de Aguilar* was cut to pieces, and with him almoſt all the detachment he commanded [l]. To repair theſe miſchiefs, the king Don *Ferdinand* gave orders for diſpoſing his troops in ſuch a manner, that all intercourſe with the people in the *Alpujarros* was rendered impracticable. He then marched againſt them in perſon with a formidable army, and opened the paſſages as he went, ſo as to render the entrance of troops into it much

Another revolt in thoſe parts much more dangerous and troubleſome than the former.

[f] FERRERAS. [g] HERN. DEL PULG. [h] FERRERAS.
[i] PET. MART. Angl. [k] BERNALDEZ. [l] ZURITA.

more

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more easy than before. This took from the *Moors* all courage; and therefore they offered to submit, if the king would permit them to retire into *Barbary*. A great part of the council thought this dishonourable, considering them as just objects of the king's resentment; but those, upon whom the king chiefly relied, insisted that the true point of honour was to accomplish his design, and to do it in the speediest and safest manner. The king, therefore, consented to their demand, provided they paid him ten pistoles a family; and, by this expedient, he raised 60,000 pistoles, which was a great sum in those days, and got quit of at least as many people, who never would have been quiet [m]. This year the pope gave his consent to the treaty of partition, by which *Lewis* XII. of *France* was to have *Naples* and *Abruzzo*, with the title of king, and Don *Ferdinand* the two *Calabrias*, with the country of *Apuglia* [n]. The *Great Captain* soon put him in possession of his share, and the unfortunate Don *Frederick* king of *Naples* made it his choice to retire into *France*, there to expect a subsistence from the generosity of that prince who had despoiled him of the other half of his dominions [o]. On the 21st of *August*, the princess *Catharine* embarked for *England*; but, meeting with a violent storm, was forced to put back, and did not sail again till the 21st of *September* [p]. Donna *Isabella*, by the advice of *Ximenes* archbishop of *Toledo*, engaged, or rather obliged, Don *Ferdinand* to concur with her in a solemn invitation of the archduke *Philip* and the princess *Joanna* to come into *Spain*, in order to be acknowleged the legal successors of their dominions; a thing she had just reason to desire; but the king, who was sixteen years younger, had other notions in his head, which rendered this expedient not very acceptable; but as these objections could not be avowed, he complied with her request, and prudently concealed them [q].

1501.

Archduke Philip *and* Donna Joanna *acknowleged successors by the states of* Castile.

Amongst other things, their catholic majesties were extremely careful in recovering to the crown those places which, through the easiness of their predecessors, had been granted from it, and which it was not either honourable or safe to leave in the hands of subjects. The important fortress and port of *Gibraltar* was very justly esteemed of this number; and therefore their majesties, by giving, no doubt, a proper equivalent, obtained it from the duke *de Medina Sidonia*, by whose ancestor it was retaken, and annexed it to the crown [r]. The archduke *Philip*, and the princess *Joanna*, his

[m] Ferreras. [n] Luc. Marin. Sicul. [o] Zurita. [p] Mariana. [q] Garibay. [r] Pulgar.

con-

consort, arrived in *Spain*, having travelled through *France* pretty early in the year; but as many precautions were necessary in an affair of so delicate a nature, it was the 21st of *May* before they received the oaths of the states of *Castile* in the cathedral church of *Toledo*; and it was the latter end of *September* before the like ceremony was performed at *Saragossa*, where the states of *Arragon* swore to them conditionally, in case the king Don *Ferdinand* left no heirs male [s]. Affairs in *Italy* were still in a critical situation: the *French* monarch sent an embassador to complain of the ill usage his subjects had received from the *Grand Captain*. Don *Ferdinand* answered, like a great politician, that he was very desirous, if possible, of being upon good terms with his brother of *France*; and therefore, if he thought the treaty of partition unequal, he would accept his share, or he would leave the points in dispute to arbitrators, or even to the decision of a certain number of learned persons, who should be appointed judges to hear and determine all disputes; but, notwithstanding this seemingly pacific disposition, the war continued in *Italy*, where the *Spaniards* under the *Grand Captain* encroached daily upon the *French* [t].

THE war breaking out also between the emperor and *France*, put the archduke *Philip* upon returning into his own dominions, for the safety of which he was very apprehensive. It was in vain that Don *Ferdinand* hinted to him, that this sudden return was what he did not expect, after the pains that had been taken to secure to him the succession of so many kingdoms; in vain the queen, who was but just recovered from a dangerous illness, represented that his quitting *Spain* would have bad effects upon a nation by no means inclined to submit to foreigners; in vain the infanta Donna *Joanna* put him in mind that she was big with child, and that the depth of winter was a very improper season for travelling. The archduke persisted in his first resolution, nor would he be diverted from going through *France*; and accordingly set out from *Madrid* the 19th of *December*, leaving the people displeased, their majesties amazed, and his consort inconsolable [u]. This year also the princess *Catharine*, who had espoused *Arthur* prince of *Wales*, became a widow, and, by consent of their majesties, was afterwards married to his younger brother *Henry*, and became afterwards queen of *England*, and mother of another queen [w]. This year also died at *Rome Andrew Paleologus*, despot of

All the treaties to detain the archduke in Spain prove altogether ineffectual.

1502.

[s] PULGAR. [t] ANTON. NEBRISS. [u] PET. MART. Angl. [w] Lord BACON's Hist. of Henry VII.

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the *Morea*, and the nephew of the last emperor of *Constantinople*, who, by his last will and testament, dated the sixth of *April*, transferred all his claims to their majesties, and their successors [x].

The archduke concludes a treaty with France, *which the king Don* Ferdinand *disavows.*

As soon as the archduke *Philip* could procure a passport for that purpose, he went to *Lyons*, in order to have an interview with the *French* king, with whom he entered into a negotiation; of which Don *Ferdinand* having intelligence, he sent father *Bernard Boyle* to admonish him not to depart from the instructions which he had given him; notwithstanding which, he signed such an accommodation as he judged expedient; of which his father-in-law being apprehensive, he dispatched an order to the *Grand Captain* in *Italy* to pay no obedience to any commands he received but from himself; and, as soon as he was informed of it, disavowed the treaty; which so irritated king *Lewis*, that he not only invaded *Roussillon*, but attempted to penetrate into *Arragon*, though with no great success; whereas Don *Ferdinand*, having obliged him to raise the siege of *Salces*, carried the horrors of war into *France*, and compelled *Lewis* to demand a truce for a few months; to which he consented [y]. The war still continued in *Italy* with various success; but, upon the whole, was favourable to the *Spaniards*, the king taking care to send, from time to time, great supplies and strong reinforcements

1503. by sea. On the 10th of *March*, the princess Donna *Joanna* was delivered at *Alcala* of a son, whom the archbishop of *Toledo* baptized by the name of *Ferdinand* [z]; and, in this lying in, it is believed that the infanta, by some accident, had her understanding impaired; at least soon after she gave very visible marks of an alienation of mind, from which she could never be recovered.

Donna Isabella, *queen of* Castile, *dies, after a long and tedious distemper.*

In the beginning of the succeeding year, it was found absolutely necessary to send the infanta Donna *Joanna* to her husband in *Flanders*, as her malady chiefly arose from her excessive passion for the archduke [a]. A truce was likewise concluded in the spring with his most Christian majesty. On *Good Friday*, the 5th of *April*, there was a terrible earthquake, which was felt through the greatest part of *Spain*, and which the common people esteemed ominous, more especially as both their majesties fell dangerously ill [b]. However, the king recovered; but the profound melancholy of the queen strengthened her disease. The loss of her son

[x] Pet. Mart. Angl. [y] Pulgar. [z] Zurita.
[a] Mariana. [b] Mayerne Turquet.

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Don *Juan* first seized her spirits; the misfortunes of the infanta Donna *Isabella* increased her affliction; and her sense of the infanta Donna *Joanna*'s incapacity, and the apprehension she was under as to its consequences, rendered the load of her cares too heavy for her to support. By her testament she called her daughter to the succession, and, after her, the prince Don *Carlos*; but appointed her husband Don *Ferdinand* regent of the kingdom till her grandson should attain the age of twenty; directing her body to be interred at *Granada*, and forbidding any public mourning upon her demise. In this disposition of mind, universally bewailed and regretted, died this great queen, on the 26th of *November* 1504[c], about half an hour before noon; and as soon as a scaffold could be erected in the square of *Medina del Campo*, where she died, the king caused the archduchess *Joanna* to be proclaimed with the usual solemnities[d]. The *Great Captain* was now in a manner the peaceable possessor of the kingdom of *Naples*; and as, in the atchieving and maintaining that conquest, he had been obliged to take some extraordinary steps, there wanted not those who did him ill offices with the king Don *Ferdinand*, which induced that monarch to restrain his authority; and as, upon the death of the queen, he might have found means to have retorted this ill usage, the king was not altogether free from apprehension; but Don *Gonçales* quickly convinced him, by his steady attachment, that all which had been reported to his prejudice was but calumny[e]. 1504.

Jealousies and uneasinesses arise between Ferdinand and the archduke.

THE affairs of both courts, and the councils of both kings, were in a short time equally embarrassed. Don *Ferdinand* found that the greatest part of the nobility were by no means satisfied with his regency, but were rather desirous of having their young king *Philip*, who, they flattered themselves, would be more tractable, and who, they were sure, would be less capable of managing public affairs. The duke of *Najara*, and the famous Don *Diego de Pacheco* marquis of *Villena*, were at the head of the malecontents, and they sent Don *Juan Manuel* into *Flanders*, to fill the mind of their new master with such notions as might best answer their purpose[f]. On the side of his catholic majesty were the constable and the admiral of *Castile*, Don *Bernard Mendoza*, and, above all, the archbishop of *Toledo* and the duke of *Alva*, who ad-

[c] FERRERAS. [d] ZURITA. [e] FERRERAS. [f] ESTEVAN DE GARIB. Compendio Historial de las Cronicas y universal Historia de todos los Reynos de Espana, fol. Barcelona, 1628.

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hered to him steadily, when visibly abandoned by all others, and seemingly by his good-fortune [g]. The archduke, king of *Castile*, had conceived very high prejudices against his father-in-law, and affected to treat the queen's testament as a suppositious piece, and as invalid, if it was not so; neither did he make any scruple of declaring that no throne could admit of two kings; and that he meant to maintain his right to govern without an associate, to those who had sworn to his succession [h]. An accident happened, which provoked him to carry things still farther: one of his catholic majesty's embassadors had prevailed upon queen *Joanna* to corroborate her mother's act, by sending Don *Ferdinand* full power to govern *Castile*, and its dependencies; upon the discovery of which, the archduke dismissed all the queen's servants, forbid any *Spaniard* to speak to her, and threw the embassador into a dungeon [i]. In *Spain*, whatever passed in his mind, Don *Ferdinand* behaved with all the temper and condescension of a prince absolutely at his ease. He held an assembly of the states at *Toro*, and brought thither an excellent code of laws, that had been digested with great deliberation before the queen's death; and the desire of having these enacted, made such an impression that the king and queen were proclaimed, and Don *Ferdinand* acknowleged as administrator, almost without any opposition [k]. His jealousy of the power of the *Great Captain* in *Naples* had induced him to recal part of his army from thence, which might have proved a dangerous measure, if the archbishop of *Toledo* had not immediately suggested employing them in a war against the *Moors*, of which he bore the whole expence; and the army being transported to *Africa*, reduced the port and town of *Mazalquivir* [l]. Having exact intelligence of all that passed in *Flanders*, and knowing that his son-in-law was on the point of engaging with *Lewis* XII. to support him in his pretensions, Don *Ferdinand* broke all his measures, by proposing a marriage with the neice of that monarch, and entailing upon the heirs of it, male or female, the kingdom of *Naples*. The name of this young and beautiful princess was *Germain de Foix*, and the marriage was very speedily con-
1505. cluded [m]. Upon this the *French* monarch declared for Don *Ferdinand*, which obliged the archduke to conclude a kind of treaty of pacification by his ministers at *Salamanca*, in which it was stipulated, that the queen and the two kings should govern with equal authority; with various other articles,

[g] Bernaldez. [h] Zurita. [i] Marin. Sic. [k] Mariana. [l] Ferreras. [m] Mezeray.

which

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which it is unnecessary to mention, since this pacification never took effect, and was concluded only to gain the archduke a peaceable admission into *Spain*, where his intention was that his faction should set it aside, which they did very effectually [n]. In the mean time the queen was delivered of the infanta Donna *Maria*; on which Don *Ferdinand* sent a person of distinction to compliment the king and queen, who was received with respect, though *Philip* persisted in his first resolution, and was taking at that very time such measures as he thought most expedient for its execution [o], and for undermining the authority of his father-in-law. 1505.

The archduke Philip *goes to* Spain, *and dispossesses his father-in-law of the regency.*

On the tenth of *January*, the archduke, with the queen his consort, embarked at *Middleburgh* for *Spain*; but, being forced by a tempest to take shelter in an *English* port, *Henry* the seventh would not suffer him to depart till they had an interview at *Windsor*, where himself and his queen were received with all possible magnificence and respect, the two kings entering into a close alliance, and the queen being extremely delighted with the conversation of her sister the princess of *Wales*; but, however, his stay of six weeks is reported not to have been altogether voluntary, and what seems to give some colour to this suggestion is, that the *English* monarch engaged him, before his departure, to deliver up *Edmund de la Pole*, duke of *Suffolk*, who had been kept prisoner in the citadel of *Namur* from the time that *Arthur*, prince of *Wales*, had espoused the infanta; with a promise, however, that his life should be safe [p], as it was during that reign, though he was beheaded in the next [q]. This affair settled, which did no great honour to either of the kings, the archduke continued his voyage, and landed safely at *Corunna*. The first step he took was, to declare he would not be bound by the treaty of *Salamanca*, and that he expected his father-in-law should abdicate the regency, and retire into his own dominions. Don *Ferdinand*, finding himself abandoned by every-body except the primate of *Toledo* and the duke of *Alva*, resolved to yield to the torrent, and sent the archbishop to his son, to prevail upon him to consent to an interview, which was obtained with great difficulty, and upon the strangest terms imaginable. The young king advanced to it with six thousand men, in order of battle. Don *Ferdinand* had his ordinary retinue of about two hundred men, mounted upon mules with cloaks, but without swords, ac-

[n] Est. de Garibay. [o] Zurita, Annal. Aragon. [p] Lord Bacon's History of Henry VII. [q] Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

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companied by the duke of *Alva*, in whose single person was comprised his whole court. *Philip* looked very grave, and put on an air of state and majesty; Don *Ferdinand*, on the contrary, appeared very open and gay, and, while his son presented one by one the nobility who had deserted him, he received them smiling, and rallied every one of them; so that the scheme of mortifying him was totally defeated.

Philip dies unexpectedly, and thereby throws Castile into great confusion.

They conferred in a hermitage, to which they were attended by *Ximenes* and Don *Juan Manuel*. The presence of the latter disconcerted the old king; but the primate of *Toledo* delivered him from his perplexity, by desiring Don *Juan* to leave the kings alone; and, he going out first, the archbishop shut the door, and returned to the two princes[r]. The conference produced nothing; but a treaty was afterwards concluded, by which Don *Ferdinand* consented to retire into his own dominions; and the archduke, with some difficulty, allowed him to keep the three grand masterships, and assigned him the profits of a silk farm in the kingdom of *Granada*, amounting to fifty thousand crowns. They had, before Don *Ferdinand* retired, another interview, in which Don *Ferdinand* gave his son a great deal of good advice, and particularly recommended to him the archbishop *Ximenes*, as one of the best men and the ablest minister that *Spain* had ever bred[s]. When the old king returned with his young wife to *Saragossa*, the duke of *Alva* would have accompanied him, but he absolutely forbad it. In the month of *July* Don *Philip* held an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*, where they swore to the queen Donna *Joanna* in her own right, to the king as her husband, and to the prince Don *Carlos* as the heir apparent, and gave him a subsidy for the war against the *Moors*[t]. It was not long before the new government became universally odious; for, not content with treating his wife harshly, and with contempt, he laboured to persuade the nobility to deprive her of the government, and to shut her up as a mad woman, which was prevented by the firmness of the admiral and the duke of *Benavente*. He quarrelled with the inquisition, changed all the governors and magistrates throughout *Spain*, and suffered his *Flemish* favourites to sell every thing[u]. Upon this, great troubles were like to ensue; some of the nobility entered into a league for setting the queen at liberty; and the people universally exclaimed, that they never knew the value of Don *Ferdinand*'s

[r] Est. de Garibay. [s] Alv. Gomez, de reb. gest. Ximen. [t] Zurita, Annal. Arragon. [u] Pet. Mart. Angl. epist.

administration

adminiſtration till they were deprived of it; but the conſequences of this univerſal diſcontent were averted by the king's ſudden death, occaſioned by violent exerciſe after a full meal, and then drinking cool liquor, which produced a fever that carried him off in ſix days, on the 25th of *September*, in the twenty-eighth year of his age [w]. He left the queen big with child, having had by her the prince Don *Carlos* his ſucceſſor; the infant Don *Ferdinand*, afterwards emperor; the infantas Donna *Eleonora*, Donna *Iſabella*, and Donna *Maria*, who, with his poſthumous daughter Donna *Catalina*, were all queens, the firſt of *Portugal* and afterwards of *France*, the ſecond of *Denmark*, the third of *Hungary*, and the laſt of *Portugal* [x]. 1506.

THE affairs of *Caſtile*, by the unfortunate and unexpected death of the king, were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; the great lords, to preſerve ſome form of government, appointed a committee of ſeven, with the archbiſhop of *Toledo* at their head. That prelate went to the queen, and deſired her to ſign the neceſſary inſtruments for calling an aſſembly of the ſtates; which ſhe abſolutely refuſed, repeating continually, "The king my father will come, and ſettle all things" [y]. His catholic majeſty was at that time in *Italy*; and, though he received the news of his ſon-in-law's death, in the *Genoeſe* territories, yet he perſiſted in his reſolution of going to *Naples*. This increaſed the confuſion in *Caſtile*, where there were two parties formed, at the head of one of which was the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, in favour of Don *Ferdinand*; and into the other, the duke of *Najara*, the marquis of *Villena*, and others, entered, who were for calling in the emperor *Maximilian*. The committee of regency aſſembled the ſtates, and, by the great addreſs of the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, the party of the catholic king prevailed [z]. The queen in the mean time took away her huſband's corpſe, under pretence of carrying it to *Granada*, and wandered with it through the country, travelling by night only, and giving frequent ſigns of outrageous diſtraction; but withal had ſome lucid intervals, in which ſhe expreſſed a great jealouſy for her authority; and in one of theſe ſhe forbad the deputies of the ſtates from going to invite her father, notwithſtanding ſhe deſired nothing ſo much as his return [a]. In the mean time ſome of the grandees were for marrying her again. The marquis of *Villena* propoſed Don *Alonſo* of

The principal nobility agree to ſettle a council, and to recall Don Ferdinand.

[w] EST. DE GARIBAY. DE PULGAR, vid. del Card. de reb. geſt. Ximen. [x] GOES OSORIO. Ximen. [y] HERN. [z] ALV. GOMEZ, [a] FERRERAS.

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Arragon, ſon to the infant Don *Henry*, the laſt heir male of the royal family; others were for Don *Ferdinand*, duke of *Calabria*, ſome ſay with her father's conſent; *Gaſton de Foix*, his brother-in-law, was named; and ſome mention there was of *Henry* the ſeventh, of *England*[b]. All theſe projects, however, were vain and fruitleſs, for the queen would never ſuffer even the moſt diſtant propoſal of another marriage. The king Don *Ferdinand* ſettled every thing in *Naples* to his ſatisfaction; and, in purſuance of his treaty with the king of *France*, he reſtored ſuch of the nobility to their eſtates as had been in the *French* intereſt; but it was obſerved, that, in holding the general aſſembly of the ſtates, he took care that the queen ſhould be abſent, that the ſucceſſion might be open for his grandſon Don *Carlos*[c]. This year died the famous admiral *Columbus*, one of the ableſt men in every reſpect of that or indeed of any other age, whoſe capacity was only equalled by his virtues and by his good fortune[d].

He returns from Italy *into* Spain, *and reſumes the regency of* Caſtile.

THE malecontents in *Spain*, who were numerous and potent, but who thought themſelves more ſo than they were, invited the emperor *Maximilian* to aſſume the government of *Spain*, as tutor to his grandſon Don *Carlos*. They caballed likewiſe with the king of *Navarre*, to grant him a paſſage through his dominions with an army; to which he willingly aſſented, and for which he afterwards paid dear; and with the king of *Portugal*, to ſupport the meaſure; to which he liſtened, till he ſaw it was a chimera[e]. *Maximilian*, however, ſent ambaſſadors to Don *Ferdinand* at *Naples*, to demand the regency of *Caſtile*; but the king anſwered, there was no regency: that his daughter queen *Joanna* governed in her own right; and that it might prejudice, but could never turn to the benefit of the emperor's affairs, to intermeddle with thoſe of *Caſtile*. *Maximilian* made another attempt, and offered Don *Ferdinand* the title of emperor of *Italy*, which he refuſed; and, upon this, the ambaſſadors proteſted againſt his returning to *Spain* till the diſpute about the regency was determined. The king told them, there was no ſuch diſpute, and ſet out for *Savona*, where he had a conference with *Lewis* the twelfth, at whoſe requeſt the *Grand Captain* made the third at their table[f]. In the mean time the queen was delivered at *Turquemada* of the infanta

1507.

[b] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. [c] EST. DE GARIBAY. [d] MARIANA. [e] GOES. [f] ANTONIO DE HERRERA, Commentarios de Hechos de los Eſpanoles en Italiar fol. Madrid, 1624.

Donna

Donna *Catalina*, on the 14th of *June*; and the plague raging in the town, and the queen not being to be perſuaded to leave it, the archbiſhop of *Toledo* permitted all who would to depart, but remained with her himſelf, and at length prevailed on her to go to the village of *Hornillos* [g]. The catholic king landed in the kingdom of *Valencia* on the twentieth of *July*, went from thence into *Caſtile*, and conferred with the queen his daughter, who had always ſome degree of ſenſe in his preſence, and who immediately gave him full powers to govern the dominions of *Caſtile* in her name; and two years afterwards, at his requeſt, retired to the caſtle of *Tordeſillas*, a very pleaſant place, ſix leagues from *Valladolid*, where ſhe ſpent the remainder of her days [h]. The kingdom was in great confuſion, and the greateſt part of the nobility diſcontented; but the king having procured the dignity of a cardinal for the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and, of his own motive, adding the office of inquiſitor general, vacant by the death of the archbiſhop of *Seville*, ſecured by his means the clergy, and, by his own equity and moderation, the leſſer nobility and the people, governed with his uſual firmneſs, and was, generally ſpeaking, well obeyed [i]. The emperor *Maximilian* could not be perſuaded that he had no title to the regency of *Caſtile*, the revenues of which were ſo conſiderable, and to which the *Indies* were a valuable appendix; but as he was unable to give the catholic king much diſturbance himſelf, he propoſed the marriage of the queen *Joanna* to the king of *England*; and ſpread a report, that he had lately concluded a treaty with that prince, in conſequence of which he was fitting out a fleet to invade *Spain*. Don *Ferdinand* knew this to be a fable; but, pretending to believe it, raiſed forces, fitted out a fleet, and ſecured the coaſts ſo effectually, that the malecontents in the emperor's intereſt were caught in a net of their own weaving, ſince, without this colour, *Ferdinand* could not have procured the means to put his kingdom in a ſtate of defence [k]. The king proceeded next to arreſt the biſhop of *Badajoz*, who had entered into ſome treaſonable practices againſt his perſon; and upon the emperor's ſending *Andreas del Burgo*, whom he had baniſhed as a diſturber of the public peace, with the title of his ambaſſador, he ordered him to depart his dominions. In this ſituation of things the malecontent lords laboured to revive the old factions in great

[g] Hernando de Pulgar, Vid. del Card. Ximen. [h] Est. de Garibay. [i] Alv. Gomez, de reb. geſt. Ximen. [k] Pet. Mart. Ang. Epiſt.

towns,

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towns, which by degrees would have raised a flame through all the territories of *Castile*.

Acts therein with great spirit and firmness against all opposition.

THE first insurrection happened at *Cordova*, where a great deal of mischief was done. The king sent the provost of his household to inquire into the tumult, and to punish the authors of it. Upon his arrival, the marquis *de Priego* sent him an order in writing to quit the place, as a disturber of the public peace. The provost copied his own order, subscribed it, and directed it to the marquis; who was so incensed at this insult to a man of his quality, that he seized and sent him prisoner to one of his fortresses. The catholic king, as soon as he was informed of it, marched with an army towards *Cordova*, notwithstanding the constable, the duke of *Alva*, and almost all the *Spanish* nobility, interceded for the marquis. The *Grand Captain*, who was that lord's uncle, advised him to surrender himself, and all that he had, into the king's hands; which he did, but without obtaining pardon. The king, however, would not restrain his person, but assigned him a pleasant village for his prison; after which, he sent a commission to *Cordova*, where the first authors of the revolt were hanged, some others banished, the marquis of *Priego* forbid to enter the city of *Cordova*, or the country of *Andaluzia*, without the king's leave, all his fortresses taken from him, and that of *Montilla*, in which he had imprisoned the king's provost, razed to the ground[l]. This increased the discontent of the nobility, but it kept them very quiet. The emperor sent Don *Pedro Guevara* and *Alonso Romero*, who was servant to the marquis of *Villena*, with secret instructions to his partisans, who entered the kingdom in disguise, and, being apprehended, were put to the torture; the former disclosed all he knew, but the
1508. latter would not speak a word[m]. The *Moors* having taken from the *Portuguese* the town of *Arzile*, Count *Pedro Navarro* and *Ramiro de Guzman*, by order of his catholic majesty, assisted them to recover it; which gave the king Don *Emanuel* such satisfaction, that he sent each of them a present of six thousand crusadoes, which they refused, as having only executed their master's order. Don *Emanuel*, upon this, sent a person of rank to thank his catholic majesty, but at the same time to complain, that *Pedro* and *Ramiro* had taken the island and fortress of *Pegnon de Velez*, which depended upon the kingdom of *Fez*, a part of *Africa* the *Portuguese* had a right to conquer. Don *Ferdinand* answered, that from this island the *Moors* made descents upon the king-

[l] EST. DE GARIBAY. [m] PET. MART. Epist.

dom

dom of *Granada*; that the taking it had cost some blood, and the keeping it would be attended with a great expence, which, if Don *Emanuel* was inclined to defray, it was at his service [n].

Dispute between him and the emperor Maximilian *settled by mediation.*

At the time the king had inflamed the malecontent lords to the highest degree, cardinal *Ximenes* undertook to mediate for them, and, by a dextrous application to their passions, drew from each the secret cause of their dislike to the king, which, as he acted by his direction, he communicated to him; and Don *Ferdinand*, sending for them singly, and as it were by accident, gratified each in his demand, or gave him an equivalent, upon which the emperor quickly found that in *Spain* there were no malecontents [o]. The league of *Cambray*, which had been concluded the year before against the *Venetians*, by the pope, the emperor, the king of *France*, and the catholic king, for himself and his daughter, was in the beginning of this proclaimed in *Spain*; and the king having referred the dispute between himself and the emperor to the cardinal of *Rohan*, he pronounced that the catholic king should govern *Spain* till Don *Carlos* was of the age of five-and-twenty: that the latter should not take the title of king while his mother lived; and that the catholic king should give them each a pension of fifty thousand ducats, and assist the emperor against the *Venetians*; which decree he accepted and ratified [p]. On the third of *March* was born the infant Don *Juan* of *Arragon*, who died within a few days [q]. About this time cardinal *Ximenes* procured the king's leave to undertake the conquest of *Oran*, from whence it was evident that great advantages would arise to the nation. The troops to be employed were ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; the cardinal was to name his own officers, and command in person; the king was to furnish nothing except a fleet to transport them; and *Oran*, which was at that time a very flourishing place, and a kind of republic under the protection of the king of *Tremecen*, was to remain, if conquered, to the cardinal, and his successors in the see of *Toledo*, till the king should repay the charges of this expedition [r].

The expedition for the conquest of

The cardinal employed under him count *Pedro Navarro*, and signor *Vianelli*, his intimate acquaintance, who both proved false and ungrateful, and, by their emissaries, excited a mutiny amongst the troops before they embarked, which

[n] Faria y Sousa. [o] Hernando de Pulgar, Vid. del Card. Ximen. [p] Est. de Garibay. [q] Mariana. [r] Alv. Gomez, de reb. gest. Ximen.

the

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Oran *undertaken by cardinal* Ximenes.

the cardinal quieted by his presence. They differed again before they debarked; *Navarro* and *Vianelli*, with most of the officers, were for deferring it till the morning, esteeming it dangerous to enter the port of *Mazalquivir* in the night. However, the cardinal would be obeyed, and entered the port without the loss of a shallop. Upon the landing there was a third dispute; for they insisted, that, considering the nature of the ground, cavalry would be useless; but two thousand horse were landed, and the vessels with the other two thousand on board, were ordered by the cardinal to proceed directly for *Oran*[s]. In the morning the cardinal, having harangued his army, and given them his blessing, retired at their earnest request to the fortress of *Mazalquivir*. The *Moors* were surprised to find the Christians in order of battle at break of day, and much more so when they found themselves terribly cannonaded from the fleet. However, from the advantage of ground, and superiority of numbers, they defended themselves gallantly till they saw the Christian colours flying upon the towers of *Oran*; for the cardinal had secret intelligence in the place, which he never discovered, by whom a thousand of the horse dismounted were let in at one of the gates; and another body of horse, in conjunction with those first landed, dissipated and destroyed the *Mooriſh* army, when it once began to break. The cardinal, having completed his design before one half of the provisions and ammunition which he had provided were expended, made a present of the whole to the army, and left the command to Don *Pedro Navarro*, who assumed the title of general of his catholic majesty's forces, and, with that character, conquered the city and kingdom of *Bugia*, forced the kings of *Tunis* and *Tremecen* to become tributaries, as also the city of *Algiers*, and performed other great exploits, till, pushing his conquests too far, he suffered a defeat, and lost the best part of his troops. As for the cardinal, he retired as privately after his return as he could to *Alcala*, where he was then founding a university; and not only refused applause,

1509. but declined appearing in public, in order to avoid it[t]. It was this year that the king prevailed upon his daughter to remove to *Tordesillas*, himself residing for the most part at *Valladolid*, from whence making her frequent visits, and carrying persons of the highest quality with him, he obliged her to quit the indecent habit she wore, and, having placed

[s] Hernando de Pulgar. Vid. del Card. Ximen. [t] Est. de Garibay.

several

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several ladies of great rank about her, brought her to live in quite another manner than she had done [u].

THE king Don *Ferdinand* went the next year into *Arragon*, to hold the states of that kingdom at *Moncon*, and in the mean time left the administration in *Castile* to cardinal *Ximenes* [w]. Upon his return in the autumn, several of the grandees of *Castile*, who had disputes with each other, which they durst not decide after the old method, by arms, and which they thought it beneath them to leave to the law, went of themselves to the king, and desired that he would decide them, which he did, not as regent, but as an umpire, voluntarily chosen by the parties; and, which is very singular, generally contented both sides; and by this expedient many feuds were extinguished which had lasted through several generations [x]. On the sixth of *October* he opened an assembly of the states at *Madrid*; and there, in pursuance of his composition with the emperor, swore well and faithfully to administer the government, and likewise obtained a considerable subsidy for defraying the expence of the war against the *Moors* [y]. In *Italy*, the king and the pope, having received satisfaction from the *Venetians*, detached themselves in effect from the league of *Cambray*; and though, by this measure, they deserted their allies, yet they certainly preserved that republic, which must otherwise have been destroyed. As the pope durst not have taken this step but in concert with the king, so, to fix him absolutely to his party, he declared the *French* monarch had forfeited all title to the kingdom of *Naples*; and, upon the twenty-third of *July*, granted the investiture to Don *Ferdinand*, with the tribute reserved from king *Charles* of 8000 ounces of gold, to be paid annually into the apostolic chamber; but, on the seventh of *August*, this was changed into a present of a white horse decently equipped, which is all the tribute that has been paid ever since [z]. Count *Pedro Navarro* was this year routed before *Tripoli*, with the loss of several thousand men; and Don *Garcia de Toledo*, eldest son of the duke of *Alva*, through the rashness, or rather rapaciousness, of the count; and this year also *Vianelli* was killed; but the king, notwithstanding, persisted in his resolution of carrying on the war [a].

King Ferdinand daunts the spirit of the malecontents, and governs peaceably.

1510.

THE catholic king went in the month of *January* to *Seville*, in order to hasten the vast military preparations that

By making a great ar-

[u] MAYERNE TURQUET. [w] HERNANDO DE PULGAR, Vid. del Card. Ximen. [x] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. [y] EST. DE GARIBAY. [z] HERRERA. [a] MAR. FERR.

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mament, obtains many advantages without a blow.

he had caused to be made on the coasts throughout his whole dominions; and declared publicly, that the war he intended was against the *Moors*, and that he meant to go himself into *Africa*. His subjects in general, and more especially the nobility and people of *Castile*, were very much alarmed at this project, and applied themselves to him in the most dutiful manner to divert him from that design. In *France*, however, they had other notions; and *Lewis* the twelfth said publicly, "I am the *Moor* and *Saracen* against "whom they arm in *Spain*." He acquired the reputation of a great politician by the event; but this armament, notwithstanding, had all the effect which Don *Ferdinand* intended; it brought the *Moors* to submission, obliged them to restore all the Christian slaves in their hands, to become his vassals, and to pay him large sums annually by way of tribute; it had also a good effect in *Italy*, into which country, when the king condescended to lay aside his expedition into *Africa*, he sent many thousands of old troops, and at length declared his resolution to support pope *Julius* the second against all who should adhere to the council of *Pisa*, whom he treated
1511. as heretics. He entered into a league with king *Henry* VIII. of *England* against *France*; and sent to admonish the king of *Navarre* not to have any thing to do with schismatics; and to be very careful that the *French* did not make an irruption through his territories into those of *Arragon*. To which he received a civil return; though it is scarce to be doubted that all the parties, even at this time, had taken their measures, and were determined how to act [b].

Conquers Navarre, *in consequence of a league beneficial only to himself.*

THE king of *France* had a great ambition, if not to be the master, yet at least to be the arbiter, of *Italy*. *Maximilian*, who saw no great advantages that could redound to him from the war, was willing enough to get out of it. As for the pope, he was so provoked with *Lewis* the twelfth for procuring and protecting the council of *Pisa*, that he first called in the *Swiss* to drive his subjects out of *Italy*, and took a resolution next of excommunicating that king. To bring so great a design to bear, he entered into a league with his catholic majesty and the *Venetians*, and the former laboured to bring the king of *England* to declare himself also for the league [c]. The army of the allies opened the campaign with the siege of *Bologna*, which they were obliged to raise. A battle ensued not long after, in which they were beat, but in which, notwithstanding, the *Spanish* infantry

[b] Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII. [c] RAINALD.

acquired

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acquired great honour, and killed the *French* general *Gaston de Foix*, brother to queen *Germana*[d]. This success of the *French* increased the confused state of things in *Italy*, and was the true cause of a new revolution in that country before the close of the year; for the allies in general, knowing that it is the genius of the *French* to push their victories, used so much diligence, and acted with so much diffidence of each other, that, with the assistance of the *Swiss*, they carried their point almost every-where. In the mean time the catholic king, who had brought over the *English* monarch *Henry* the eighth, with a great army, into *France*, and procured potent succours from thence, under colour of recovering *Guienne*, judged it a fit opportunity to let his neighbours see what were his true designs, and who in reality were the *Moors* and *Saracens* he intended to humble[e]. *John de Albret*, who, in right of his wife, was at that time king of *Navarre*, was supposed to have an attachment to the crown of *France*. Upon this foundation the duke of *Alva* was sent with a small army of choice troops, to demand a passage through that kingdom into *France*; and that the prince of *Viana*, and three of the best fortresses in the kingdom, should be put into his hands by way of security, that the king did nothing against the interests of *Ferdinand*. These terms being rejected, *Pampeluna* was besieged and taken, and the better part of the kingdom reduced. The *French* made some efforts to recover it, but without success; and, after they were repulsed, the duke of *Alva* completed his conquest[f]. Thus while other great powers were wasting their blood and treasure about they knew not well what, and wearied each other into peace with little or no advantage, Don *Ferdinand* acquired, or, as many authors say, usurped, a kingdom that lay very convenient for him, and so became a greater gainer by the war than any, or indeed than all the other powers together. At this juncture the catholic king was in the zenith of his glory; and though, without question, he was one of the most potent princes in *Europe*, yet his superior reach in politics made him more respected than the terror of his arms; so that the penetrating his mysterious measures was the constant aim of the ablest statesmen in most of the courts of *Europe*[g].

[d] Guiccardini. [e] Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. [f] Zurita, Annal. Arragon. [g] Mariana.

The

Falls into a low and languishing condition, with little hopes of recovery.

THE *French* monarch, by the advice of cardinal *Carvajal*, demanded a truce of *Ferdinand* for a year in *Spain*, while the affairs of *Italy* were left to the chance of war. The catholic king gave so much countenance to this, as brought a *French* embassador to his court; which so much alarmed his allies, that they were very silent on several topics upon which they had been troublesomely solicitous before. The king's subjects also reaped all the benefits of the truce during the continuance of the treaty; and the king was at liberty to act as he thought proper, if he had seen a favourable occasion; but, except repulsing *John Albret*, king of *Navarre*, who endeavoured to recover his kingdom, and an expedition or two of no great importance against the *Moors* in *Africa*, there passed nothing remarkable this year, at least on this side; for as to the war in *Italy*, it belongs to another place [h]. As to civil concerns, the king proceeded in deciding, or rather compromising, disputes among the nobility; and acted with some rigour against Don *Pedro Gironne*, who seized the best part of the duchy of *Medina Sidonia*, under pretence that he was heir to the duke, as having married his sister of the whole blood, notwithstanding he left a brother Don *Alonso*, to whom the king decreed it [i]. A little before *Easter* the king went from *Valladolid* to *Medina del Campo*, and from thence to *Carrioncillo*, an exceeding pleasant place, where a *French* cook belonging to queen *Germana* made him a strengthening soup, which he flattered him (for what monarch is there so wise as not to be flattered?) would enable him to beget an heir to his hereditary dominions, of which he was very desirous. But it had a quite different effect; for, upon retiring, as his custom was, into a convent, during *Passion-Week*, he fell into a languishing condition, and was thenceforward afflicted with a deep melancholy, so that he took no other diversion than hunting, which afforded him an opportunity of riding by himself in forests and deep vallies, which served only to nourish that humour, which, while it preyed upon his spirits, reduced his body to a skeleton, and wasted him with a slow disease, from which he could obtain no relief by physic [k]. This revived the hopes of those who, though they had been long forced to dissemble it, were enemies to his person and government, and excited a spirit of intrigue in others, who laboured to recommend his grandson Don *Ferdinand*, to the prejudice of the archduke *Charles*; which created such a prospect of future trou-

[h] PET. MART. Angl. Epist.
[i] EST. DE GARIBAY.
[k] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon.

bles,

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bles, as gave all, who had a just concern for the public welfare and tranquillity, infinite anxiety and terror.

His declining state of health did not hinder Don *Ferdinand* from attending to affairs of state; neither did it impair, at least in any discernible degree, his faculties for business. The death of the queen of *France* gave occasion to his consort to send the bishop of *Tripoli* with compliments of condolance to her uncle, as well as to put him in mind of her right to the inheritance of her brother the duke of *Nemours*. The king charged this prelate with a commission of much greater importance, which was, to get the truce lately renewed for another year converted into a solid peace; to facilitate which, he offered that the infant Don *Ferdinand* should espouse the second daughter of the most Christian king, and proposed a marriage between that king and the infanta Donna *Leonora* his daughter[l]. This, however, came to nothing; for *Henry* the eighth of *England*, being equally offended at his renewing the truce with *France*, and at the delay of the archduke *Charles*'s marriage with his sister the princess *Mary*, resolved to make both him and the emperor sensible of his displeasure, by concluding a peace with the *French*, and giving his sister to their king; both which measures were quickly carried into execution, notwithstanding all the pains his catholic majesty's daughter, queen *Katherine*, could take to prevent them[m]. The war continued hot in *Italy*, where the king could not depend so much on pope *Leo* the tenth as he had done on his predecessor. However, he laboured, and with success, to free the *Genoese* intirely from the *French* yoke; but his endeavours to procure a peace among the *Italians* were ineffectual, notwithstanding *Selim*, emperor of the *Turks*, threatened *Italy* with an invasion; which gave *Ferdinand*, who never let such opportunities slip, a pretext for arming by land and sea, in *Catalonia*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, as well as in *Castile*, under colour of providing for the defence of Christendom against the infidels, but with an intention, as it was generally believed, to make use of them where-ever his interest might require. This armament, however, had a great effect; it awed the *Turks*, kept all his neighbours in suspense, preserved his conquests in *Africa*, and procured fresh submissions, and presents to a very great value, from the *Mooriſh* princes in that country[n].

His indisposition, however, has no bad effect on his administration of affairs.

1514.

On the accession of *Francis* the first to the *French* throne, the catholic king began to apprehend that he would go in person

Is extremely offended

[l] Zurita, Annal. Arragon. [m] Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. [n] Herrera.

with the behaviour of the states of Arragon.

person into *Italy*; and upon his sending an embassador, with high professions of esteem and friendship, and strong assurances that he would observe the peace concluded by his predecessor, the king answered, that he would observe it punctually, provided it was extended to *Italy* [o]. He knew that this was not what the *French* king intended, and consequently the war would break out afresh; he summoned the states of *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, in order to raise money for the execution of his great designs. In the assembly of the states of *Castile* at *Burgos*, he carried his point to the full extent of his wishes, by annexing *Navarre* to the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* for ever [p]. He had not, however, the like success in his hereditary dominions; the queen, whom he sent to hold in his name the states of *Arragon*, meeting with a very warm and obstinate opposition [q]. On the twenty-seventh of *July*, while he was at *Burgos*, he was taken with such a violent fit of vomiting in the night, that he was very near dying without assistance. This induced him to make his will, his physicians assuring him that he had not long to live, by which he left the regency of *Spain*, and the grand mastership of all the orders, to the infant Don *Ferdinand*. He recovered, however, and gave audience to the deputies from the states of *Arragon*, who came to offer him whatever supplies he judged requisite, provided he would repeal the law which gave vassals a right to sue for redress in the king's courts. To this Don *Ferdinand* answered roundly, that he would not purchase a supply at the expence of the liberties of his subjects: that, before his reign, the vassals of the nobility were their slaves: that he had made them free, and would keep them so; and, having said this, he ordered them to quit his presence [r]. He sent for cardinal *Ximenes* to preside in the royal council of *Segovia*, and then went in person to the states of *Arragon* [s]. He found them in a very ill temper; and though he had the clergy and the deputies from cities on his side, yet the greater and lesser nobility persisted firmly in their first opinions; which threw the king into such a rage, that he reproached them bitterly with want of duty to their sovereign, and of affection for their fellow subjects [t]. He then ordered his son, the archbishop of *Saragossa*, to go to that city (for the states were held at *Calatayud*), and to demand in his name a free gift from the inhabitants, which they

[o] Mezeray. [p] Est. de Garibay. [q] Zurita, Annal. Arragon. [r] Abarca. [s] Hernando del Pulg. Vid. del. Card. Ximen.

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very chearfully and readily granted, and moſt of the great towns followed their example, to the no ſmall regret of the nobility. He next undertook to reſtore a perfect underſtanding with the court of *London*, to which he ſent his agent *Gilibert*, with very rich preſents for the king, and with as valuable, though perhaps not quite ſo magnificent, to cardinal *Wolſey*, by which that monarch was induced to renew his treaties. The cardinal acquainted him with all the intrigues of the archduke, who was juſt declared of age in *Flanders*, and of his deſign to ſend the dean of *Louvain* with a formal compliment to his majeſty, but with ſecret inſtructions to pry into every thing, and to ſend him an exact account of his meaſures; which piece of ſecret intelligence Don *Ferdinand* received with ſecret ſatisfaction [u].

The death of Don Ferdinand Goncales de Cordova, ſurnamed the Great Captain.

THIS year the *Turks* had a conſiderable fleet at ſea, or rather a *Mooriſh* fleet in their ſervice, under the command of the famous pirate *Barbaroſſa*. The places, however, that were held by the catholic king upon the coaſt of *Barbary*, were ſo well fortified and provided, that they were not able to give them much diſturbance, except beſieging *Bugia*, which they would certainly have taken, if it had not been relieved by a fleet from *Majorca*, which the viceroy fitted out without waiting for the king's orders [w]. The king Don *Ferdinand* removed from *Valladolid*, with an intent to paſs the winter in *Andaluſia*, in hopes that air and exerciſe would do him good, and, in his way thither, ſtopped at *Placencia*. There he received the dean of *Louvain*, who came from the archduke; and, treating him with great civility and kindneſs, drew from him many things. He engaged him to uſe his intereſt with his maſter, that *Chievres*, his firſt miniſter, might have nothing to do with *Spain*; and, when he had made what uſe of him he could, he ordered him to go to *Guadalupe*, there to wait his return [x]. The war in *Italy* this year was very warm, *Francis* the firſt being there in perſon, who gained a great victory over the *Swiſs* in the neighbourhood of *Milan*, and ſoon after became maſter of that city. In the progreſs of the war, he derived great advantages from the military ſkill of count *Pedro* of *Navarro*, whoſe ranſom he paid, and whom he engaged in his ſervice, by affording him various inſtances of his generoſity [y]. Towards the cloſe of the year died Don *Ferdinand Goncales de Cordova*, ſurnamed the Great Captain, 1515

[u] Lord HERBERT's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. [w] EST. DE GARIBAY. [x] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. [y] HERRERA.

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who had rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to the catholic king, and whoſe intrigues with the emperor, the king of *France*, the archduke, and other potentates, had given him inexpreſſible inquietude to the very laſt, ſo that he conſidered his death rather with ſatisfaction than regret [z].

Demiſe and character of the catholic king Don Ferdinand *of* Arragon.

THE king having advanced in his journey as far as *Truxillo*, and having ordered his ſon the infant Don *Ferdinand*, with his governor Don *Pedro de Guzman*, to *Guadalupe*, he ſet out for the ſame place, and, hunting by the way, came to the village of *Madrigalejo*, ſo poor and inconſiderable, that, finding himſelf extremely ill, he was obliged to take up his lodgings at an inn, as it was the only tolerable houſe in the place. He called immediately for his confeſſor father *Matienco*, and received the ſacraments of the church. He then ſent for the counſellors *Zapata* and *Carvajal*, of whom he demanded what they thought of his diſpoſition of the regency of *Caſtile* in favour of the infant Don *Ferdinand*. They told him honeſtly, that it would prove very prejudicial to *Spain*, as it was impoſſible that he ſhould diſcharge that truſt himſelf; and therefore, as it muſt paſs into other hands, his majeſty was the beſt judge to whom it ought to be confided. The king then declared, by his laſt will and teſtament, the queen Donna *Joanna* his daughter the ſole heireſs of all his dominions; and, after her, his grandſon Don *Carlos*. He left the queen *Germana* a penſion of thirty thouſand florins *per annum*, and the infant Don *Ferdinand* a revenue of fifty thouſand ducats, charged on the revenue of the kingdom of *Naples* [a]. He declared Cardinal *Ximenes*, archbiſhop of *Toledo*, regent of *Caſtile* [b], and his natural ſon the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa* regent of *Arragon*, and alſo of the ſeveral kingdoms dependant upon that crown [c]. He ſigned his will on the twenty-ſecond of *January* [d], the queen arriving from *Lerida* the ſame day; and the next morning, *Mariana* ſays between twelve and one, *Zurita* between one and two, *Ferreras* between two and three, he expired, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and in the forty-ſecond year of his reign over *Caſtile*, and in the thirty-ſeventh over *Arragon*, that is, at the very entrance of the year, his father dying on the nineteenth, as he did on the twenty-third, of *January*. Beſides his legitimate children by his two queens, who have been already mentioned, he had by Donna *Aldonca Iborra*, before his marriage with

[z] ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. [a] EST. DE GARIBAY. [b] HERNANDO DEL PULG. Vid. del Card. Ximen. [c] BERNALDEZ. [d] ZURITA, ubi ſupra.

queen

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queen *Iſabella*, Don *Alonſo* of *Arragon*, archbiſhop of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, and Donna *Joanna* of *Arragon*, whom he married to Don *Bernard de Velaſco*, conſtable of *Caſtile*; and by two other women, one a native of *Biſcay*, and the other of *Portugal*, he had two daughters, who were nuns [e]. Beſides his hereditary kingdoms, which he bequeathed to the heireſs of *Caſtile*, he added, by conqueſt, thoſe of *Granada*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*. He directed his body to be interred in the capital of the firſt-mentioned, near that of Donna *Iſabella* [f]. In its paſſage thither, under the care of the marquis of *Denia*, maſter of his houſhold, it was received with great marks of reſpect by the nobility, but with much warmer tokens of affection from the people, who lamented their loſs with great ſincerity, and called him with great juſtice their father and their deliverer [g]. His panegyriſts would have us believe him a perfect prince [h]; his enemies allege, that he was not heroically brave, and by no means a ſlave to his word [i]. He had his virtues, he had his imperfections; but, take him all together, he was, properly ſpeaking, the founder of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and one of the greateſt and wiſeſt princes that ever ſat upon a throne.

[e] Est. de Garibay. [f] Zurita, Annal. Arragon. [g] Mariana. [h] Ferreras. [i] Faria y Sousa, &c.

SECT. XIV.

The Reign of Charles I. *King of* Spain, *commonly ſtiled (by his ſuperior Title) the Emperor* Charles V. *from his Aſſuming, to his Abdication, of the regal Titles.*

THE royal council, of which the archbiſhop of *Granada* was preſident, gave immediate notice to the cardinal archbiſhop of *Toledo* of his being declared regent, and then removed to *Guadalupe*, where the infant Don *Ferdinand* was with the dean of *Louvain*, who, upon the cardinal's arrival, diſputed with him the regency, as having himſelf received full powers, in caſe of the king's death, from Don *Carlos*. To this the cardinal anſwered roundly, that the archduke had no power to veſt that authority in any, ſince, by the will of queen *Iſabella*, he was not called to the ſucceſſion till of full age: he added, that, if he had any ſuch power, he could not conſtitute the dean regent, becauſe he was a foreigner, and, as ſuch, excluded by the laws. Upon this,

Acceſſion of the archduke Charles, *who immediately aſſumes the regal title.*

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the dean offered to act subservient to the cardinal, which he readily accepted, and the council removed to *Madrid*[a]. Things were carried somewhat higher in the kingdom of *Arragon*, where the chief justice refused to acknowlege the archbishop of *Saragossa* in quality of regent[b]. As soon as *Charles* received the news of his grandfather's death at *Brussels*, he dispatched a commission, confirming *Ximenes* in the regency, and at the same time acquainted him with the reasons that had induced him to assume the title of king, which were, that pope *Leo* and the emperor *Maximilian*, in their letters, had given him that title, which therefore he desired might be confirmed in *Spain*[c]. The cardinal, for this purpose, called an assembly of the principal nobility of *Castile*, where the point was warmly debated; and in which it is highly probable the nobles would have put a negative upon the king's request, if the cardinal had not suddenly cut the thing short, by saying, the king did not stand in need of their authority to confirm his title, but had asked their assent from a spirit of decency and complaisance; at the same time he ordered the officers to display the royal standard for Don *Carlos* the first[d]. This proclamation was made on the thirteenth of *April*, and, while he was proclaiming, the council unanimously confirmed the measure. They saw opposition was in vain, and concurred with a good grace in what they could not help. Some of the most considerable would have had recourse to their old method of a confederacy; and applied themselves, with this design, to the duke of *Infantado*, who assured them, that he thought himself as ill used as any by the cardinal, but advised them first to send a deputation, to demand of him a sight of the powers in virtue of which he acted. The cardinal received the deputation very obligingly, and promised him satisfaction the next day; and, when they came again for that purpose, shewed them a corps of two thousand old troops, and a train of artillery, that were drawn out before his palace, adding, "These are "the powers by which I mean to govern *Spain* till the king "shall arrive[e]." This was so much the cardinal's opinion, and he had so little notion of authority being respected without force, that, observing the government of king *Ferdinand* had thrown a great weight of property into the hands of the

[a] Hernando del Pulgar, Vid. del Card. Ximen. [b] Bartholo. Leonardo de Argensola, Primera Parte de los Annales de Arragon. [c] Alnar. Gomez, de reb. gest. Ximen. [d] Alphonso Ulloa, Vita del Imperator Carlo V. [e] Sandoval.

citizens

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citizens and commons throughout *Spain*, he granted commissions of array, that, whenever it should be necessary, they might be in a condition to defend themselves; and, by this stroke of policy, created a standing army of thirty thousand men in a short time, well-disciplined, who were content to serve, without putting the crown to the expence either of pay or quarters[f]. *John de Albret*, the dethroned king of *Navarre*, with a considerable army which he had raised in *France*, endeavoured the recovery of his dominions, in which he was prevented by the vigour and vigilance of cardinal *Ximenes*, who sent a small body of old troops, under the command of Don *Ferdinand Villalva*, an old officer, to secure the passes into that country, by whom the king's forces were defeated, and the marshal of *Navarre* taken prisoner; which so afflicted the king and queen, that neither of them survived long after[g]. The cardinal then ordered all the numerous fortresses in *Navarre* to be demolished, leaving the fortifications only of *Pampeluna*; which raised a great clamour, as the title to that kingdom was none of the clearest; but the cardinal thought Don *Ferdinand* was to answer for the acquisition; and that, in quality of regent, it was his business to keep it[h]. In *Naples*, queen *Joanna* and her son Don *Carlos* were proclaimed with little opposition; but, in *Sicily*, the people revolted, not against the king, but the viceroy[i]. The corsair *Barbaroſſa* beat the *Spaniards* before *Algiers*, and made himself master of that place, and strangled the *Moorish* prince who had called him to his assistance[k]. 1516.

THE *Flemish* ministers who were about king *Charles*, perceiving how great a capacity the cardinal had, with what superior abilities he governed the dominions of *Castile*, while the archbishop of *Saragossa*, though the son of king *Ferdinand*, and a native of *Arragon*, could not persuade the states to proclaim their master king, or to acknowlege him for regent, advised him to send the cardinal orders to regulate the debts of the crown, to resume what had been unjustly usurped from its domains, and to call those to an account who had been intrusted with the revenue; that these necessary but difficult parts of government might be regulated before his majesty's arrival, and the blame of any severity that might appear in it be rather charged on that minister

Cardinal Ximenes *governs* Castile *with the title of regent, and boundless authority.*

[f] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, Epitome de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V. por D. Juan Anto. de Vera y Figuero a Conde de la Roca. [g] P. MORET. [h] ALVAR. GOMEZ. de reb. gest. Ximen. [i] ALPHONSO ULLOA. [k] PET. MART. Angl. Epist.

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than on themselves. The cardinal, on receiving the king's orders, demanded letters patent in full form, and with an augmentation of power, and on that condition undertook to
1517. execute what was enjoined[l]. At first this created some uneasiness at *Brussels*; but at length they advised the king to gratify the cardinal, and to intrust him with the power of bestowing governments, places of judicature, and offices of the revenue; but at the same time they increased the number of his colleagues, which gave him the less uneasiness, as he suffered none to share in his authority. The cardinal went through this difficult work with great dexterity, recovered several considerable lordships to the crown, but without requiring any account of the profits; and, as often as there was any pretence for doing it, gave those from whom they were taken money, or some other equivalent. Such as had been guilty of fraud or oppression in collecting or managing the public revenue, he punished severely, and, out of their fines and confiscations, discharged the debts of the crown. The great governments he bestowed upon the principal nobility; the less upon such as had raised themselves by their merit; in which he had a particular regard to old officers who had served long in the army, and, above all things, he was circumspect in the choice of those whom he raised to judicial offices. By this method he so qualified the rigour of his administration, and made his disinterested zeal for the public so apparent, that it began to rise above that envy which his grandeur had excited[m].

Disgraced by Don Carlos, is poisoned, and dies without seeing the king.

YET all he did was not equally pleasing to all men; for his removing the governor of *Tordesillas*, and a great part of the queen's household, was ill taken by many, though he did it because they soothed the queen in her melancholy; and those whom he placed near her did all they could to amuse and divert her, and even to awake her ambition; which they did so far, as to engage her to dress in a manner suitable to her quality, and even to go out of the castle to hear mass, when people were placed in the street to cry, Long live the queen! and to give other testimonies of joy, with which she was extremely pleased; and this the king approved so much, that he writ him a letter of thanks for it with his own hand[n]. He prevented likewise the *Jews* from obtaining an exemption from the penal laws, for which they offered a large sum of money; and, upon the pope's demanding a great sum of money from the clergy, under colour of a war with the

[l] SANDOVAL. [m] HERNANDO DEL PULGAR. [n] ALVAR. GOMEZ, de reb. gest. Ximen.

Turks,

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Turks, he prevented that likewiſe, being perſuaded, that, if ſuch a precedent was once made, it would be frequently followed [o]. But there were ſome other miſchiefs which he could not prevent, ſuch as the quarrels amongſt the nobility, the tumults in *Valladolid*, and other great cities, and the great ſums of money that were ſent out of the kingdom to purchaſe the favour of the *Flemiſh* miniſters [p]. In the month of *Auguſt* the king landed at *St. Andero*, and immediately ſent a courier to acquaint the cardinal and council with his arrival, who thereupon ſet out from *Madrid* to meet him, and to execute ſome orders he had before received by an expreſs diſpatched from the king when he embarked [q]. On the road, he was poiſoned in a trout upon which he dined, though the effects did not preſently diſcover themſelves [r]. When he arrived at *Aranda*, where he found the infant Don *Ferdinand*, he ſuddenly poſted guards about his palace, ſhut the city gates, and then ſignified to Don *Pedro de Guzman* his governor, and the biſhop of *Aſtorga* his preceptor, the king's orders to withdraw, which afflicted the infant extremely [s]. Advancing as far as *Roja*, to meet the king, his diſtemper began to ſhew itſelf with ſuch violence, that he found he had not long to live; and therefore, laying aſide all concern for worldly affairs, he applied his thoughts to the means of making ſuch an end as might be ſuitable to his life, and ſo expired on the eighth of *November* [t] (G). Some

[o] Hernando del Pulgar.
[p] Alphonso Ulloa.
[q] Pet. Mart. Angl. Epiſt.
[r] Mayerne Turquet.
[s] Alv. Gomez, de reb. geſt. Ximen.
[t] Gomez.

(G) The reputation of cardinal *Ximenes* is ſo great, and we find him ſo frequently mentioned in other hiſtories, as well as of *Spain*, that we ſhall probably do the reader a pleaſure in taking notice of a few particulars relating chiefly to his private life. The greateſt part of the *Spaniſh* writers agree, that though his father was in low circumſtances, yet the family of *Ciſneros* was of antient nobility (1): if ſo, the cardinal took care not to diſcredit them by the addition of any modern titles, of which he beſtowed ſome upon men of merit, but left his relations nearly in the ſame ſtate in which he found them. In all probability this proceeded from a ſettled perſuaſion that it was beſt for them. In the midſt of his greatneſs, he went one ſummer to the village where he was born, viſited his kindred, and entertained them with all the marks of kindneſs

(1) *Ferreras, Alvar. Gomez, de rebus geſtis Ximen. lib.* i. *Eugenio de Robles, Vida del Ximenes.*

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Some say his death was hastened by his disgrace; the bishop of *Badajos*, who had many obligations to him, and whom he

and affection possible. Amongst the rest, there was an old man who lived very decently upon a narrow income, and took great pains in breeding up his children. He was baking his bread in little cakes when the cardinal came, on which he ran upstairs to change his cloaths; but he made him come down immediately: "Your dress, and "your business, said he, very "well become your station; "take care that your bread "don't burn, we can discourse "together while you are turning it." He inquired afterwards into the number and circumstances of his family, and, when he took his leave, gave him wherewithal to provide for them (2). His humility was very unaffected, and broke out sometimes very unexpectedly; he was present once when doctor *Nicholas de Paz* was explaining the philosophy of *Raymund Lully*; and, in speaking to the question, whether that famous man had the philosophers stone, or not, he took notice of a passage in the Psalms, which has been thought to look that way: "He raiseth up the poor out "of the dust, and lifteth the "needy out of the dunghill, "that he may set him with "the princes, even with the "princes of his people." That portion of Scripture, said the cardinal, may be much more naturally interpreted; for instance, in my own case; and then ran out into a long detail of his own meanness, and the wonderful manner in which he had been exalted, and this in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from all who were present. Those who lived in and near his time believed that he had the gift of prophecy, which arose chiefly from the two brothers, *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, saying frequently, on the great events of their life, "This was foretold me by cardinal *Cisneros*." It is very certain, that he advised *Charles* to send his brother out of *Spain*, and to divide his dominions with him. "This, said he, "will constitute two great "houses, and in your turns "you may be both emperors;" which, as he took his advice, actually came to pass (3). But what came nearer to this point was, the agreement he framed between *Ferdinand* the Catholic and his son-in-law *Philip*. He took the oaths of each of them, and, at the time he took them, he said, "Remember what I "tell you, if you break this "oath, you will not long sur"vive it;" which was actually the case with respect to *Philip*, who broke it, and died soon after (4). He had a great contempt for what were stiled the arts of a court, and would never use them. Don *Pedro Porto Carrero*, who was with king *Charles* in *Flanders*, wrote to him, that he had many enemies there, and advised him to make use of a cypher. He thanked him for his intelligence and his friendship, but rejected the ex-

(2) *Pulgar, Vida del Card. Ximen, Francisco de Cisneros, por el P. Pedro de Quintinilla, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.*

(3) *Vida y prodigios del Card.*

(4) *Mariana,*

pedient.

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he intended to have made his coadjutor, having, to please the king's minister *Chievres*, induced that prince to write him

pedient. "I have nothing, "said he, that I desire to con- "ceal; and, if I write any "thing that is amiss, I will "not deprive my enemies of "their evidence." He behaved sternly himself to the nobility, but he advised both *Ferdinand* and *Charles* not to treat them with rigour. "Ambition, said "he, is their common crime, "and you will do well to make "submission their only punish- "ment (5)." His coadjutor *Adrian* was miserably disturbed at the libels that flew about; but *Ximenes*, who was as little spared, bore them with great temper. "We act, said he, "and we must give others leave "to speak; if what they say is "false, we may laugh; if true, "we ought to mend." However, he sometimes searched the printers and booksellers; but, as he gave previous notice, it may be presumed he did not often meet with things that could give offence (6). The great object of his care was the revenue of his archbishoprick; with which, however great, he did such things as could scarce have been expected from it, more especially as one half of it was constantly distributed in alms, about which he was so circumspect, that no fraud could be committed. He was very plain in his habit and in his furniture; but he knew the value of fine things, and would sometimes admire them. He once looked upon a rich jewel, and asked its price; the merchant told him: "It is a very fine "thing, said he, and worth the "money, but the army is just "disbanded; there are many "poor soldiers, and with the "value of it I can send a couple "of hundred of them home "with each a piece of gold in his "pocket." All his foundations, and other acts of generosity, were out of the other moiety. His university of *Alcala* was a most stupendous foundation, begun and finished in eight years; he endowed there forty-six professorships, and at his death left it a settled revenue of fourteen thousand ducats *per annum*. His regulations must have cost him at least as much thought as his buildings and endowments. He saw clearly that ignorance was the bane of religion, and the only thing that made the inquisition necessary; for, if men understood the Christian religion, there could be no need to fear either *Judaism* or *Mohammedism*. Cardinal *Granvelle*, when he came into *Spain*, and had attentively considered this foundation, delivered his opinion in these words: "Time "delights in hiding the origin "of things; though we know "it not, this man must have "been of royal race, or at least "the soul of a prince lodged "in his private bosom." His granaries were likewise so amazing, so well built, that they

(5) *Hern. Pulgar.* (6) *Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carol. V. lib.* ii. sect. 40. *Epist. Ximen. ad Carol. apud Alv. Gomez, de reb. gest. Ximen. lib.* vii.

are

him a letter of dismission, which others say he did not receive till in his last agony, so that he never knew its contents[u]. The king went with his sister Donna *Leonora* to *Tordesillas*, to pay his duty to his mother, and thither came the archbishop of *Saragossa*, to make a report of the affairs of *Arragon*; but *Chievres*, being apprehensive that he might de-

[u] Hernando del Pulgar.

are not yet in decay; so well contrived, that they are always full: those at *Toledo* hold twenty thousand measures of corn, those at *Alcala* ten thousand, those at *Tordelaguna*, where he was born, five thousand, those at *Cisneros*, where his family was settled, the same quantity. His hospitals and his nunneries, in conjunction with these granaries, have banished want from his diocese. It was supposed that he would have left the direction of all these to his own order, and it was intimated to him. "By no means, said the "cardinal; out of the revenue "of the see of *Toledo* have I "done all this, God forbid I "should deprive the prelates "my successors of their right, "or their reward for seeing "them duly applied. He was, however, no flatterer of prelates; for, upon visiting his diocese, and finding in the church of the *Franciscans* at *Toledo* a marble tomb near the altar, for Don *Troilo Carillo*, the son of his predecessor, he ordered the inscription to be effaced, and the tomb to be removed. "It "is better, said he, that the re-"mains of this child of sin "should lie in some obscure "place, than this mark of a "bishop's incontinency should "stare here mankind in the "face." He was very learned himself, and the great patron and protector of learning; he wrote several pieces of divinity, that were never printed, as also the life of king *Wamba*, and some notes upon the Scripture, which are yet preserved. He caused the works of *Tostatus* to be printed at a vast expence at *Venice*. The *Complutensian* edition of the holy Scriptures, which was the first polyglot ever printed, cost him a prodigious sum, besides the maintenance of all the learned persons employed in it, the manuscripts he purchased at immense rates, and the pains he took himself in revising and correcting. He was also at great charge in publishing the *Mozarabic* liturgy, for which he had so high a veneration, that he established a chapel with twelve canons for reviving this office; and, with regard to other foundations, we have no room to enumerate them. Upon the whole, we have great reason to believe that he spoke truth when he said upon his death-bed, that, to the best of his knowlege, he had not misapplied a single crown of his revenue. *Philip* the fourth was at great pains to have procured his canonization with the popes *Innocent* the tenth and *Alexander* the seventh; but we have never been let into the reasons why they did not succeed.

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mand the archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, which he intended for his nephew, prevailed upon the king not to ſee him, and to refuſe him an audience of the queen Donna *Joanna* for the ſame reaſon [w]. This was the firſt diſguſt given to the *Spaniards* by the king; and perhaps would never have happened if cardinal *Ximenes* had once ſeen him, and had given him the leſſons he intended; to prevent which, thoſe who dreaded their effects had recourſe to that deteſtable expedient which has been before-mentioned. There were ſome commotions this year in *Sicily*, though the king had changed the viceroy, and the *Moors* alſo began to infeſt the coaſts of *Granada* and *Andaluſia* [x].

This monarch finds great difficulty in obtaining that title from the ſtates of Arragon.

In the month of *January* the *Cortes*, or aſſembly of the ſtates, met at *Valladolid*, in which it was propoſed, that the king ſhould promiſe to obſerve the laws made at *Burgos* ſeven years before, that no foreigners ſhould be capable of any dignity or employment either in church or ſtate in *Caſtile*, and that no money ſhould be ſent out of the kingdom; but the biſhop of *Badajoz* having repreſented to them, that they ought not to ſuſpect their monarch, and aſſured them he would grant all they deſired, they took the uſual oaths, and granted him a free gift of ſix hundred thouſand ducats, payable in three years; after which, he promiſed to obſerve the laws, and more eſpecially thoſe on which they moſt inſiſted [y]. The king cauſed his ſiſter Donna *Catalina* to be privately taken from her mother; but, the queen refuſing to eat or drink for two days, there was a neceſſity of ſending her back [z]. After this, the king, having appointed a council of regency, went to hold the ſtates of *Arragon*, and, in his paſſage, had an interview with his brother, whom he perſuaded to go to *Flanders*, being jealous of his remaining in *Spain*, where he was infinitely beloved. About this time he named *William de Croy*, *Chievres*'s nephew, to the archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, which was highly diſagreeable to the people of *Caſtile* [a]. He arrived at *Saragoſſa* in the beginning of *May*, where, though he confirmed all their privileges, yet they made a difficulty of owning him for their king while the queen his mother lived; but at laſt they were prevailed upon by the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa* not only to proclaim, but alſo to grant him a free gift of two hundred thouſand crowns [b]. His kind uſage and reſpect ſo wrought on queen *Germana*, that ſhe made a voluntary ceſſion of her rights to

[w] Argensola. [x] Sandoval. [y] Carvajal. [z] Vera. y Figueroa. [a] Ferreras. [b] Pet. Mart. Angl. Hiſt.

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the kingdom of *Navarre*, not, as *Ferreras*, though otherwise an exact historian, says, as the heirefs of the houfe of *Albret*, but of the houfe of *Foix* [c]; and here alfo he confented, for reafons of ftate, to the marriage of his fifter Donna *Leonora* to the king of *Portugal*, who had married her two aunts before, which was a new fubject of diftafte [d].

1518. Towards the clofe of the year the great cities in *Caftile* began to form a confederacy for the redrefs of grievances, and fent an agent into *Arragon*, to make remonftrances to the king. In *Africa* the *Spaniards* reftored the *Moorifh* king of *Tremecen*, and killed the famous corfair *Barbaroffa*, who was fucceeded by his brother; but a fleet that was fitted out for the recovery of *Algiers* was diffipated by a tempeft, and moft of the veffels of which it was compofed loft [e]. This year alfo the king was elected, in the diet at *Augsburg*, king of the *Romans*, though his grandfather was more inclined to his brother Don *Ferdinand*, and the *French* king *Francis* the firft had alfo a party who favoured his election [f].

Is elected emperor on the demife of his grandfather Maximilian.

In the beginning of the enfuing year the king went into *Catalonia*, where he met with the like difficulties as in *Arragon*, but at length they were got over. He was at *Barcelona* when he received the news of the death of his grandfather *Maximilian*, and remained there till he had advice of his own election, which was made on the 28th of *June* [g], and accepted by his embaffadors. Pope *Leo* having granted him the tenths of all eccleffiaftical revenues for the fupport of his war againft the *Turks*, he ordered an affembly of the clergy to be held at *Barcelona*, in which *Adrian*, formerly dean of *Louvain*, now cardinal bifhop of *Tortofa*, prefided; but, notwithftanding all he could fay, the clergy refufed to gratify the king, or to obey the pope; which fo irritated *Leo* the tenth, that he put *Caftile* under an interdict; but this being their own cafe, the clergy found out, that, when the pope's cenfures were without any juft caufe, they ought to have no effect; and the king thereupon interceding with the pope, it was recalled [h]. In the month of *November* the duke of *Bavaria* arrived in character of embaffador from the empire; and, at his firft audience, did homage to Don *Carlos*, who now firft affumed the title of majefty, in which he was imitated by other kings [i]. We fhall conform to the common ufage, and ftile him hereafter emperor, though the

[c] Hiftoire de Languedoc. [d] FARIA Y SOUSA. [e] SANDOVAL. [f] ALPHONSO ULLOA. [g] PET. MART. Angl. Epift. [h] VERA Y FIGUEROA. [i] FERRERAS.

Spanifh

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Spaniſh writers never gave him any other title than that of king [k]. Towards the cloſe of the year there was a dangerous inſurrection in *Valentia*, in which the emperor acted a ſtrange part. The commons, that is, the ſeveral incorporated companies of tradeſmen in that city, entered into a ſolemn confederacy, under pretence of redreſſing the grievances they laboured under from the nobility; and the emperor being informed that the nobles and clergy were determined to oppoſe his demands in the aſſembly of the ſtates, encouraged them, and actually put the government of the city into their hands [l]. This year the famous *Ferdinand Magellan* received the emperor's commiſſion to ſail in queſt of a new paſſage to the *Moluccas*, and departed from the port of *Seville*, with a ſquadron of five veſſels, on the 8th of *Auguſt*; but the hiſtory of this expedition belongs to another place. 1519.

The commons of Caſtile revolt againſt the government under various chiefs.

AT the time the troubles broke out in *Valentia*, the city was ſo much afflicted with the plague, that moſt of the nobility were abſent; but, as it ceaſed in the winter, they began to return to their houſes in the beginning of the year, but met with a very bad reception from the populace, who gave their confederacy the title of *Germania*, implying the confederacy of patriots, or true friends to their country. The nobles ſent a deputation to the emperor, to repreſent to him the inconveniences that attended his conceſſions. The emperor promiſed them fair, and, having ſworn to obſerve the laws and privileges of the kingdom, ſent cardinal *Adrian* to open the ſtates; but upon their refuſing to conſent to any thing, unleſs his majeſty was preſent, he confirmed all that he had formerly done in favour of the *Germanats*, which augmented the troubles [m]. As he was reſolved to return into *Flanders*, and from thence to proceed into the empire, he appointed an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Caſtile* at *Compoſtella* in *Galicia*; a ſtep never taken by any of his predeceſſors, and which increaſed the diſcontent that reigned throughout that kingdom. He went from *Barcelona* to *Saragoſſa*, and from thence to *Valladolid*, where the deputies of *Toledo* and *Salamanca* met him, and deſired an audience, which he put off, on pretence that he was in a hurry to ſet out for *Compoſtella*. The next day, going to viſit his mother at *Tordeſillas*, a rumour prevailed that he was going directly to embark, and would take the queen with him; upon which a general inſurrection was raiſed at *Valladolid*, in which his perſon was in

[k] MARIANA. [l] GASPAR ESCOLANO Hiſtoria de la Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia. [m] PET. MART. Epiſt.

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ſome danger, and the court extremely alarmed. This provoked him exceedingly; but when he came to know the truth, he was appeaſed, and only a few of the ſeditious were puniſhed [n]. At *Compoſtella* the ſtates fell into ſuch confuſion, that, after baniſhing the deputies of *Toledo*, the king adjourned them to *Corunna*, where, partly by threats, partly by promiſes, he obtained a ſubſidy of two hundred millions of marvadies, notwithſtanding the cities of *Toledo*, *Salamanca*, *Toro*, *Murcia*, *Madrid*, *Cordova*, and others, proteſted againſt it [o]. He then appointed cardinal *Adrian* regent of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and the governors of other parts of his dominions; after which he embarked on the 21ſt of *May*, with a few *Spaniſh* lords and all his *Flemiſh* miniſters, who carried away an immenſe ſum of money, and in ſix days arrived in the port of *Sandwich*, where he was received by cardinal *Wolſey*, to whom he promiſed the biſhoprick of *Badajoz*; but, inſtead of it, gave him a penſion of two thouſand five hundred ducats, and who was much more in his ſecrets than his maſter. However, king *Henry* met him, and conducted him
1520. to *Canterbury*, where he paſſed the *Whitſun* holidays, and where, if we may believe a certain hiſtorian [p], he fell in love with the king's ſiſter, the queen dowager of *France*; and, after remitting the diſputes between him and the *French* monarch to the deciſion of king *Henry*, he embarked on the 30th of *May* for *Flanders*, and landed ſafely at *Fluſhing* [q].

Upon the emperor's departure, Valentia *alſo revolts, and the inſurrection becomes general in* Caſtile.

THE city of *Toledo* had revolted before his departure, and ſoon after moſt of the great cities in *Caſtile* followed its example; and thoſe who entered into this league ſtiled themſelves *Los Comuneros*, or the commons [r]. Don *Juan Padilla*, excited chiefly by his wife Donna *Maria Pacheco*, daughter to the count of *Tendilla*, was at the head of thoſe malecontents, and quickly aſſembled a great army, in which they carried a black ſtandard. On the 2d of *September* they ſeized *Tordeſillas*, where Don *Juan* had an audience of the queen, and told her, that her ſon Don *Carlos* having quitted his dominions precipitately, and a civil war being likely to ariſe, they had brought her the forces of *Toledo*, *Segovia*, and *Madrid*, for her ſecurity. The queen ſaid, if ſhe had known her father was dead, ſhe would have provided for the government of the kingdom, and the due adminiſtration of juſtice, and deſired them to transfer their aſſembly thither, which they did, and diſplaced the marquis of *Denia*, who was governor of the caſtle, and ſeveral others of her attendants,

[n] SANDOVAL. [o] FERRERAS. [p] POLYDOR VIRGIL.
[q] ULLOA. [r] FERRERAS.

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with whom the queen was displeased [s]. The president and royal council dispersed, and fled in disguise, and the cardinal regent retired with some difficulty from *Valladolid*. In the mean time dispatches arrived from *Flanders*, by which the constable and admiral of *Castile* were associated with the cardinal in the regency, who, in the month of *November*, established the council at *Burgos*, notwithstanding the assembly of the commons at *Tordesillas* forbid them to assume the government [t]. The regents raised an army, and appointed the count *de Haro* to command it; and, on the other hand, Don *Antonio de Acuna*, bishop of *Zamora*, who had joined the commons, engaged them to give the command of their forces to Don *Pedro Gironne*, which disgusted Don *Juan Padillo*, and their former chiefs; and it soon appeared that Don *Pedro* was not thoroughly in their interest, for he suffered the count *de Haro* to surprise *Tordesillas*, and, fearing their resentment, retired; upon which they appointed Don *Juan Padilla* to command their forces [u]. In the mean time, the *Germanats* committed as great disorders in *Valentia*; and the like disturbances would have infallibly happened in *Arragon*, if it had not been for the prudence of the archbishop of *Saragossa* [w].

The rebels defeated, and their chiefs beheaded.

The coronation and other proceedings of his imperial majesty in *Germany*, where, at this time, the dawning of the reformation gave him full employment, as they belong properly to another part of this work, shall not interrupt us here. We shall content ourselves with observing, that, pretty early in the spring, *William de Croy*, archbishop of *Toledo*, was killed by a fall from his horse; and that, a short time after his death, followed that of his uncle *Chievres*, who, tho' a minister of consummate abilities, yet was himself so avaricious, and had a wife who so much exceeded him in that vice, as not only to draw great odium upon themselves, but to create many inconveniences to the emperor [x]. The civil war in *Castile* was continued with great violence on both sides; that of the commons deriving great advantages from the intrigues of Donna *Maria de Padilla*, and no less from a long letter written by the cardinal regent to the emperor, which they intercepted, and published. In this letter he told him, that the commons did not act so much from a spirit of rebellion, as from a desire of being governed with justice and moderation, as in the days of his grandfather; and that it was not from a sense of loyalty that he was supported

[s] Ferreras. [t] Vera y Figueroa. [u] Sandoval. [w] Gaspar Escolano. [x] Ferreras.

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by the nobles, but from a regard to the interest they had in breaking the power of the commons, and making themselves so much the more necessary to the crown; that while he had corrupt and rapacious ministers about him, no effectual remedy could ever be applied; and therefore, if he would act prudently, he should immediately remove all such from about his person, and restore the public tranquillity, by giving just satisfaction to his subjects [y]. The nobility, having thoroughly quieted the city of *Burgos*, strongly reinforced their army with old troops; and having prevailed upon such of their brethren as had countenanced the commons, to withdraw from them, sent express orders to the count *de Haro* to
1521. fight. The army of the commons were also inclined to put all upon the issue of a battle; but their general Don *Juan de Padilla*, a young man, and of no great experience, though personally brave, endeavoured to avoid it, being very sensible of the enemies superiority in all respects; but not being general enough to manage that design with success, the count *de Haro* charged his army in its retreat, broke and routed it without difficulty, and made the three principal officers who commanded it prisoners [z]. The battle was fought on the 23d of *April*, near *Villabar*; and as the victory was gained with courage, it was improved with conduct; for the very next day, Don *Juan de Padilla*, Don *Juan de Bravo*, and Don *Francisco Maldonado*, were beheaded; but Don *Pedro Maldonado* was spared, out of respect to the count *de Benavente* [a]. Upon this almost all the cities submitted, except *Toledo*, where the bishop of *Zamora* took upon him to be primate by the choice of the people, and Donna *Maria de Padilla* kept up their spirits with great address, and would have been truly worthy of the character of a heroine, if she had not also been guilty of some inexcusable acts of violence. The forces commanded by the bishop of *Zamora* being beaten in the field by the prior of *St. John's*, who commanded the army of the nobles, was at length forced to capitulate, except the alcazar, where Donna *Maria*, with her adherents, had intrenched, and defended themselves with great intrepidity [b]. The troubles of *Castile*, great as they were, fell short of those in *Valentia*, where the *Germanats* made open war upon the nobility, who at length were obliged to arm and defend themselves. Several sieges were made on both sides, several battles fought, but in the end, chiefly through their want of moderation and conduct, the *Germa-*

[y] Sandoval. [z] Alphonso Ulloa. [a] Ferreras.
[b] Vera y Figueroa.

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nats were ſubdued [c]. The ſame humour alſo prevailed in *Majorca*, where the viceroy was forced to take ſhelter in the iſland of *Yvica* [d]. The *French*, during theſe diſturbances, had twice attacked, and once conquered, the kingdom of *Navarre*; but, as all the ſtrong places had been demoliſhed by cardinal *Ximenes*, they were very ſpeedily driven out again; yet they made themſelves maſters of *Fontarabia* in the bay of *Biſcay* [e]. In *Italy* alſo the war was hot between the emperor and *Francis* I. the pope ſiding with the former, and the *Venetians* with the latter. By the emperor's intrigues with cardinal *Wolſey*, *Henry* VIII. concluded a treaty on the 24th of *November*, by which he engaged to aſſiſt the pope and the emperor, and promiſed the latter his daughter the princeſs *Mary*, whom he had before betrothed to the dauphin; but the views of this alliance were broken by the death of *Leo* the tenth, which happened on the ſecond of *December* [f].

The emperor, in his return to Spain, comes into England, and concludes a treaty with Henry VIII.

THE cardinal biſhop of *Tortoſa* being choſen pope in the beginning of the year, after receiving the compliments of all the *Spaniſh* nobility, ſet out for *Arragon*, and afterwards embarked at *Tarracona* for *Italy*. Being ſeated on the pontifical throne, he retained his own name, and was ſtiled *Adrian* VI.; and, before his departure from *Spain*, had the pleaſure of hearing that the alcazar of *Toledo* had been forced, upon which Donna *Maria de Padilla* had made her eſcape. She fled in diſguiſe into *Portugal*, where it is ſaid ſhe lived but meanly upon a ſmall penſion granted her by the archbiſhop of *Braga* [g]. The emperor, reſolving to return into *Spain*, appointed his brother Don *Ferdinand* vicar of the empire, and Donna *Margaretta*, his aunt, governeſs of *Flanders*. He then proceeded by land to *Calais*, and ſo paſſed to *Dover* [h]. He was received in *England*, where he landed about the end of *May*, with all poſſible marks of eſteem and kindneſs. He was inſtalled knight of the garter at *Windſor* [i], and, which was the principal intent of his viſit, he pacified *Wolſey*, who had taken ſome offence. He granted him a penſion of 9000 gold crowns, and promiſed him an equivalent for his former penſion, which pope *Adrian* had revoked: he renewed his promiſe of marriage to the princeſs *Mary*, and, having taken leave of the king, and of the queen, his aunt, paſſed over to *Calais*, and embarked on board his

[c] GASPAR ESCOLANO. [d] VINCENT MUT. [e] FERR.
[f] Lord HERBERT's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. [g] RAINALD.
[h] ULLOA. [i] ASHMOLE's Hiſtory of the moſt noble Order of the Garter.

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fleet, consisting of 150 sail, on the sixth of *July*, and landed safely at *Port St. Andero* on the 16th of the same month [k]. The admiral and constable went thither to pay their respects, and to give an account of their regency. They were extremely well received, as were all the rest of the *Spanish* nobility, who had distinguished themselves during the troubles [l]. Four thousand *Germans* and two thousand *Flemish* foot, which he brought on board his fleet, were sent into *Biscay*, to serve against the *French*. He went from *St. Andero* to *Valentia*, and from thence to *Valladolid*. After he had reposed himself there a few days, he went to *Tordesillas*, to see his mother, and found her, notwithstanding the reports to the contrary, not at all wiser than when he left her [m]. On the
1522. 28th of *October*, a magnificent theatre was erected in the square of *Valladolid*, with a throne for his imperial majesty, and benches for the nobility, in whose presence the general pardon was read, which was as full as possible; but about fourscore persons, many of whom were ecclesiastics, were excepted by name; of whom Don *Pedro Pimentel de Talavera* was executed at *Palentia*, and ten or twelve more in other places. The council told him that few examples had been made; to which the emperor answered, there are enough. A person, who expected a reward, informed him where one of the most considerable persons lay hid, and, believing that he had forgot it, put him in mind of it again; upon which the emperor said, smiling, *You had better let him know I am here, than tell me where he is* [n]. The *Germanats* were intirely dissipated and subdued in *Majorca*, as well as *Valentia*; and the queen dowager of *Portugal*, Donna *Leonora*, the emperor's sister, returned into *Spain* [o].

Holds an assembly of the states at Palentia, *and makes many good laws.*

THE *French*, who had been long blocked up in *Fontarabia*, were relieved in the beginning of the year by a small army that entered *Biscay* for that purpose; and the emperor being apprehensive of an irruption into *Catalonia*, sent thither the prior of *St. John*, with the title of viceroy, and a considerable body of troops [p]. In the month of *July* he held an assembly of the states of *Castile* at *Palentia*, from whom he obtained a free gift of four hundred thousand ducats, and, in return, assented to several good laws; after which he went in person into the kingdom of *Navarre*, and sent the constable of *Castile* to the prince of *Orange*, to make an irruption

[k] Lord HERBERT's Hist. of Henry VIII. [l] SANDOVAL. [m] FERRERAS. [n] VERA Y FIGUEROA. [o] GASPAR ESCÓLANO. [p] SANDOVAL.

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into *France* [q]. There happened this year a dreadful plague in the kingdom of *Arragon* [r]. Pope *Adrian* VI. dying on the 24th of *September*, was succeeded in the papacy by *Julius de Medicis*, who assumed the name of *Clement* VII.; and this year count *Pedro Navarro*, who had been long prisoner in the castle of *Simencas*, having been taken in *Italy* fighting for the *French*, put an end to a long captivity, by stabbing himself with a knife [s]. 1523.

IN the spring, *Fontarabia* was besieged and taken by the *Spaniards* [t]. The Shah of *Persia* sent an embassador, or at least a person charged with his letter, to invite the emperor to an alliance against the *Turks*. The disputes that had arisen between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*, with respect to the *Moluccas*, were terminated, or at least suspended, in consideration of a sum of money, and the marriage of the king Don *Juan* with the infanta Donna *Catalina*, the emperor's youngest sister, who still resided with the queen at *Tordesillas* [u]. In *Italy*, the imperialists obliged the *French* to repass the *Alps*; and soon after, the duke of *Bourbon*, who was then in the service of the emperor, made an irruption into *Provence*, and besieged *Marseilles*; which, however, he was obliged to abandon. Before the end of the year, *Francis* I. entered *Italy* with a powerful army, recovered *Milan*, and besieged *Pavia* [w]. *The Shah of Persia sends an embassador to the emperor in Castile.* 1524.

THE marquis *de Pesquaira*, who commanded the *Spanish* army in *Italy*, marching to the relief of that city, defeated the *French* army, and made the king *Francis* I. prisoner. The emperor, when he received this news, is said to have retired into his closet, to give God thanks before he divulged it [x]. This extraordinary success once more changed the face of affairs in that country. In *Spain* they were desirous of making the most of their royal prisoner, and the emperor held a council of state how it might be best done. His confessor the bishop of *Osma* advised him to set the king at liberty without ransom, which he thought would bind him more than any treaty; but the duke of *Alba* proposed that he should restore the duchy of *Burgundy*, and all that he had taken in *Flanders*; and that he should give the county of *Provence* in sovereignty to the duke of *Bourbon*. *Adrian de Croy* was sent to him into *Italy*, to propose to him these terms, with which that king was so much enraged, that, if it it had not been for the *Spanish* lords who were about him, he would have dispatched himself with his dagger. At length Francis I. *routed, and taken prisoner in the battle of* Pavia.

[q] MAYERNE TURQUET. [r] GASPAR ESCOL. [s] FERR. [t] SANDOVAL. [u] GOES. [w] FERRERAS. [x] ULLOA.

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growing ſomewhat calm, he ſaid he would periſh in the vileſt priſon in *Spain* rather than diſmember from his dominions the ſmalleſt province [y].

Conſents to go into Spain, *to treat in perſon with the emperor.*

THERE were many of the *Italian* princes, who, upon this victory, began to be apprehenſive of the emperor's power, and of that facility with which he might, at this juncture, make himſelf maſter of *Italy*. To prevent this, they ſecretly negotiated a league againſt him, and at the ſame time concerted with the utmoſt privacy how to procure the liberty of the *French* king. The firſt they in ſome meaſure brought to bear, but were abſolutely diſappointed in the latter; ſince, notwithſtanding they offered immenſe advantages to Don *Ferdinand de Alarcon*, in whoſe cuſtody the king was, he abſolutely refuſed to betray the truſt that was repoſed in him [z]. Mr. *Launoy*, viceroy of *Naples*, took occaſion from hence to ſuggeſt to the king, that the moſt ſecure and ſpeedy way of obtaining his liberty would be to paſs over into *Spain*, and negotiate it with the emperor himſelf. *Francis* was extremely pleaſed with this project, as believing that his eloquence might make ſome impreſſion on the mind of his imperial majeſty. With this view, the deſign being conducted with great ſecrecy, the king embarked for *Naples*, as it was given out, but in reality for *Spain*, and landed at *Palamas* in *Catalonia*, from whence he was conducted by *Valentia* to *Madrid*, and there lodged in the alcazar, or caſtle, under the care of *Alarcon* [a]. He found very ſoon that he had deceived himſelf; for, notwithſtanding he was received every-where with great ſolemnity and magnificence, and treated by all the nobility admitted to his preſence with great reſpect, yet he was very ſtrictly confined; and, when he preſſed for an audience of the emperor, was told he was not to expect it till the terms on which he was to obtain his liberty were adjuſted [b]. The point chiefly inſiſted upon was the reſtitution of the duchy of *Burgundy*, which the king abſolutely refuſed, but offered an equivalent; and, finding the treaty drawn into a great length, fell dangerouſly ill; of which the emperor, who diverted himſelf in making a tour to the principal places in *Spain*, being informed at *Toledo*, reſolved to make him a viſit, and ſet out immediately for the caſtle of *Madrid* [c].

[y] VERA Y FIGUEROA. [z] MARIANA. [a] Primera Parte de la Carolea Enchiridion, che Trata de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V. haſta al ano 1585, por JUAN OCHOA DE LA SALDE, fol. 1585. [b] SANDOVAL. [c] OCHOA.

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As soon as he came into the room, he uncovered, and embraced the king, who sat upon his bed; after which they were for some time silent. At length the king said, "You see "your slave and prisoner." "I see," said the emperor, "a "free prince, who is my dear brother and my true friend." *Francis* replied, "No, he is your slave." "Not so," added the emperor, "but my friend and my brother; your reco- "very is the thing in the world which I have most at heart: "at present think of nothing but to regain your health; all "the rest shall be settled afterwards just as you please." "No," said *Francis*, "but in the manner you prescribe." After an interview of half an hour, the emperor retired [d]. The next day he made him another visit in the evening, and, while he was with him, the king's sister, madame *d'Alançon*, arrived from *France*, whom the emperor himself introduced into his presence, and treated with all imaginable respect [e]. After this he returned to *Toledo*. The king grew worse after his departure, and was once in such an agony that his sister covered his face, believing him dead; he received also the sacraments of the church, but, by the care of the emperor's physicians, he at length recovered, tho' very slowly [f]. Madame *d'Alançon*, at the king's request, followed the emperor to *Toledo*, but returned without success; and she was not happy in a scheme which she projected for his escape, and which was discovered by his valet de chambre [g]. To push things to the utmost, the king sent the emperor word, that as he was determined never to part with the duchy of *Burgundy*, he had only to regulate the place and manner in which he should be confined during his life. The emperor answered, that would be soon done; but that he was sorry to find he was so unwilling to give, as a ransom, what in point of conscience he was bound to restore [h] (H).

Their interview at Madrid, which in the end produces nothing.

In

[d] Ferreras. [e] Mezeray. [f] Sandoval.
[g] P. Daniel. [h] Gonzalo Hern. de Oviedo.

(H) There is a necessity, in order to make this part of our history understood, to say something here of the two countries of *Burgundy*, and of the titles by which *Charles* the fifth held the one, and claimed the other. These two countries, taken together, are of a very great extent, and, by their situation, fertility, and products, of an immense value. They lie on the east side of *France*, being bounded on the north by *Champagne*, *Lorrain*, and *Alsace*, on the west by the *Nivernois* and the *Bourbonnois*, on the south by *Beaujolois*, *la Bresse*, and the county of *Geneva*, and on the east by the country of the

A new alliance, stiled by the pope the Holy League, *concerted against the emperor.*

In the mean time the duke of *Bourbon* arrived in *Spain*, and went to wait upon the emperor at *Toledo*, who, when he heard of his approach, went out to meet him, tho' it rained, embraced him, and shewed such high testimonies of esteem, that madame *d'Alançon* resolved to return to *France*[1]. *Francis*, not long after, changed his mind, and offered to restore the duchy of *Burgundy*, provided the emperor would give him his sister the queen dowager of *Portugal* in marriage, and

[1] P. Daniel.

Swiss, and part of *Alsace* (1). The duchy of *Burgundy* was united to the crown of *France* with great solemnity, and with an oath that it should never after be separated, by king *John*, *Anno Domini* 1361; but, notwithstanding this, he gave it to his fourth son *Philip*, *September* the 6th, 1363, to be held by faith and homage, and to revert to the crown upon failure of issue in lawful marriage (2). *Charles* the fifth of *France* confirmed this donation, adding only these words in the investiture, *without lawful heirs descended in the right line.* This *Philip*, furnamed the *Hardy*, was the father of *John*, who, by *Margaret* of *Bavaria*, became so of *Philip the Good*, who instituted the order of the *Golden Fleece*, and who, by *Isabel* daughter of *John* I. king of *Portugal*, had *Charles the Bold*, who was killed in the battle of *Nancy*, *January* 5th, 1477 (3). As for the county, it made part of the antient kingdom, which was called *Upper Burgundy*, and sometimes the principality beyond the *Soane*. *Rainald*, the first of that name, and the second count of *Burgundy*, was compelled to do homage for it to the emperor *Henry* III.; but *Rainald* III. being summoned, refused to do homage, and held it as a free sovereignty, from whence it derived the name of *Franche Compte* (4). This noble and fruitful territory was enjoyed, in right of his marriage with *Margaret* countess of *Flanders*, by *Philip the Hardy*, the founder of the last ducal family, which ended, as we have before observed, in *Charles the Bold*, who, by *Isabel* of *Bourbon*, left only one daughter *Mary*, who espoused *Maximilian* of *Austria*, by whom she had *Philip*, the father of *Charles* the fifth (5). Upon the death of her father, *Lewis* XI. then king of *France*, annexed the duchy of *Burgundy* to the crown, pretending that, by the general word *heirs*, heirs male were only intended; and this construction was allowed and confirmed by the states of the duchy (6). This, however,

(1) *Cluv. Geog. Methode pour apprendre Geographie facilement, par M. Robbe, vol.* i. *p.* 132. *Geog. Mod. par du Bois, p.* 129. (2) *Abrege Chronolog. de l'Hist. de France, par Mezeray, tom.* iii. *p.* 62. *P. Daniel.* (3) *Nouvelle Abrege Chronol. de l'Hist. de France, par le P. Henault, p.* 299. *Mezeray, P. Daniel.* (4) *Hist. & Geog. Mod. par M. d'Audiffret, tom.* ii. *p.* 480. *Robbe, du Bois.* (5) *Mezeray, P. Daniel, Amelot de la Houssaye.* (6) *Hist. & Geog. Mod. par M. d'Audiffret, tom.* ii. *p.* 480. *Mezeray, Dan. Henault.*

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and the duchy of *Milan* in dowry; adding, that he would give one of his ſons and twelve of the firſt nobility in *France* as hoſtages for the performance of it. The emperor was a little embarraſſed, having promiſed the queen, as he afterwards did the duchy, to the duke of *Bourbon*; but that princeſs diſengaged him, by declaring ſhe would marry the king, and not the duke [k]. The *Italian* ſtates, before the end of the year, had brought their ſcheme to bear; the pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, entering into an alliance, which, out of reſpect to the firſt of theſe potentates, was ſtiled the *Holy League*; to the ſupport of which it was underſtood that both *England* and *France* would concur; for the emperor having diſobliged cardinal *Wolſey*, by no longer writing to him with his own hand, and ſubſcribing, as he was wont

[k] Mezeray.

was conſidered by *Maximilian*, who was afterwards emperor, as a flagrant act of injuſtice, becauſe king *John*, who re-annexed it to the crown of *France*, and gave it afterwards to his ſon *Robert*, actually came to it by inheritance from his mother, and might be preſumed to grant it upon the like terms to his ſon. However, as the reader will ſee in the text, *France*, whatever her title might be, ſtill kept the duchy of *Burgundy*; though the county of *Charalois*, which was a fief of this duchy, was yielded by *Lewis* XI. to the archduke *Philip*, and from him deſcended to his ſon *Charles* the fifth, from whom it was taken under pretence of felony, but was again reſtored by the treaties of *Chateau*, *Cambrenſis*, and *Vervins*, afterwards ſeized again by the crown of *France*, and reſtored again to that of *Spain*, as the reader will ſee, by the treaty of the *Pyrenees* (7). It was then beſtowed by *Philip* IV. as a compenſation for his loſſes, upon the great *Conde*, and has remained ever ſince in his family, and gives at this day the title of a count to one of the princes his deſcendants (8). As to the *Franche Compte*, it belonged, without diſpute, to *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, in right of his marriage, and from him deſcended to *Charles* V. who annexed it, together with all the provinces of the *Low Countries*, to the empire, under the title of the *Circle of Burgundy* (9). Thus the reader ſees the true ſource of that bitter animoſity which reigned between theſe two great princes, and deſcended, together with their dominions, to their poſterity, and proved the cauſe of ſo many wars, and ſo much diſturbance, not only to their own dominions, but thro' all Chriſtendom.

(7) *Corps Diplom. de Droit des Gens, tom.* vi. *p.* ii. *p.* 264. (8) *Nouvelle Deſcript. de la France, par M. Piganiol de la Force, tom.* iii. *p.* 213. *Geog. Mod. par du Bois.* (9) *Cluv. d'Audiffret, du Bois, &c.*

to

to do, *Your son and cousin*, CHARLES, he had prevailed with his master *Henry* VIII. to change sides, and to promise his daughter *Mary* to the dauphin; which induced his imperial majesty to conclude his own marriage with the infanta Donna *Isabella* of *Portugal*, tho' they were both grandchildren to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* [l]. This was afterwards, notwithstanding, thrust into the reasons of the war, and urged against the emperor as a notorious breach of faith.

The French king at last finds it requisite to conclude the treaty of Madrid.

HIS confinement growing more and more uneasy, the *French* king, finding that his solicitations had little or no effect, resolved to indemnify himself, when at liberty, for the concessions he was obliged to make in order to obtain it. The conditions of this famous peace, which, from the place where it was made, is stiled *the treaty of Madrid*, were the restitution of the duchy of *Burgundy*, the renunciation of all rights pretended over the kingdom of *Naples*, the duchy of *Milan*, the city of *Genoa*, and the town of *Ast*, the sovereignty claimed over certain states and towns in the *Low Countries*, the obliging Don *Henry d'Albret* to quit the title of king of *Navarre*, giving full satisfaction to *Germana* queen dowager of *Arragon*, and to the prince of *Orange*, restoring his estates and dignities to the duke of *Bourbon*, and the like favour to be reciprocally extended by the emperor, as well as the king, to all who had suffered in any degree by this quarrel [m]. On the 15th of *January* the peace was published, the king set at liberty, and his marriage with the queen dowager of *Portugal* celebrated by proxy, her dowry being settled by the treaty; as also that the dauphin should marry her daughter the infanta Donna *Maria*; and that the king should not only give the dauphin but his brother, and twelve young noblemen, for hostages; all which the emperor insisted that the king should promise upon his oath taken in the most solemn manner, which he did; but some say he made as solemn a protestation before he took it, that what he did was by absolute constraint; and that his true intention was to perform his promise no farther than it should be reasonable; of which the emperor had some information, or at least a strong suspicion; so that notwithstanding the king solemnly espoused Donna *Leonora*, yet he would not remit that princess into her husband's possession till the treaty was executed, but sent him soon after with all exterior marks of kindness into his own dominions [n], while he went to celebrate his own marriage with the infanta

[l] Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII. [m] SANDOVAL. [n] OCHOA.

Donna

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Donna *Isabella* of *Portugal* [o]. About this time the bishop of *Zamora* was executed in the castle of *Simencas*, where for some years he had been confined.

CHARLES DE LANOY and Don *Ferdinand d'Alarcon* attended king *Francis* to the frontiers, and received the hostages, whom as soon as they had delivered to the constable of *Castile*'s son, they followed that prince, who very soon acquainted them that it was not in his power to restore *Burgundy*; but that he was willing to pay two millions of crowns for the ransom of his son and the rest of the hostages; and, on the 22d of *May*, he signed the *Holy League* at *Paris* [p]. His ambassadors soon after signified as much to the emperor. The ministers of the rest of the allies demanded that he should cause the siege of the citadel of *Milan* to be raised, and put *Francis Sforza* into the possession of the city and duchy; that he should renounce the kingdom of *Naples*, should pay what was due to the king of *England*, and send no more troops into *Italy*; otherwise they would declare war against him, and compel him to perform what they demanded [q]. The emperor answered, that the *French* king did very ill not to keep his word as a monarch, and his oath as a Christian; that his parliaments could not dispense with either, since, before they were given, they approved both; that, with respect to the queen Donna *Leonora*, he ought to behave to her as his lawful wife; that the hostages were in his power, and he would do with them what he pleased; that the duke of *Milan* was his feudatory, and he meant to punish him as a rebel; that the *Spanish* troops in *Lombardy* acted by his orders, and should be recalled when he thought fit; that the kingdom of *Naples* was his inheritance; that he would come or go, or send into *Italy*, when he thought proper; and that he meant to pay the king of *England* out of the ransom due from the king of *France*; neither was he at all in doubt, that, with the assistance of God, he should defend his own rights, and protect his subjects, when attacked [r]. A severe edict was published this year against the *Moriscoes* in the kingdom of *Granada*, and an insurrection made by them in the kingdom of *Valentia* was suppressed, and very rigorously punished. In *Italy*, the imperialists made themselves masters of *Milan*, and took possession of the city of *Rome*, which obliged pope *Clement* VII. to shut himself up in the castle of *St. Angelo*, where, by dint of prayers and intreaties, he at last procured a truce for three months [s].

When at liberty, declares he will execute it so far only as he thinks reasonable.

1526.

[o] OCHOA. [p] P. DANIEL. [q] MEZERAY. [r] FERR. [s] RAINALD.

THE

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Rome *sacked by the imperialists, commanded by the duke of* Bourbon *and the prince of* Orange.

THE emperor held in the spring an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*, where, for the sake of conveniency, his imperial majesty ordered the deputies of the respective orders to hold their assemblies in different places; whereas hitherto the nobility, clergy, and commons, had sat together. He explained to them the motive of his calling them together, which was his want of money; but each of the orders suggested separately a plausible excuse, and agreed unanimously to grant him nothing; upon which they were dissolved about the middle of *March* [t]. On the 21st of *May* the empress was delivered of the prince Don *Philip* at *Valladolid* [u], and, for the solemnity of his baptism, most prodigious preparations were made; but, on a sudden, the emperor suspended all rejoicings, on account of what had happened at *Rome*, where the army of the duke of *Bourbon* had sacked the city, and the prince of *Orange*, who commanded the army after his decease, kept the pope blocked up in the castle of *St. Angelo*. For the safety and preservation of his holiness, the emperor caused public prayers to be made at *Madrid*, disavowing all that his generals did, tho' he reaped all the advantages from
1527. the steps they took, by which they became masters of all *Italy*, till general *Lautrec* entered it with a *French* army, tho' paid in a great measure by *English* money, by which the face of affairs was quickly changed, and the pope, being at liberty to speak his own language, declared for the allies [w].

Strange messages between Francis I. *and the emperor* Charles V.

THE new year opened with a very new scene: two kings at arms, one stiled *Guienne*, from the *French* king, and the other *Clarence*, from *Henry* of *England*, demanded a public audience of the emperor; which being granted, they first recapitulated the wrongs done to their respective masters, and then the insults offered to the pope, and the cruel plundering of *Rome* for two months together; in resentment of which they declared war. The emperor ordered his answers to be delivered to them in writing on the 25th of *January*. In that to the *French* king, he advised him not to put any trust in the promises of *Wolsey*, whose boundless ambition and inordinate avarice put him upon sowing discord between them. He said that minister had threatened the emperor, for not using his interest to advance him to the papacy, that he would so embroil the affairs of Christendom, that they should not be effectually settled again for one hundred years to come. He also intimated, that he doubted whether his embassador had repeated to him what he told him when he had an audience of him at *Granada*; of which *Francis*

[t] MARIANA. [u] FERRERAS. [w] RAINALD.

having

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having demanded an explanation, the emperor ſaid he told him, that he acted wickedly, and like a coward, in breaking his word, and forgetting his oath, which he would maintain to his face, with his ſword in his hand [x]. The king of *France* thereupon ſent *Guienne* with an anſwer, which was read at a public audience, importing, that if the emperor ever ſaid the king of *France* behaved otherwiſe than became a good knight, he lied, and lied as often as he ſaid ſo; and that he would make this good in ſingle combat. The emperor, by his king at arms, accepted the challenge, and aſſigned an iſland in the river dividing their dominions; but all this came to nothing [y]. The *French* tell this ſtory otherwiſe, and, in its proper place, we ſhall give their account of the matter. In *Spain*, the ſtates of the ſeveral kingdoms ſwore to Don *Philip* as the heir apparent, and gave the emperor moderate ſupplies [z]. In *Italy*, the fortune of war varied. In the beginning of the year the allies were ſucceſsful; *Philippine Doria*, then in their ſervice, beat the imperialiſts at ſea; and the *French*, about *Midſummer*, beſieged the city of *Naples*; but, before the cloſe of it, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, were beat in their retreat by the prince of *Orange*, and a great part of them, who had taken ſhelter in *Averſo*, were obliged to capitulate there. The city of *Genoa* likewiſe revolted from the *French*, and declared for the imperialiſts, by the advice and with the aſſiſtance of the *Dorias* [a], who were from thence regarded as deliverers of their country. 1528.

In the beginning of the enſuing year, the emperor reſolved to make a voyage to *Italy*, leaving his empreſs regent in *Spain*. As he was to embark at *Barcelona*, he ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Catalonia* for the firſt of *May*. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, the inhabitants ſent deputies to know whether he would make his public entry in quality of emperor, or of their count, becauſe of the ceremonial; to which he prudently gave this anſwer, that he preferred the title of count of *Barcelona*, made his entry in that quality, and obtained a generous ſupply from the ſtates [b]. While he was there, he concluded a treaty with the pope, by which he conſented to give his natural daughter *Margaret* to *Alexander Medicis*, the pope's nephew, who was to have the ſtate of *Florence*, with the title of duke; that the places taken from the holy ſee ſhould be reſtored; that *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, ſhould have

Treaty concluded between the emperor and pope Clement VII. *at* Barcelona.

[x] Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of Henry VIII. [y] P. Daniel, [z] Mariana. [a] Justinian. [b] Sandoval.

juſtice

justice done him; and that, after pacifying *Italy*, he would go into *Germany*, and, with the assistance of his brother *Ferdinand*, who was become king of *Hungary*, endeavour to reduce the *Lutherans*. On the other hand, the pope consented to acknowlege him in quality of king of *Naples*; that he should present to all archbishopricks and bishopricks; and that his holiness should grant free passage to his troops whenever he required it. The emperor swore to the due performance of this peace on the 29th of *June*, in the cathedral of *Barcelona* [c].

Peace of Cambray made by the French king's mother and the emperor's aunt.

In the mean time madame *Louisa*, mother to the *French* king, signified to madame *Marguerite*, the emperor's aunt, and governess of the *Low Countries*, that she would be glad to confer with her about a peace; of which the emperor being informed, he sent full powers to his aunt. Madame *Louisa* having received the like from her son, set out for *Cambray*, where these two princesses, taking up their lodgings in houses that joined to each other, caused a door to be broke through the wall, that they might confer together when they pleased, without ceremony. The first conference was held on the 8th of *July*: the peace was signed, concluded, and the princesses swore to the execution thereof on the 5th of *August* following, in the cathedral church of *Cambray*; and, three days after, it was sworn to by *Francis* himself [d]. By this treaty he undertook to pay by the first of *March* two millions of crowns of gold for his ransom, and to withdraw his troops out of *Italy* in six months. The king of *England* was likewise comprised in this treaty. On the 12th of *August* the emperor made his public entry into *Naples*, where he received, and swore to, the treaty of *Cambray*. He had afterwards an interview, and was twice crowned by the pope; and, before the close of the year, he concluded a peace with the *Venetians*, and a treaty of commerce [e]. While his imperial majesty was at *Bologna*, *Francis Sforza* came thither, and threw himself at his feet, telling him, that he relied upon his clemency, and his own innocence; after which he began to make many protestations of his fidelity; but the emperor, perceiving that he was sick and weak, took him up, embraced him, and promised to restore him his dominions upon very moderate terms, at which all the world was surprised [f]. This year the younger *Barbarossa*, who had succeeded his brother at *Algiers*, defeated a squadron of the

1529.

[c] Ferreras. [d] P. Daniel. [e] Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. [f] Ochoa.

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emperor's gallies on the coast of *Spain*, and took or sunk six out of eight, which gave the emperor great displeasure [g].

THE spring was spent in *Italy* in carrying the peace, which was proclaimed in the cathedral of *Bologna* on new-year's day, into execution, in ceremonies requisite to establish the emperor's authority, and in perfecting the concession of the islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, together with *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, with all their castles, fortresses, and other dependencies, to the military order of the knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, of which they were put in possession by *Hector Pignatelli*, vice-roy of *Sicily*, on the first of *April* following [h]. After these things were dispatched, the emperor, pursuant to the promise he had made the pope, set out for *Germany*, and, in his passage, was splendidly entertained by the marquis of *Mantua*. The keys were presented to him in all the cities belonging to the *Venetians*, by an express order from the senate; and his brother *Ferdinand*, king of *Hungary*, met him at *Inspruck* in *Tirol* [i]; but the remainder of this journey, and the consequences of it, belong to the history of the empire, where they will be found. That insult which had been offered to his arms by the corsairs under the command of *Barbarossa*, affected him to such a degree, that he sent orders to *Andrew Doria*, esteemed one of the best seamen of that age, to revenge it at all events. *Doria* had a good squadron of his own, which he not only reinforced with all the *Spanish* gallies that were ready to put to sea, but demanded also, in the name of the emperor, assistance from *Francis* I. who sent him ten gallies, well-manned [k]. Arriving at *Majorca*, he was informed that *Barbarossa* had sixty gallies under his command, all excellently provided; that, with half of these, he was sailed to *Algiers*, and the other half, under the command of *Haly*, was at *Sargel*; to which port he sailed, forced his passage in, plundered the adjacent country, forced the enemy to take shelter in a fortress on shore, and brought away two gallies and seven smaller ones; but *George Pallavicini*, with three companies of *Italians*, being sent to recover the Christian captives, after having performed that service, fell to plundering, and thereby gave the *Turks* an opportunity of surrounding and cutting him and all his people to pieces [l]. The release of the dauphin and the duke of *Orleans* was postponed from the first of *March* to the first of 1530.

The emperor grants the city of Tripoli, *with* Malta *and* Gosa, *to the knights of* St. John.

[g] FERRERAS. [h] P. DANIEL. [i] VERA Y FIGUEROA. [k] P. DANIEL. [l] Historia de muchas Guerres entre Christianos y Infideles desde el anno 1546, hasta el 1565, por PEDRO DE SALAZAR.

July,

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July, the *French* king not being able to raiſe the money before, and then they were delivered by Don *Alvaro de Luna* at *Fontarabia*, upon the receipt of a million two hundred thouſand crowns, the other eight hundred thouſand being aſſigned to the king of *England* [m]. At the ſame time queen *Leonora* was received by cardinal *Tournon* and marſhal *Montmorency* [n]. On the 30th of *November* died the princeſs *Margaret*, who directed that her body ſhould be interred at *Granada*, near thoſe of their catholic majeſties *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and was replaced in the government of the *Low Countries* by Donna *Maria*, queen dowager of *Hungary* [o].

He takes precautions for ſecuring his dominions againſt the French *king.*

WHILE the emperor was embarraſſed in *Germany*, as well with diſputes about religion as with a war againſt the *Turks*, the government in *Spain* found themſelves not a little embarraſſed with the pope, who ſent ſeveral bulls thither of different natures, which they directed to be examined as to their compatibility with the laws, before they were carried into execution; upon which ſome of the inferior clergy began to preach in a very ſeditious ſtrain, and to infuſe into the minds of the people an apprehenſion that the church was in danger; which, conſidering the emperor's abſence, might have been attended with great inconveniencies, but for the vigilance and activity, as well as the loyalty and ſteadineſs, of cardinal *Tavera* archbiſhop of *Toledo*, preſident of the council of *Caſtile*, and the reſt of the miniſters [p]. The emperor received their remonſtrances on this head very kindly, and promiſed to addreſs himſelf on this ſubject to the pope. He directed alſo, that a collection ſhould be made of the opinions given by the divines and lawyers in their catholic majeſty's dominions at the time the marriage was under conſideration between the infanta Donna *Catalina* and *Henry* prince of *Wales*, brother to prince *Arthur*, her former huſband [q]. He farther ordered, that levies ſhould be made for the war againſt the *Turks*; and that the frontiers towards *France* ſhould be put into a proper ſtate of defence, being ſtill under
1531. ſome apprehenſion of *Francis* I. The pope, to make court to his imperial majeſty, created, towards the cloſe of the year, two *Spaniſh* cardinals, Don *Alonſo Manrique* archbiſhop of *Seville*, and Don *Garcia Loyaza* archbiſhop of *St. Jago* of *Compoſtella* [r]. This was exceedingly acceptable to that nation.

[m] FERRERAS. [n] MEZERAY. [o] MARIANA. [p] RAINALD. [q] OCHOA. [r] SANDOVAL.

THE

THE emperor, who had ſpent the winter in the *Low Countries*, returned in the ſpring to *Germany*, in order to defend it againſt the *Turks*, their emperor *Solyman the Magnificent* being bent upon attacking *Vienna* with the whole force of his empire; but he is ſaid to have abandoned that enterprize by the advice of the *French* and of the *Venetians*, who repreſented the fortune of *Charles* as invincible; and that, if he ſhould be victorious over the *Turks*, he would give law to all the princes in *Europe*, and compel the Chriſtian powers to attack the *Ottoman* empire on every ſide [s]. In *Spain*, the empreſs held at *Segovia* the ſtates of the kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in which aſſembly many good laws were made. *Andrew Doria* had orders to oppoſe the *Turkiſh* fleet, which conſiſted of ninety gallies and a prodigious number of ſmall veſſels, with which they threatened deſolation to the coaſts of *Italy* and *Spain*. *Doria* had a fleet of equal ſtrength, with ten thouſand *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, and *German* troops on board. Upon the firſt intelligence of which, the *Turks* retired into port, which left him at liberty to reduce *Coron*, and other fortreſſes in the *Morea*, after defeating in the field all the forces that could be brought to oppoſe them. Having left in the place firſt-mentioned a *Spaniſh* garriſon, under the command of Don *Jerom Mendoza*, he returned to *Genoa*, to wait the arrival of the emperor. *Charles*, having ſettled every thing in *Germany*, returned into *Italy* with a numerous army; and, having adjuſted alſo the affairs of that country with the pope at *Bologna*, he reſolved to return into *Spain*, where the ſtate of his affairs, and the natural affection of that people for their ſovereign, cauſed him to be very impatiently expected [t], as well as ſome abuſes in the government, which naturally ſpring up in the long abſence of the prince.

Solyman the Magnificent, afraid of the emperor's good fortune, leaves Hungary.

1532.

IN his journey from *Bologna* to *Genoa*, the emperor viſited the field of battle, where *Francis* I. was taken, attended by ſuch of the principal generals that were preſent in that engagement as were yet alive, and heard with great attention all the circumſtances they related concerning that glorious victory [u]. On the 10th of *March* he arrived at *Genoa*, and lodged in the palace of *Andrew Doria*; after which he embarked on board the gallies commanded by that famous admiral, and arrived ſafely at *Barcelona* on the twenty-ſecond of *April*, where he found the empreſs, the prince Don *Phi-*

Andrew Doria defeats the Turkiſh fleet, and takes Coron in the Morea.

[s] OCHOA, ALPHONSO ULLOA. [t] PEDRO DE SALAZAR, FERRERAS. [u] SANDOVAL, VERA Y FIGUEROA, FERRERAS.

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lip, and the infanta Donna *Maria*, with the whole court, who were come thither to meet him [w]. He found likewise an envoy from *Muley Hoſſein* king of *Tunis*, to deſire his aſſiſtance againſt the corſair *Barbaroſſa*, by whom he had been driven out of his dominions. The emperor heard him very graciouſly, and promiſed his maſter relief. In the month of *July* he went to *Monzon*, where he held the ſtates of *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, his ſecretary having explained to them the great things that the emperor had done for reſtoring the peace of *Europe*, and the defence of Chriſtendom againſt the infidels, the kingdom of *Arragon* preſented him with a free gift of two hundred thouſand crowns, and *Catalonia* and *Valentia* gave in proportion. Don *Alvaro Bazan*, who was ſent with a ſquadron of gallies to the coaſt of *Barbary*, performed great things there; took ſeveral places, and ruined a ſquadron of corſairs. The *Turkiſh* emperor *Solyman* ſent a numerous army to beſiege *Coron* by land, and a fleet with ſixty gallies, and a conſiderable body of troops on board, to cover that ſiege; but the garriſon making a brave defence, *Andrew Doria* ſailed to its relief, and, having beat the *Turkiſh* fleet, changed the garriſon, and ſupplied the place with all kinds of proviſion and ammunition, which ſo mortified *Solyman*, that he ordered the general who commanded his army to be ſtrangled [x]. He then cauſed *Coron* to be blocked up a ſecond time; while the garriſon being reduced to diſtreſs, the new governor was prevailed upon, againſt his own opinion, to make a ſally with the beſt part of the troops in the place; but he conducted it with ſuch addreſs, and the *Spaniſh* troops behaved with ſuch intrepidity, that it anſwered the end for which it was made. In his retreat he was furiouſly attacked by the *Turks*, who continued the engagement after their general was ſlain, and puſhed it ſo far, that Don *Rodrigo Manrique* was likewiſe killed; but his lieutenant *Hermoſilla*, taking the command, repulſed the *Turks* with ſo much ſpirit, that they were at length glad to permit him and his troops to enter again into the place [y].

But the too great expence of this conqueſt in-

In the ſpring the emperor held an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Caſtile* at *Madrid*, in which ſome beneficial laws were made, and he obtained a large ſupply for carrying on the war againſt the infidels [z]. He conſidered, however, that his new conqueſt of *Coron* could not be maintained but

[w] Pedro de Salazar, Vera y Figueroa, Ferreras.
[x] Ochoa. [y] Sandoval, Alphonso Ulloa, Mariana, Ferreras.

at

an expence, and was of no real advantage to him, tho' of great consequence to the pope and the *Venetians*, who were therefore very pressing in their solicitations for him to keep it. Upon mature consideration, he judged this inexpedient. Having, therefore, first offered it to his holiness, the *Venetians*, and to the grand master of *Malta*, with an annual subsidy towards the maintenance of the garrison, and they having refused it, he sent orders to the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily* to send a fleet to bring away the garrison. This they did, together with the artillery and military stores, and all the *Greek* inhabitants and their effects: upon the arrival of this fleet in *Sicily*, lands were assigned to the *Greeks* for their subsistence, and their posterity continue in possession of them to this day [a]. *Solyman* the Magnificent, burning with a desire of revenge for the enterprize of *Coron*, sent for *Barbarossa*, and, to his own amazement, and to that of all the world, declared him a basha, and general of the *Ottoman* forces by sea: that these might not appear empty titles, he equipped a squadron of fourscore gallies, and ordered him, after repairing and fortifying *Coron*, to waste and destroy the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*; which he punctually performed, and, after having terrified *Rome* itself, and acquired a great booty, returned in triumph to *Tunis* [b]. This was extremely grating to the emperor, who was no sooner informed of this expedition than he sent instructions to *Andrew Doria* to hold his gallies in readiness, ordered the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily* to prepare theirs, demanded assistance from the pope, the king of *Portugal*, and other Christian princes, and settled the general rendezvous of the whole fleet for the month of *May* in the ensuing year. In the mean time he ordered *Lewis Presendes*, a *Genoese* by birth, and one of his own domestics, to go with two ships richly laden to *Tunis*, as a merchant, in order to examine the state of that place, and its fortifications, that he might take measures for his intended enterprize with greater certainty. On his arrival, however, *Presendes* was betrayed by a *Moresco* servant; upon which *Barbarossa* caused his head to be cut off, and his body to be burnt without the city [c]. This year proved fatal to pope *Clement* the seventh, who was succeeded in the papal throne by cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, whom, some say, he nominated on his death-bed, and who, after his accession, assumed the name of *Paul* the third;

duces the emperor to quit it.

1534.

[a] Sandoval, Alphonso Ulloa. [b] Pedro de Salazar, Ochoa. [c] Raynald, Paudi Jovii Hist. Adriani.

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and this year also was established the famous order of jesuits[d].

His expedition into Africa, and the reduction of the fortress of Gouletta.

The war of *Africa* so occupied the emperor's thoughts, that he seemed to have no other view than that of restoring the king of *Tunis*, and humbling the pride of the infidels. This coincided so exactly with the interests of his neighbours, that the succours he received very much surpassed his expectations. Don *Lewis* of *Portugal* brought a squadron of twenty-two ships of war, besides a large galleon, and two ships of a new construction, and of a size superior to any that had yet been seen. *Andrew Doria*'s squadron of gallies were in every respect complete; and one of them, which was intended for the emperor's person, had four benches of rowers, and the men were all cloathed in silk. The emperor, having made a general review, embarked for *Sardinia*, where, notwithstanding he met with very bad weather in his passage, he arrived on the 11th of *June*, and there found the *Italian* forces; so that when he weighed for the coasts of *Barbary* he had one hundred and forty men of war and gallies, and two hundred and sixty vessels of smaller size. *Barbarossa* had fortified *Tunis* in the best manner he was able, and had assembled near one hundred thousand men for his defence. As he foresaw the Christians would make an attempt on the fortress of *Gouletta*, he posted *Sinan* bassa there with six thousand *Turks*. He was not mistaken; the emperor, having debarked his army, formed the siege of that place, and took such precautions, that the corsair could not either relieve it, or oblige him to raise the siege. As soon as the artillery had made a breach that was practicable, the emperor caused it to be stormed in his presence by a body of old *Spanish* infantry, who, notwithstanding an obstinate defence made by the besieged, entered. In the mean time the *Italians*, who were to have attacked the fortress on the side of the lake, finding that impracticable, marched round with their ladders, notwithstanding they were exposed to all the fire of the enemy's artillery, and entered upon the very heels of the *Spaniards*; which so intimidated the garrison, who were drawn up in the great square in good order, that, after one general discharge, they threw down their arms, and made their escape through the lake.

Defeats the Moors.

The taking this place was of prodigious consequence, for they found in the arsenal three hundred pieces of brass

[d] Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. Sandoval, Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa, Pauli Jovii Histor. Justiniani Adriani.

cannon,

cannon, and a great number of gallies in the port [f]. Many of the general officers advised the emperor, therefore, to be content with his good fortune, and not push things farther, at least this campaign; which extremely alarmed the poor king of *Tunis*, who was in the camp with a very small body of cavalry, composed of such of his subjects as had followed his fortune. But the infant of *Portugal* and the duke of *Alba* insisted, that it was dishonourable for the emperor to retire without making himself master of *Tunis*, which was his own opinion likewise; and therefore, as soon as the army had taken some repose, he advanced towards that city. *Barbarossa*, who had no inclination to be shut up, and who besides had an army much superior to that of the emperor, having secured the city as well as he was able, marched to meet and give him battle; but his forces behaved so indifferently at the first attack, that he altered his sentiments, and resolved to retire again into the place, which at his return he found in a manner empty, the inhabitants of the city being fled to the mountains, and the Christian slaves having surprised the castle, so that he found it necessary to retire to *Algiers* [g]. The emperor, being thus become master of *Tunis*, which he could not prevent the army from plundering, restored the king *Muly Hossein*, with whom he made a treaty, dated the sixth of *August*, by which he became his vassal, and made a cession of the fortress of *Gouletta*. He returned thither; and, having put into it a garrison of a thousand *Spaniards*, under the command of Don *Bernardin de Mendoza*, with a squadron of twelve gallies under *Antonio Doria*, he dismissed the greatest part of his auxiliaries, and embarked for *Sicily* [h]. On the twelfth of *September* he made his public entry into *Palermo*, where he held an assembly of the states, and received a free gift, and then proceeded to *Naples*, where he was received with all possible magnificence. There he had the news of the death of the duke of *Milan*, who had left him his heir; and that *Antonio de Leyva*, with the *Spanish* troops under his command, had taken possession of that duchy on his behalf [i]. To moderate, however, this good news, he received an unexpected piece of intelligence, that *Barbarossa* had attacked *Minorca*, and, having granted a fair capitulation to the city of *Mahon*, had broke it, massacred a great part of the inhabitants, and

ish *army, and restores the old king of* Tunis.

1535.

[f] Pedro de Salazar, Alphonso Ulloa, Sandoval. [g] Pauli Jovii Histor. Ferreras. [h] Ochoa, Pedro de Salazar, Adriani Justiniani. [i] Alphonso Ulloa; Ferreras.

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made slaves of above eight hundred persons, most of whom he carried to *Algiers*; which first excited a resolution in the emperor of attacking and making himself master of that place, as the sole means of abasing the naval power of the infidels[k]; an enterprize, which it had been happy for Christendom he had executed with as much success as he employed skill in the contrivance.

The war breaks out again with Francis I. with more fury than ever.

THE death of the duke of *Milan* induced the *French* king to revive his pretensions to the duchy of *Milan*, though even before that event happened he had made an irruption into *Savoy*; but, knowing that the issue of war is always doubtful, was content to propose an accommodation. The emperor, who had just seen his natural daughter *Margaret* married to the duke of *Tuscany*, and found his affairs in *Italy* in the most flourishing condition, was not very ready to part with so noble a possession as the duchy of *Milan*, more especially as the *Venetians*, the most prudent and the most powerful of the *Italian* republics, offered to enter into an alliance with him for its preservation[l]. However, it is pretended, that he proposed to give the investiture of *Milan* to the third son of the *French* king, but this was after his father should have discovered his intention as to these three points. First, Whether he meant to make a league with the *Turks*; the next, whether he would concur in reducing the Protestants in *Germany*; and, lastly, what security he would give that the duchy of *Milan* should never be annexed to the crown of *France*. But, whatever propositions he made, it is certain that he took all possible precautions for making war with success; and, having issued his orders for that purpose, went to *Rome*, into which he made his public entry on the 5th of *April*. Not content with the interviews he had with the pope, he caused a solemn assembly to be held at the *Vatican*, where all the foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction in the city, were present, as well as the pope, in which he made a long and eloquent speech in support of his own cause, against the monarch of *France*[m].

The emperor invades France, *besieges* Mar-

AFTER he quitted that city, he went to put himself at the head of his army, in order to execute the design he had formed of entering *France*, contrary, as is affirmed, to the sentiments of his greatest generals. He arrived at *Nice* on the twenty-fifth of *July*, and passed from thence to *Aix*,

[k] OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUERVA, FERRERAS. [l] MEZERAY, PAULI JOVII Histor. [m] RAINALD, DUPLEIX, FERRERAS.

where

where he remained near a month; after which he undertook the siege of *Marseilles*, on the twenty-fifth of *August* [n]. He did not find the reduction of that place so easy as he expected. At the same time *Andrew Doria* was upon the coast of *Provence* with a small fleet; and count *Henry* of *Nassau* had entered *Picardy*, from *Flanders*, with an army of twenty-six thousand men; yet, notwithstanding all these enterprizes were well contrived, and executed by the best troops in *Europe*, they failed; for the army before *Marseilles*, being but indifferently supplied with provisions, had recourse to raisins and figs; and these fruits not agreeing with their constitutions, an epidemic distemper broke out, that carried off twenty thousand men, and, amongst them, *Antonio de Leyva*, and other old generals [o]. In the mean time the *French* army grew every day more numerous, so that on the tenth of *September* the emperor raised the siege, and began his retreat two days after count *Nassau* had done the like in *Picardy*, and for the same reason [p]. The troops on board the fleet made some descents, and burnt and plundered the country, but were constrained to retire with loss, and, the weather becoming tempestuous, were forced to return. As for the emperor, he made a good retreat; and, having quitted his army in *Piedmont*, went to *Genoa*, where he found the fleet of *Andrew Doria*, on board which he embarked, and, arriving safely at *Barcelona* on the sixth of *December*, proceeded from thence to *Castile*, where his presence was very necessary [q].

and is obliged to raise it.

1536.

In the space of a few months the emperor found his affairs extremely embarrassed. The *French*, in their turn, began to act offensively in *Flanders* and in *Italy*, while the *Turks*, apparently in concert with them, made prodigious preparations for attacking the emperor's dominions by sea, particularly the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. *Charles* gave orders on every side, and employed all his talents to make head against his enemies. Amongst those great qualities of which he was master, his eloquence was not the least useful, or the least considerable; and if the *French* drew any advantage from their alliance with the infidels, it may be doubted whether it balanced what accrued to the emperor from publishing it in the strongest manner throughout all Christendom [r]. It was by the help of this chiefly

His dominions attacked by the French *on one side, and the* Turks *on the other.*

[n] Sandoval, P. Daniel. [o] Ochoa, Alphonso Ulloa, Ferreras. [p] Mezeray, Vera y Figueroa, Mariana. [q] Dupleix. [r] Pauli Jovii. Hist. Adriani, Pedro de Salazar.

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that, in the states of *Castile*, held at *Valladolid*, he obtained a vast subsidy; and, under pretence of providing for the defence of the coasts against the *Turks*, he caused an exact account to be taken, in *Catalonia* and *Valentia*, of the number of men capable to carry arms[t]. In the month of *July* he held at *Monzon* the states of *Aragon* and of the provinces annexed to it, where he likewise obtained a great supply, part of which he employed in fortifying the frontiers against the *French* in the summer. The *Turkish* fleet, in the absence of *Andrew Doria*, came, under the command of *Lufti Bey*, on the coast of *Naples*, and took several places, which they burnt and pillaged; but *Andrew Doria*, in his return, took near 20 gallies, and made slaves of the janissaries on board them[u]: however, having intelligence that *Chairuddin* basha, whom the *Turks* stiled *Barbarossa*, was coming down upon him with the whole *Ottoman* fleet, he retired to *Messina*. In the spring, and part of the summer, the war continued against the *French* in *Flanders* and in *Piedmont* with some advantage to the imperialists; but queen *Leonora* on one side, and the queen dowager of *Hungary* on the other, pressed the two monarchs so earnestly, that a truce was concluded and signed for three months by the two queens at *Bonnivy*, on the 30th of *July*. The pope and the *Venetians* procured also a truce for the like space on the side of *Italy*; of which when the *Turkish* emperor was informed, he abandoned his design against *Naples*, and resolved to revenge himself upon the *Venetians*. Towards the close of the year, Don *Alvaro Bazan*, general of the gallies of *Spain*, taking something amiss, resigned that employment; but the emperor sent him word, that he was not offended even with his demission, that he had occasion for his service; and that he should keep his post, whether he served or not; and the empress sent a person of distinction in her name, to prevail upon him to do as the emperor desired, which, under various pretences, he declined.

1537.

The same year *Alexander Medicis*, duke of *Florence*, was murdered by his cousin *Lawrence*, upon which the emperor gave his dominions to *Cosmo da Medicis*, to whom he intended his wife to have given his daughter *Margaret*, the widow of the deceased[x].

[t] Ochoa, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. Pedro de Salazar, Sandoval. [u] P. Daniel, Mezeray, Vera y Figueroa. [x] Rainald. Adriani Justiniani. Pauli Jovii Histor.

The pope, by his legates, prevailed on their imperial and most Christian majesties to have an interview at *Nice*, and in the mean time concluded with the emperor and the *Venetians* a league against the *Turks*. Setting out afterwards from *Rome*, he went to *Savona* by land, and, embarking on board the emperor's gallies, arrived at *Nice* on the 17th of *May*, and the next day the emperor came thither from *Barcelona* [y]. The *French* monarch, with his queen, his son the dauphin, and the constable *Montmorency*, arrived at *Villafranca* on the 21st [z]. The pontiff conferred with both princes separately, but could not engage them to meet and confer in his presence. After abundance of interviews, all he could accomplish was a truce for ten years, which was signed on the 18th of *June*; and a promise that they would send their plenipotentiaries to *Rome*, to negotiate a solid peace. The pope, making use of the emperor's gallies, returned to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Rome* [a]. His imperial majesty, during these conferences, saw his sister often; and being informed that the *French* monarch was very desirous of conferring with him alone, and would for that purpose wait for him at *Aigues-mortes*, he ordered *Andrew Doria*, when he arrived with his gallies, to steer directly for *Marseilles*. As soon as the fleet appeared in sight, the cannon of the citadel and town were immediately discharged, the magistrates came in a body to salute him on board his gallies, and, having kissed his hand, presented the keys of the town; with which compliment the emperor was extremely pleased [b]. He arrived on *Sunday* the 14th of *July* at *Aigues-mortes*, where he was received by king *Francis* in person, who went on board his gally, and was treated with all imaginable kindness and respect [c]. The emperor went on shore the next day, and staid till the 16th, and dined with the king, the queen, the dauphin, and the constable *de Montmorency*. [b] The two monarchs had a private conference of about an hour, and parted with such exterior demonstrations of friendship, that all the world thought the peace concluded; after which, the king conducted the emperor to his gally, and he was no sooner on board than he returned to *Spain*. These interviews detained *Andrew Doria* so long, that the Christian fleet was not at sea so early as it might have been. At length it assembled towards the end of *August* at *Corfu*, consisting of one hundred thirty-six

His interview with the pope at Nice, *and with the* French *king at* Aigues-mortes, *near* Marseilles.

[y] Sandoval, Alphonso Ulloa, Ferr. [z] P. Daniel, Mezeray. [a] Rainald, Dupleix, Ochoa. [b] Vera y Figueroa, Mariana. [c] Sandoval.

gallies,

gallies, two galleons, and thirty-nine frigates, divided into five squadrons, commanded by *Francis Doria*, general *Grimani*, general *Capello*, *Andrew Doria*, and Don *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, viceroy of *Sicily*. They went in search of the *Turkish* fleet under *Chairuddin Barbaroſſa*, found it in the gulph of *Galipoli*, and might have fought, but that *Andrew Doria* declined it, which brought ſome imputation upon him. Soon after the *Turkiſh* fleet loſt by a ſtorm ſeventy gallies and twenty thouſand men[e]. The *Venetian* general and Don *Ferdinand de Gonzaga* propoſed going in purſuit of them; which *Andrew Doria* refuſed, alleging, they might meet with the like ſtorm, and ſhare the ſame fate with their enemies; upon which the fleet ſeparated, and the ſquadrons retired to their reſpective ports. There happened this year a ſedition at *Milan* for want of pay, another at the *Goletta*, and a third in *Sicily* by the ſame troops, for the like cauſe, which with great difficulty were appeaſed[f]. On the firſt of *November* the emperor held an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Caſtile* and *Leon* at *Toledo*, where he endeavoured by all means to have eſtabliſhed an excife, to which the clergy conſented; but, by the perſuaſion of the conſtable of *Caſtile*, the nobility and commons oppoſed it ſo ſteadily, that the ſcheme miſcarried[g]. The widow of *Alexander Medicis* was this year married to *Octavio Farneſe*, the pope's nephew, merely to content the pontif, and to prevent his changing ſides, which, at that juncture, would have been attended with great inconveniencies[h].

Receives many cauſes of mortification and regret in the compaſs of a few months.

THE emperor kept the ſtates ſitting till the firſt of *February*, and then ordered the archbiſhop of *Toledo* to diſmiſs them, being exceedingly diſpleaſed that the propoſition which he had made was rejected; and this, notwithſtanding that, in their own way, they had granted a free gift of four hundred and fifty millions of marvadies; and gave it as their principal reaſon for not adopting the new one, that it might have provoked a rebellion in the raiſing, or have loſt him the hearts of his ſubjects if raiſed[i]. This misfortune was followed by another; he gave a tournament on the plain of *Toledo*, where all things paſſed very well; but in the cavalcade, at their return to the city, one of the emperor's harbingers gave ſome coarſe language to the duke *de l'Infantado*, and, not ſatisfied with that, ſtruck his horſe upon the buttock. The duke aſked him very gravely, if he knew who he was; and, upon his anſwering in the affirmative, drew

[e] PAULI JOVII Hiſtor. PEDRO DE SALAZAR, FERRERAS. [f] SANDOVAL. [g] VERA Y FIGUEROA. [h] RAINALD, OCHOA. [i] ALPHONSO ULLOA.

his

his ſword, and cut him over the head, but hindered thoſe who were about him from cutting him to pieces, as otherwiſe they certainly would have done. Upon this, *Rodrigo Ronquillo*, provoſt of the houſhold, would have arreſted the duke in the emperor's name; but the conſtable interpoſed, and ſaid, if the duke had committed an offence, the cogniſance of it belonged to him, and thereupon conducted him to his own houſe, whither all the nobility followed him to a man, leaving nobody with the emperor but the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, to whom he was talking. This mortified him more than any thing that had happened in his life; and yet he was ſo prudent as to ſend to the duke the next morning, to let him know that the harbinger was committed to priſon, and that he might proſecute him if he pleaſed. The duke thanked his imperial majeſty, cauſed the man to be cured at his own expence, and ſent him a preſent of five hundred ducats [k]. This was immediately followed by another diſagreeable event; the empreſs was delivered on the firſt of *May* of a dead child, and expired quickly after, leaving behind her *Philip* prince of *Aſturias*, and two daughters, Donna *Maria*, who eſpouſed the emperor *Maximilian*, and Donna *Joanna*, who in proceſs of time became queen of *Portugal* [l]. The emperor ſhewed a real but a ſilent ſorrow. Pope *Julius*, old as he was, no ſooner heard of this event, than, under pretence of condoling, he ſent his nephew cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* to propoſe a match between the duke of *Orleans* and one of the emperor's daughters, with whom he was to give the duchy of *Milan* as a portion; and another match between the emperor and a daughter of the *French* king; which negotiation had no effect [m]. The deputies from the city of *Ghent* in *Flanders* applied themſelves to the emperor, to obtain an exemption from a tax impoſed by the queen dowager of *Hungary*, governeſs of the *Low Countries*, in violation, as they apprehended, of their privileges; but without receiving the redreſs which they expected; upon this the inhabitants revolted, expelled the queen's commiſſaries, and addreſſed themſelves to the *French* king, as ſovereign of *Flanders*, for protection. As this was a haſty ſtep, it took the *French* king unprovided, who immediately ſent their letters to the emperor, in hopes it would determine him to give the inveſtiture of *Milan* to the duke of *Orleans* [n]. *Charles* conſidered this act of confidence in 1539.

[k] Ochoa, Alphonso Ulloa, Sandoval. [l] Vera y Figueroa, Goes, Osorio. [m] Rainald, P. Daniel, Mezeray. [n] Duplein, Ferreras.

ſo

ſo ſtrong a light, that he reſolved to paſs through *France* into *Flanders*, and ſent *Granvelle* to demand a ſafe conduct from the *French* king; which he no ſooner obtained, than he ſet out with a ſmall retinue for *St. Sebaſtian*, leaving cardinal *Tauera* and the commander *Cobos* regents[o]. He was received on the frontiers by the duke of *Orleans*, and at *St. John de Luz* by the dauphin. The *French* hiſtorians ſay, that thoſe princes offered to go into *Spain* as hoſtages for his ſecurity; but the emperor anſwered very gravely, that he had the faith of a king, which he looked upon as a better ſecurity. He made them the companions of his journey[p].

He paſſes thro' the city of Paris, *to reduce the city of* Ghent.

It was impoſſible for a prince to be treated with greater politneſs than was ſhewn to the emperor through his whole journey; the magiſtrates in every city through which he paſſed, preſented him the keys, knelt and kiſſed his hand as if he had been their ſovereign. The king and queen, though the former was indiſpoſed, met him at *Amboiſe*, and conducted him to *Paris*, where he was complimented by the parliament, all priſoners releaſed, the city made him a preſent of a ſilver ſtatue of *Hercules* as big as the life, and, in the ſpace of a week he ſtaid there, all the honours were paid him that ever had been practiſed, or could be invented[q]. It is on all hands agreed that the duchy of *Milan* was never ſo much as mentioned; but ſome writers aſſert, that the *French* king was adviſed to reſtrain him till he granted the inveſtiture to his ſon; but that the conſtable *Montmorency* interpoſed, and put the king in mind of his word. It is alſo ſaid, that the emperor was not without his ſuſpicions; and that, knowing how great an influence the ducheſs of *Eſtampes* had over the king, he took occaſion, as they were talking together by the fire ſide, to let fall a ring of great value from his finger; which ſhe immediately took up, and preſented to him. Upon this, the emperor ſaid, ſmiling, "Madam, it is yours; emperors and kings take nothing "which they have once let fall." But the ducheſs excuſing herſelf, on account of the value of the jewel, the emperor replied, "Keep it, it will put you in mind of my journey "through *France*." She obeyed, and it is hinted that the expedient had the propoſed effect[r]. At his departure from *Paris*, the king attended him to *St. Quintin*; but the dauphin and the duke of *Orleans* accompanied him to *Valen-*

[o] Mezeray, Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa. [p] P. Daniel, Mezeray, Dupleix. [q] Alphonso Ulloa, Ferreras. [r] Thuan. Sandoval.

ciennes,

ciennes, where he made them rich preſents [s]. The people of *Ghent* ſent four embaſſadors to pacify him, whom the emperor treated with great ſeverity, and obliged them to kneel while they were ſpeaking, and diſmiſſed them with this anſwer, "Tell your companions, that I ſhall come as their ſo-"vereign and their judge, with the ſceptre and ſword in "my hands [t]." On the arrival of his brother the king of the *Romans* with twelve thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, he, with the reſt of his army, advanced towards *Ghent*, which he puniſhed with great ſeverity, as will be ſeen in its proper place. He received not long after the 1540.
cardinal of *Lorrain* and the conſtable of *Montmorency* as embaſſadors from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, to demand the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Milan* for the duke of *Orleans*. The emperor told them with great frankneſs, that there were two reaſons why he could not grant it; the firſt, that it would diſoblige all the princes of *Italy*; the ſecond, that it would cut off all communication between his dominions and the ſtate of *Genoa*; but, to ſhew how high a price he ſet on the friendſhip of his brother *Francis*, he was willing to give his daughter to the duke of *Orleans*, with the *Low Countries*, and the title of king. This anſwer being reported to the *French* king, he is ſaid to have replied, that he did not deſire other people's dominions, but ſought only what belonged to him by deſcent [u]. In the emperor's abſence, *Piali Hamet*, one of *Barbaroſſa*'s captains, landed with a ſtrong detachment in the neighbourhood of *Gibraltar*, ſurpriſed the place, and made the principal inhabitants priſoners, with whom, and the pillage of the city, he embarked; but, being met by Don *Bernardin Mendoza* with fourteen gallies from *Sicily*, the corſairs were all either killed or taken, and the priſoners and booty recovered. There was this year ſo great a famine and peſtilence in *Spain*, that it is thought the eleventh part of the people periſhed [w].

THE emperor, who could never loſe ſight of a deſign that he had once formed, meditated, while in the *Low Countries* and in *Germany*, the conqueſt of *Algiers*, reſolving to carry with him a body of *German* foot into *Italy*, ſending orders at the ſame time to the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to *Andrew Doria*, to aſſemble their reſpective fleets, as well as to the regents in *Spain* for the ſame purpoſe, giving the command to the duke of *Alba*, with orders to provide

Reſolves to put in execution the deſign he had form'd againſt Algiers.

[s] VERA Y FIGUEROA, OCHOA, P. DANIEL. [t] SANDOVAL, FERRERAS. [u] ALPHONSO ULLOA, MEZERAY. [w] PEDRO DE SALAZAR.

every

every thing in abundance for an expedition of great importance, and to have all things ready against his return [x]. He had the year before procured the pope's bulls for raising money upon the clergy, and resolved, in his passage thro' *Italy*, to meet and confer with him at *Lucca*, to which proposal his holiness, though sinking under the weight of years, readily consented, as having several things of moment to offer to his consideration, and more especially to labour the conclusion of a solid peace with the crown of *France* [y]. The emperor entered *Italy* from *Tirol* in the decline of summer, and made some stay at *Milan*, where he married his niece, the daughter of the queen of *Denmark*, to the prince of *Lorrain*; which is generally ascribed to the pique he had taken at the *French* king's giving the daughter of *Henry d'Albret*, though a child, in marriage to the duke of *Cleves*, who laid claim to the duchy of *Gueldres*, and might, in consequence of this marriage, disturb the emperor about other pretensions [z]. He proceeded from *Milan* to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Lucca*. There the *French* embassadors made heavy complaints of the breach of the truce by the death of two gentlemen, who were assassinated by persons in masks not far from *Milan*, by order, as it was said, of the governor, who had intelligence that they were charged with a secret commission and instructions to negotiate with the grand signor. This *Francis* the first magnified into a breach of faith, and an insult on the law of nations; while the emperor *Charles* treated it only as a pretence taken by the *French* to begin the war in concert with the *Turks* [a]. While he remained at *Lucca*, he made three visits to the pope, who returned one. In these visits the emperor pressed the pope
1541. to call a general council, and to support the catholic league; and the pope was very earnest with him to preserve the peace of *Italy*, by making a cession of the duchy of *Milan*, which he peremptorily refused [b]. This interview being over, the emperor, notwithstanding *Andrew Doria* and the marquis *del Vasto* laboured all they could to persuade him that the season was too far advanced, embarked, in order to execute his enterprize upon *Algiers*.

Which, however, is attended with the

The weather proved so bad, that he was forced to put into *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, and *Minorca*, before he reached *Majorca*, where the rendezvous was to be. He sailed from thence to the coast of *Africa* with a fleet of two hundred

[x] Sagredo, Cantemir, Vera y Figueroa. [y] Rainald, Alphonso Ulloa, Sandoval. [z] Ochoa, Ferr. [a] P. Daniel, Mezeray. [b] Rainald.

large

large ships and one hundred smaller vessels, besides a squadron of seventy gallies, having on board six thousand *Spanish* foot, five thousand *Italians*, eight thousand *Germans*, three thousand volunteers, and two thousand horse, exclusive of the ordinary equipage of the gallies, his own, and those of the nobility who attended him. He arrived in sight of *Algiers* on the 20th of *October*, and debarked his troops the next day. The siege was long and perilous, the defence very gallant and well conducted; the Christian fleet was for the most part beat to pieces by tempests, so that at length he was forced to rise from before the place with great loss. It is said, that, after the retreat, the famous *Hernando Cortes*, who conquered *Mexico*, offered, on the forfeiture of his life, to return with the army, and take *Algiers*; but, the contrary measure being resolved, his imperial majesty embarked, and landed in the kingdom of *Murcia* on the fifth of *December*, extremely mortified at this reverse of fortune[c]. *most disastrous catastrophe.*

The misfortunes of the former year constrained the emperor to act intirely upon the defensive. With this view he went in person into *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, and afterwards into *Navarre*, apprehensive that the *French* would attempt somewhat in favour of *Henry* of *Bourbon*, who had assumed the title of monarch of that country. It is certain that the *French* designed, in virtue of the potent alliances they had made, and their vast military preparations, to have attacked the emperor on all sides, and almost in every part of his dominions, at once, but they met likewise with disappointments; however, the war was carried on with heat in the *Low Countries*, though with very little advantage, the same places being taken and retaken in the space of a few weeks; so that, except rendering a fruitful country a desert, there happened little alteration on that side[d]. In *Piedmont* things went very much at the same rate; and the duke of *Savoy* had the misfortune to see his country destroyed by two princes, one of whom was his near relation, and to the other he was closely allied, without having any share or interest in the quarrel[e]. In the autumn the dauphin, with an army of between forty and fifty thousand men, besieged *Perpignan*; but, after having spent a long time before it, and wasted a great many men, he was constrained to retire[f]. The emperor called the states of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* to- 1542. *The dauphin lays siege to Perpignan with a numerous army, and is obliged to raise it.*

[a] Pedro de Salazar, Sagredo, Cartemir. [d] P. Daniel, Mezeray, Sandoval. [e] Dupleix, Ochoa, Ferreras. [f] Alphonso Ulloa, Mariana.

gether

gether at *Moncon*, where they took the oath of fidelity to the prince Don *Philip*, and granted the emperor a free gift of half a million of ducats[g]. He went from thence to *Barcelona*, where the prince swore to maintain the privileges and exemptions of that principality; and went afterwards with his father, for the same purpose, to *Valentia*, where the emperor obtained a large free gift, and the states likewise made a very generous present to the prince his son[h]. There was this year a scarcity of provisions, occasioned by vast flights of locusts, that fell more especially in *Old Castile*, and devoured all the fruits of the earth.

Success of the imperialists on all sides against the French *and the* Turks.

A DEFENSIVE war, however successful, was by no means acceptable to the emperor, who therefore meditated all this time a war of another kind; previous to which, he found it necessary to conclude the marriage of his son the prince Don *Philip* with the infanta Donna *Maria* of *Portugal*; and a treaty with *Henry* the eighth of *England*, which was signed in the month of *February*, at *London*, and was very explicit[i]. These points settled, he thought of nothing but passing into *Flanders*, believing that on that side it was most practicable to distress *France*. He committed the regency, during his absence, to his son the prince of *Asturias*, and assigned him the duke of *Alba* to assist him in military affairs, and his secretary *Cobos* in all points of another nature. He likewise put into his hands a paper, containing a succinct detail of what might happen in his absence, with his instructions upon every point[k]. These necessary measures taken, he embarked at *Barcelona*, on board the gallies of *Andrew Doria*, and arrived safely at *Genoa*. The pope was very desirous of a conference, and sent the cardinal nephew to request it; which the emperor would have declined, but, finding himself so warmly pressed, he consented at length to an interview at *Bossetto*, a castle between *Parma* and *Placentia*; but, as it might have been easily foreseen, it had no effect, for the emperor was bent upon chastising the duke of *Cleves*, and making his rival *Francis* sensible of his superiority[l]. While his imperial majesty was pursuing this plan, *Chaireddin Barbarossa*, with the *Turkish* fleet, having first spoiled *Calabria*, alarmed *Sicily*, and insulted *Italy*, proceeded to the coasts of *France*, and, being joined by the naval forces of that country, the *French* and *Turkish* fleets landed a nume-

[g] SANDOVAL, FERRERAS. [h] VERA Y FIGUEROA, OCHOA, MARIANA. [i] GOES, OSORIO, FARIA Y SOUSA, Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII. [k] FERRER. [l] RAINALD, ALPHONSO ULLOA.

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rous corps of troops, and, in conjunction with them, besieged the town and fortress of *Nice*. The former they took by composition; but the citadel continued to make a long and brave defence, till the marquis *del Vasto* approached with an army of twelve thousand men under his command; upon which the allies raised the siege, the *French* squadron retiring to *Marseilles*, and the *Turks* to *Toulon* [m]. The emperor was still more successful where he commanded in person, since he compelled the duke of *Cleves* to have recourse to his clemency, and extended it to him in a high degree, after making him thoroughly sensible of his displeasure. He likewise promised the distressed king of *Tunis*, who apprehended the great armament *Barbarossa* then made was to dispossess him of his dominions, his support and protection, and gave him leave to reside at *Naples* till that could be conveniently done [n]. 1543.

THE fate of war is ever uncertain; but the issue of negotiations, wisely conducted, is rarely so. The *French* arms were successful in *Piedmont* [o]; and the imperialists, though commanded by the marquis *del Vasto*, the best officer they had left, were thoroughly beaten in the neighbourhood of *Carignan*, on the 10th of *April*, by which that and some other places fell into their hands; but the marquis *del Vasto* repaired this loss by his extraordinary diligence, and by his fertility in expedients, which were the result of his great skill and long experience in the art of war [p]. In the month of *May*, *Barbarossa* sailed for *Constantinople*, and took the command of a fleet which had been for some time preparing there, with which he ravaged the coast of the kingdom of *Naples*, and carried many thousand persons of both sexes into slavery. He meditated still greater mischiefs, which were prevented only by his death, that happened soon after by a flux, when he was upwards of fourscore [q]. A *French* fleet, that was sent to ravage the coasts of *Galicia*, was not so successful; for Don *Alvaro Bazan*, who had resumed the command of the *Spanish* gallies, engaged and beat them [r]. The greatest efforts, however, in this campaign, were made on the side of the *Low Countries* and in *France*; for the emperor, having brought over king *Henry* of *England* with a numerous army, which was employed in besieging *Boulogne*, marched in person with a corps of thirty-six thousand men, *By his wise conduct, the emperor forces the French to conclude the treaty of Soissons.*

[m] PEDRO DE SALAZAR, SAGREDO, CANTEMIR. [n] SANDOVAL, MARIANA, HERRERAS. [o] MEZERAY. [p] ALPHONSO ULLOA, OCHOA. [q] VERA Y FIGUEROA. [r] SANDOVAL.

1544. and invested *Montrevil*, while the count *de Furstemberg*, with a body of *German* troops, recovered *Luxemburgh*. The emperor, clearly perceiving that his rival was unable to defend himself against two such powerful enemies at a time, pushed the operations of the war with such vigour, that, after taking *Chateau Thierry*, it was expected he would have marched to *Paris*; which threw the inhabitants of that great city into such consternation, that many of them retired to *Rouen*, *Orleans*, and other places [s]. But the emperor, when he arrived at *Soissons*, made a halt, as if he expected some application should be made to him. Accordingly, father *Martin de Guzman*, who some say was confessor to the queen of *France*, and others affirm to have been following his studies there, came thither by direction of their most Christian majesties, and testified how much they were inclined to peace [t]. Upon this, plenipotentiaries were sent to *Chateau de Crespy* on both sides, and the treaty concluded on the 18th of *September*, the principal points of which were, that the emperor should give his daughter the infanta Donna *Maria* to the duke of *Orleans*, with the *Low Countries* and the counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*; or his niece, the daughter of the king of the *Romans*, with the duchy of *Milan*; but he was to retain the citadels of *Milan* and *Cremona* till there was an heir male of the marriage; and all places taken since the truce of *Nice* were to be restored; the *French* king renewing the renunciations made by the treaties of *Madrid* and *Cambray* [u]. The loss of *Boulogne* to the *English* hastened this treaty very much. After it was concluded, the emperor went himself to *Crespy*, where the duke of *Orleans* met him, whom he treated with great kindness and affection, and called him constantly his son. This year the king of *Tremecen* was restored to his dominions by the voluntary assistance of some of the *Spanish* nobility [w].

The birth of the prince Don Carlos, *which is accompanied with the death of his mother.*

THE peace being made, both princes concurred in obliging pope *Paul* the third to summon the council of *Trent*, which he did by a bull dated in *November*, and appointed it to meet on the 15th of *March* [x]. The emperor passing the winter at *Brussels*, the queen of *France* went thither, and carried the duke of *Orleans* with her; and the chearfulness of the court was not a little increased by the news of the princess of *Asturias* being delivered on the 8th of *January*

[s] P. DANIEL, Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII. SANDOVAL. [t] DUPLEIX, ALPHONSO ULLOA, FERR. [u] MEZERAY, OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA. [w] PEDRO DE SALAZAR, SAGREDO. [x] RAINALD.

as

at *Valladolid*, of her ſon Don *Carlos*; but that ſatisfaction was extremely leſſened by the news of the death of his mother, which immediately followed [r]. The great affairs of the empire, more eſpecially thoſe of religion, occupied all the ſummer; and about the time that it was expected he would have declared the marriage of the infanta Donna *Maria*, the duke of *Orleans* died on the 8th of *September*, much regretted by the emperor, who apprehended that the war would break out afreſh; but the *French* king ſoon after ſent embaſſadors to *Bruſſels*, with aſſurances that he meant to maintain that good correſpondence which was ſo lately reſtored. To which the emperor anſwered, that the peace would not be broken on his ſide. The next year was intirely ſpent in the wars in *Germany* againſt the proteſtants, and in eſtabliſhing the inquiſition at *Naples*, which was attended with a popular ſedition [s], and, in conſequence of that, a general defection, which laſted, to the incredible loſs of that kingdom, ſeveral years. 1545. 1546.

In the beginning of the ſucceeding year died *Henry* the eighth of *England*, and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty *Francis* the firſt, which left the emperor at full liberty to purſue his deſigns in *Germany*; where he carried on the war againſt the proteſtants with his uſual vigour, but with a ſtrain of ſeverity that was not natural to him, and which we have reaſon to doubt proceeded rather from political views than from a miſtaken zeal; and the diſturbances in the kingdom of *Naples* ſtill continued [t]. An attempt was made at *Genoa* upon the life of prince *Doria*, by the count *de Fieſque*, in which the duke of *Parma* had ſome concern; and it was not long after retaliated by his aſſaſſination: upon which Don *Ferdinand Gonçaga* ſeized the city of *Placentia* for the emperor; which drew ſome ſuſpicions upon him, and even upon his maſter [b]. The prince Don *Philip* held a general aſſembly of the ſtates of *Arragon*, and obtained a conſiderable free gift; and afterwards ſent his favourite *Ruy Gomez de Silva* to compliment his father at *Augsburgh* upon his victories, and to acquaint him with the ſtate of affairs in *Spain* [c]. 1547.

He makes a tour into the empire; and carries all things there with a high hand.

His imperial majeſty was every day more and more embarraſſed by the religious diſputes in the empire, where his notions and his meaſures were unacceptable to, and ſuſpected by both parties; more eſpecially that great meaſure of the

Don Philip's triumphant journey to

[r] Ochoa, P. Daniel, Ferreras. [s] Sandoval, Vera y Figueroa, Mezeray. [t] Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. [b] Alph. Ulloa. [c] Sandoval, & al. ſup. citat.

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visit the emperor in the Low Countries.

interim, which was properly speaking his own, and to which he was driven by the pope's transferring the council from *Trent* to *Bologna*; against which the emperor protested, but to no purpose[d]. This embarrassed state of things making his presence absolutely necessary, and as his great point was to preserve all his dignities, as well as to transmit all his dominions to the prince his son, he judged it necessary to have him near his person. Having prevailed upon his brother, the king of the *Romans*, to let his son prince *Maximilian* go into *Spain*, he sent him through the *Milanese* to *Genoa*, from whence, on board *Doria*'s gallies, he passed to *Barcelona*, where he arrived on the 5th of *August*, and, on his arrival at *Valladolid*, espoused, in virtue of a dispensation from the pope, the infanta Donna *Maria*, the emperor's daughter, who had been promised to the duke of *Orleans*[e].

1548. As soon as the rejoicings for this marriage were over, that is, in the beginning of *October*, the prince Don *Philip* devolved the administration upon his cousin *Maximilian*, and set out for *Barcelona*, with a train so numerous and so splendid, that the *Spanish* writers assure us nothing like it was ever seen before, or has been seen since[f]. The first actions of princes are characteristic; and the same dignity, circumspection, magnificence, regularity, and œconomy, which appeared in this voyage, were discernible in all the great actions of *Philip*'s life. He embarked at *Roses* in *Catalonia*, went from thence to *Perpignan*, and, after having seen and examined it, returned to his fleet, touched twice upon the coast of *France*, proceeded from thence to *Villa Franca*, and landed at *Savona*, from whence he went to *Genoa* in one of the gallies of the republic[g]. He was received there, as he had been every-where, with all possible honours and respect, and gave the *Italian* princes and states leisure to make their addresses to him. He took a view of the field of battle of *Pavia*, as his father had done, and, proceeding from thence to *Milan*, passed his *Christmas* in that city, and conferred with all the great men in *Italy* on points of every kind, with a modesty and affability which were not afterwards so conspicuous in his conduct.

His great humility, when introduced

IN the beginning of the year prince *Philip* set out from *Milan*, and, taking *Mantua* in his way, arrived at *Trent*, from whence he went to *Inspruck*, thence to *Saltzburg* and *Munich*, and so to *Augsburgh*, receiving all the princes ecclesia-

[d] RAINALD, OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA. [e] SANDOVAL, FERRERAS. [f] MARIANA. [g] MEZERAY, & al. sup. citat.

stic

ſtic and ſecular of the empire, and from thence to *Luxemburgh*, from whence by ſlow journies he repaired to *Bruſſels*, where, when he was introduced to his father's preſence, he fell at his feet, and kiſſed his hand. The emperor received him with great affection, and cauſed the ſtates of the *Low Countries* to acknowlege him in quality of duke of *Brabant* [h]. About this time died *Paul* the third, of whom the emperor is reported to have ſaid to his ſon, that if his body was opened, in order to be embalmed, they would find fleur-de-lis's ſtamped upon his heart [i]. *into his father's preſence.* 1549.

THE cardinal *de Monte* being raiſed to the papal throne, aſſumed the name of *Julius* the third, and gave immediate notice of it to the emperor and to the prince. Though at firſt they were well pleaſed with his election, yet they did not find him afterwards ſo favourable as they expected; and both the emperor's great projects of ſubduing the proteſtants, and procuring for his ſon the reverſion of the empire, miſcarried, though they were conducted with all poſſible addreſs [k]. The war was ſtill carried on in the *Mediterranean* between *Andrew Doria*, who had now the title of prince, which he very juſtly deſerved, and *Dragut*, a *Turkiſh* pirate, who had been bred up under *Barbaroſſa*, and ſucceeded him in his command, which, as it kept the ſeamen of *Italy* and *Spain* in breath, ſo it certainly contributed to raiſe that naval force by which the maritime power of the infidels was kept from riſing under thoſe experienced officers that *Barbaroſſa* had bred, and was afterwards, when they were worn out, in a manner deſtroyed [l]. *The emperor begins to find a decline of fortune when he leaſt expected it.* 1550.

As the emperor was firm, or rather poſitive, in the meaſures he formed, ſo, having taken freſh ſteps for carrying them into execution, he hoped they would have better ſucceſs this year; and therefore, finding that the preſence of *Philip* made no impreſſion on a *German* diet, he conceived it more for his intereſt to return to *Spain*, more eſpecially as clouds began to gather in ſeveral quarters. *Henry* the ſecond inherited his father's reſentments as well as his dominions; he procured an entrance into *Italy*, by taking the young duke of *Parma*, *Octavio Farneſe*, under his protection; he entered into a ſecret confederacy with the proteſtant princes of the empire, much oppreſſed by the emperor, who meant to oppreſs them more; and, as if he acted in concert, the grand ſignor equipped a great fleet, and threat- *Embarraſſed by the freſh conjunction between the infidels and the* French.

[h] OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA, SANDOVAL. [i] RAINALD. [k] FERRERAS. [l] PEDRO DE SALAZAR, SAGREDO, OCHOA.

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ened all the emperor's hereditary dominions[m]. Don *Philip*, in the spring, returned to *Genoa*, and passed from thence to *Barcelona*; after which *Andrew Doria* sailed with his fleet to watch the motions of the *Barbary* corsairs[n]. However, *Sinan* basha, with a *Turkish* fleet, made a descent upon *Sicily*, attacked *Malta*, ravaged the isle of *Gosa*, and took the city of *Tripoli* from the knights of that order[o]. In the autumn, prince *Doria* returned to *Barcelona*, where he took on board the prince *Maximilian*, and his consort the infanta Donna *Maria*, whom he debarked at *Genoa*, from whence they continued their journey by land to *Flanders*[p].

1551. Before the close of the year the war was become general; and though at first the pope took part with the emperor in *Italy*, yet he quickly made peace with the king of *France*, who, furnishing the *German* princes with money, rekindled the flame of war in the empire, and, seizing the *Flemish* vessels that fell into his power, left the emperor no room to doubt that he would find himself attacked on all sides; for which, though he was now grown in years, and found the weight of them doubled by his infirmities, he prepared with great constancy and vigour, and formed new projects for extricating himself out of those new difficulties, with which he found himself more pressed than he had hitherto been during the whole course of his reign[q].

Compelled to make his escape from Inspruck *in the night.*

AT the opening of the ensuing year the emperor met with the greatest and most unexpected reverse of fortune that befel him in his whole reign; for prince *Maurice* of *Saxony*, who owed his electorate to his favour, having, in conjunction with other protestant princes, assembled a good army, suddenly possessed themselves of *Augsburgh*, and other places, reduced *Clausen*, which was thought impregnable, and marched with such diligence to seize *Inspruck*, where the emperor then was, that, if he had not withdrawn in the night, leaving behind him the best part of his wardrobe and baggage, which were pillaged the next day, they had made themselves masters of his person[r]. He retired into *Carinthia*, where he received deputies from the republic of *Venice*, who with great respect offered him all the service in their power. As the state was then arming with great vivacity, the emperor, who began to be jealous of every body, demanded the reason of this from the senate; who informed

[m] Mezeray, Cantemir, Vera y Figueroa. [n] Sandoval, Sandoval, Pontzrao. [o] Pedro de Salazar, Ochoa. [p] Sandoval. [q] P. Daniel, Rainald. [r] Alphonso Ulloa.

him,

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him, it was their custom to put their dominions in a posture of defence when armies were near them, though they had no share in the quarrel; but that his imperial majesty need be in no pain on that head, since the troops they had, and the troops they were raising, were intirely at his devotion, and he might employ them as he thought proper. This well-timed compliment had a good effect, and recovered his spirits; and when he saw that the old elector *John Frederic* of *Saxony*, whom in this confusion he released from a long imprisonment, refused to quit his person, and gave the highest marks of unshaken fidelity, he laboured to restore his affairs, and consented to the pacification of *Passau*, which afforded him time to take his measures [s]. He sent immediately to his son prince *Philip* for men and money, and dispatched *Andrew Doria* with his gallies to bring both. The prince Don *Philip* executed his father's orders with such diligence, that the supplies were ready when the gallies arrived, so that the emperor was quickly in a condition to protect his *Italian* dominions [t]. However, the prince of *Salerno*, to revenge himself for some real or pretended affront that he had received from Don *Pedro de Toledo*, viceroy of *Naples*, went over to the *French*, and, besides a large pension, was declared general of the gallies which were to be sent into the *Mediterranean* [u]. The *Turks* had sent *Dragut*, with a very powerful fleet, to act against the emperor, and he sacked many places in the island of *Sicily*: from the middle of *July* to the beginning of *August* he appeared daily before *Naples*, which threw that city into vast confusion, till at length *Andrew Doria* arrived with the Christian fleet, and, to put an end to these terrors, engaged 1552.
the infidels: but, for the first time, he was completely beaten, with the loss of six gallies and seven hundred *Germans*, with several officers of distinction on board; upon which, with the shattered remains of his fleet, he retired to *Sardinia* [w].

An accident saves the kingdom of Naples *from being over-run by the* Turks.

The consequences of this misfortune might have been terrible, if, by an unforeseen accident, they had not been prevented. *Charles Mermila*, a *Neapolitan* exile, who had fled for shelter into *France*, was intrusted by king *Henry* with an important message to *Dragut*. This man, coming to *Rome*, discovered himself to cardinal *Mendoza*, to whom he offered, if the emperor would pardon him, and furnish

[s] Justiniani Sandoval, Ochoa, Alphonso Ulloa. [t] Adriani, Ferreras. [u] P. Daniel, Mezeray. [w] Pedro de Salazar, Sagredo, Cantemir.

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him with a large sum of money, to deliver his country from the impending danger. The bargain was quickly made; and *Mermila*, going very secretly to *Dragut*, instead of informing him, as he was commanded, that the *French* gallies were coming to join him, assured him, in the name of king *Henry*, that he was unable to act in concert with him that year, but had sent him two hundred thousand ducats towards the expences of the next; which *Dragut* believing, returned immediately towards *Constantinople*[x]. A few days after arrived the prince of *Salerno* with the *French* fleet, who, finding that the infidels were retired, followed, in order to bring them back, which design carried him likewise to *Constantinople*, so that the emperor's dominions on this side were free for that year. The emperor, in the mean while, having drawn together a potent army, marched to *Inspruck*, and from thence to *Germany*, directing his march towards the *Low Countries*. The design of this expedition was to recover *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, which the *French* king had surprised during the troubles; but, not arriving till it was late in the year, his design in a great measure miscarried, which, with the insurrection of the city of *Sienna* in *Italy*, in favour of the *French*, renewed his chagrin, and induced him to question that good fortune upon which he had formerly so much relied. The prince Don *Philip* procured from the states of the respective kingdoms in *Spain* very large supplies; and, having received his father's consent, concluded the marriage of his sister the infanta Donna *Joanna*, with the prince of *Portugal*[y].

The war between the imperialists and French *carried on with vigour.*

THE distracted state of affairs, the many enemies they had to deal with, and the repeated demands of his father for supplies of money, embarrassed the prince Don *Philip*, notwithstanding the vast sums he had drawn by repeated free gifts from the states, and obliged him to entertain a project, which, if carried into execution, must have been at the expence of the church; but the *Spanish* clergy first exposed it so effectually in writing, and opposed it afterwards with such steadiness, that the prince thought fit to desist[z]. In *Italy* the imperialists bent their whole force to the reduction of *Sienna*; but the subjects of that little republic, being most of them rich, enlisted so many foreigners in their service, and exerted themselves with such spirit and intrepidity, that, though much blood was spilt, there was not much

[x] SANDOVAL, PEDRO DE SALAZAR, FERRERAS. [y] OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA, GOES. [z] PEDRO MEXIA.

gained

gained [a]. In the mean time *Dragut* and the prince of *Salerno* arrived on the coast of *Sicily* with a numerous fleet, where they burnt and destroyed many places on the coast, carrying many of the inhabitants into slavery. Their fortune was different when they came to attack *Naples*; for the viceroy Don *Pedro de Toledo*, having had time to prepare for their reception, posted several corps of troops so judiciously along the coasts, that, in several descents they made, they were constrained to retire with loss. At length, by the per- 1553.
suasion of the prince of *Salerno*, they attacked the island of *Corsica*, and reduced it, except *Calvi* and *Bastia*, in which the *Genoese* had strong garrisons: the *Turks*, leaving this in the hands of their allies, returned with their vessels loaded with plunder, and crouded with slaves, to *Constantinople*. In the *Low Countries* the emperor carried on the war with vigour, and with success, as long as the season would permit [b]. In the winter he formed the project of marrying his son to queen *Mary* of *England*; tho' a very intelligent and accurate writer [c] acquaints us, that, old and gouty as he was, he was very desirous to have married her himself; but, perceiving that design could not be effected, he sent embassadors to propose her marriage with his son, and at the same time applied to the pope to use his influence in promoting this scheme, as the only effectual means for enabling *Mary* to execute her design of re-establishing popery in *England* [d].

AT the opening of the year died Don *Juan* prince of *Portugal*; and in a few days after his decease, which was concealed from his consort the infanta Donna *Joanna*, she was delivered of a son, who received the name of *Sebastian* on account of his being born upon the feast of that saint [e]. The treaty of marriage between the prince of *Spain* and the queen of *England* being concluded, he received the emperor's orders to prepare for his voyage for that kingdom, and to leave the administration of affairs in *Spain* to the princess dowager of *Portugal*, who, having obtained leave from her father-in-law, willingly accepted the charge [f]. The prince, before he embarked, settled the household of his son Don *Carlos*, and went to pay his devotions at the shrine of

The prince Don Philip *espouses* Mary *queen of* England, *and is declared king of* Naples.

[a] ADRIANI, ALPHONSO ULLOA, FERRERAS. [b] CANTEMIR, SACREDO, SANDOVAL. [c] PALLAVICINI, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, lib. xiii. cap. vi. [d] RAINALD, GODWIN's Life of Queen Mary. [e] GOES, OSORIO, FARIA Y SOUSA. [f] VERA Y FIGUEROA, GODWIN's Annals.

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St *James* of *Compostella* [g]. He sailed from *Corunna* with a very numerous fleet, attended by the principal nobility of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and arrived at *Southampton* on the nineteenth [h], or, as some writers say, on the twentieth of *July*. He sent from thence his favourite *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, with a present of jewels to the queen, of the value of one hundred thousand ducats. The marriage was celebrated on the feast of St. *James*, and, when their titles were proclaimed, those of *Naples* and *Sicily* were added in virtue of the emperor's resignation, which had been sent a little before [i].

1554. After the rejoicings for the marriage were over, most of the *Spanish* nobility returned; and the prince sent four thousand *Spanish* troops, that were on board his fleet, to his father in *France* [k]. In *Italy* the war was carried on with vigour by the duke of *Florence* or of *Tuscany*, against the *French*; but in the *Low Countries* the *French* king took several places, and wasted the country, notwithstanding the emperor had built two new fortresses, which he stiled *Charleroi* and *Philipville*; but the emperor, towards the close of the campaign, forced the king to raise the siege of *Renty*, and afterwards made an irruption into *Picardy* [l].

Charles takes a resolution of quitting the world, and resigns to his son.

THE vast extent of his dominions, and the multiplicity of affairs which occupied his attention, joined to a precarious state of health, had for some time rendered the emperor thoughtful and reserved. His melancholy was much increased by the news of his mother's death, which happened on the 12th of *April*, and which put him in mind that it was time for him to execute what he had formerly meditated, and even proposed to the queens of *Hungary* and *France*, which was an abdication and retreat [m]. The mortification that he daily met with contributed not a little to fix him in this disposition; the death of pope *Julius* the third, and of his successor *Marcellus* the second, who sat but three weeks, and the election of cardinal *Caraffa*, who assumed the name of *Paul* the fourth, afforded him much disquiet [n]. He laboured to live at least upon good terms with the last-mentioned pontiff; and, sacrificing his resentment against his nephew, who had deserted his service for that of the king of *France*, he did him the honour to nominate him to a hat, which he received with great expressions of gratitude, as his uncle bestowed it with all the exterior

[g] SANDOVAL, FERRERAS. [h] VERA Y FIGUEROA.
[i] RAPIN's History of England. [k] GODWIN's Annals.
[l] JUSTINIANI ADRIANI, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. [m] MATERNE TURQUET, MARIANA. [n] RAINALD.

signs

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signs of pleasure[o]; but in a short time after, this cardinal perſuaded the pope, who was very old and ſuſpicious, that the emperor deſigned to depoſe him; upon which, in violation of the law of nations, he ſeized the cardinal *Sforza*, the emperor's embaſſador, and ſent him to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*[p]. The civil and military affairs in his *Italian* dominions fell into ſuch confuſion, that he was compelled, in conjunction with his ſon, to name the duke of *Alba* to be vicar-general there, that he might reduce them into ſome order[q]. The *Turkiſh* fleet, at the ſolicitation of the *French*, came again upon the coaſts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, inſulted *Tuſcany*, and rode triumphant in the *Mediterranean*; while the *Algerine* corſairs made themſelves maſters of *Bugia* on the coaſt of *Africa*[r]. The congreſs that had been held at *Calais*, at the ſolicitation of his daughter the queen of *England*, proved abortive[s]: upon the whole, conſidering the perplexed ſtate of things, and his own declining condition, he ſent for his ſon Don *Philip* into *Flanders*, and, having firſt reſigned to him the grand maſterſhip of the order of the *Golden Fleece*, he, on the 25th of *October*, in a full 1555.
aſſembly of the ſtates at *Bruſſels*, in the preſence of the two queens his ſiſters, and of the duke of *Savoy*, made a full reſignation of all the hereditary dominions of the *Low Countries*, and of *Burgundy*, in favour of the king Don *Philip*[t], after having, in a long ſpeech, declared the motives to this reſolution, and recommended in the moſt pathetic terms the ſame fidelity and duty to his ſon which himſelf had experienced in the great officers of ſtate and nobility who were preſent; and this with ſuch dignity, and ſo becoming an eloquence, that the whole audience melted into tears. Don *Philip*, kneeling, kiſſed his hand, and made a ſhort ſpeech; after which, the emperor, being quite exhauſted with the fatigue of the ſolemnity, withdrew[w]. After this, king *Philip*, being perſuaded that the moſt Chriſtian king had ſincere intentions of peace, conſented to name commiſſioners to treat of a temporary truce, that might afford them leiſure to regulate the various points that were to be ſettled by it; and with this proſpect of tranquillity, which was very acceptable to all parties, this year concluded.

[o] Sandoval, Rainald. [p] Ferreras. [q] Justiniani Adriani, Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa. [r] Cantemir, P. Daniel. [s] Godwin's Annals. [t] Corps Univerſal Diplomatique, tom. iv. lib. iii. p. 99. [u] Alphonso Ulloa. [w] Vera y Figueroa, Luis Cabrera, Hiſtoria del Rey de Eſpana Don Phelippe II. fo. 1619. Mezeray.

According

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Disposes every thing for his voyage into Spain, *and embarks for* Zealand.

ACCORDING to the best lights that can be obtained from history, we may venture to affirm, that the emperor resigned all his *Spanish* dominions to his son in the month of *January*; but it is not easy, perhaps it is not practicable, to fix the day; *Ferreras* [x] says it was on the first, others [y] say the sixth, others the tenth, others the fifteenth; but *Sandoval* [z], who has printed the very act of abdication, shews us, that it was not signed till the sixteenth. As soon as it was known in *Spain*, measures were taken for proclaiming the new sovereign with all possible ceremony, that, as this was in all respects a new case, the people might entertain no doubts or difficulties about it [a]. Accordingly, at *Valladolid*, where the court then was, a kind of theatre was erected in the most public part of the city on the 28th of *March*, about five in the afternoon, to which the prince Don *Carlos*, the embassador of *Portugal*, the principal grandees, and the prelates, repaired [b]; and the voluntary resignation of his catholic majesty *Charles* the first being declared, the young prince, with the assistance of *Antonio de Roxas*, his governor, threw out the standard which he held till then wrapped up in his hand, crying out, "*Castile, Castile*, for the king Don *Philip* "our sovereign;" which standard was afterwards carried through the principal streets of the city [c]. The emperor remained, after his abdication, some months at *Brussels*; and, upon declaring his resolution to return into *Spain*, and there to pass the remainder of his days, the archduke *Maximilian* and the infanta Donna *Maria* came thither to take their leave of him [d]. After their departure, the emperor took leave of his son, and is said to have given him such observations upon government as his great abilities and long experience furnished [e]. He wrote also to *Mary* queen of *England*, to apologize for the absence of his son; and it is remarkable, that, in this letter, he tells her, that they could not either of them quit the *Low Countries* before, without running their affairs into confusion [f]. When he was informed that the fleet which was to escort him was assembled, he set out from *Brussels* for *Ghent*, where he was on the 26th of *August*, as appears by a rescript of his, directed to the bishop of *Osnabrug*, president of the imperial chamber at *Spire*, in which

[x] Historia general de Espana, P. xiij. sect. 8. [y] VERA Y FIGUEROA, HERRERA. [z] Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V. [a] ALPHONSO ULLOA, FERRERAS. [b] VERA Y FIGUEROA, [c] SANDOVAL, MARIANA. [d] PEDRO MEXIA, [e] SANDOVAL, FERR. [f] STRYPE's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 302.

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he informs him of his resignation in favour of his son, and of his intention to devolve the imperial authority on his brother *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*. He went from thence to *Sudbourg*, in the isle of *Zealand*, where, by a public edict, directed to the electors, and other princes of the empire, which in a great measure repeats the former, he commits the government of the empire to his brother *Ferdinand*; and directs that the same duty and obedience should be paid to him as to himself[h]; so that, notwithstanding what some historians have said, these are neither of them resignations. This last is dated on the 7th of *September*, and ten days after he embarked with his sisters, the queens of *Hungary* and *France*, for *Spain*; but was driven in his passage into an *English* port, from whence, on the 20th of the same month, he wrote to his daughter the queen of *England*[i], to excuse his son's stay, and his not making her a visit, which he ascribes to the bad state of his health, and to the advanced season of the year, which made it requisite for him to lose no time in pursuing his voyage; and it is probable he sailed again either on that day or the day following.

Retires to the convent of St. Justus in Estramadura, and remains to his decease.

He arrived safely at *Laredo* in *Biscay* on the 28th of the same month; and, after remaining there some days to recover the fatigue of the voyage, he set out for *Burgos*. There are some who pretend that he was mortified when he perceived that few of the nobility came to meet him, which, as it must be a conjecture, so, if we consider the character of this prince, we can scarce think it probable[k]. He had, upon mature reflection, preferred retirement at his age to the highest dignities; and this supposes that in a very short time he preferred a croud of courtiers, at least, if not flatterers, to that retirement he had sought. He went from thence to *Valladolid*, where he saw his grandson Don *Carlos*[l]; and from *Valladolid*, accompanied by the two queens his sisters, he set out upon a rainy day, which shews how desirous he was of getting thither, for the place he had chosen for his retreat. This was the monastery of St. *Justus*, belonging to the order of *Hieronymites*, next in authority to the *Carthusians*, seated in the *Vera de Placentia*, which all who have seen it describe as one of the sweetest and pleasantest places in *Europe*[m]. He resided in a little house built near the

[h] Corps Univ. Diplomat. tom. iv. P. i. p. 4. [i] Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 307. [k] Amelot de la Houssaye, Bayle, Varillas. [l] Sandoval, Ferreras. [m] Les Delices de l'Espagne, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys, p. 113.

convent,

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convent, employed himself in acts of piety and devotion, and practised for his amusement some of the mechanic arts [n]. It is certain that king *Philip* consulted him in the beginning of the ensuing year, by his favourite *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, upon the most proper methods of raising men and money in *Spain*, and upon the expediency of the prince Don *Carlos* passing into *Flanders*: as to the first part of his commission, he gave him the best council in his power, and dissuaded the last [o]. He did not actually resign the empire till the beginning of the year 1558, when the ensigns of the imperial dignity were sent to the diet by the prince of *Orange*, the vice-chancellor of the empire, and his secretary [p]. He was so desirous of fulfilling, in the most exact manner, the duties of that station which was the result of his own choice, that he would not permit the two queens to reside at *Placentia* as they would have done, that his meditations might be the less disturbed [q]. In this state he was found, but not surprised, by that death he had long expected, and to which he submitted with all exterior marks of humility, piety, and patience, on the 21st of *September* the same year, in the 59th year of his age [r]. Donna *Leonora*, queen dowager of *Portugal* and *France*, upon her return into *Castile* from a visit she had made her daughter in the first-mentioned kingdom, died, after a short illness, a few months before him [s]; Donna *Maria*, queen dowager of *Hungary*, within the compass of the same month [t]; and his daughter-in-law, queen *Mary* of *England*, within the space of two months [u].

Account of his legitimate and illegitimate offspring, and other particulars.

This great prince, by his empress Donna *Isabella* of *Portugal*, had many sons, none of which survived beyond the age of infancy, except his successor Don *Philip*, and two daughters, the infanta Donna *Maria*, who espoused the archduke *Maximilian*, son to *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, and who was himself afterwards emperor, and the infanta Donna *Joanna*, princess of *Portugal* [w]. As to his natural children, there are many doubts and disputes: he had by a *Dutch* lady a daughter *Margaret*, first married to *Cosmo de Medicis*, duke of *Florence*, and, after his demise, to *Octavio Farnese*, duke of *Parma*, by whom she was the mother of *Alexander Farnese*, one of the greatest captains of his age [x].

[n] Sandoval, Alphonso Ulloa, Ferreras. [o] Vera y Figueroa, Luis Cabrera. [p] Surius, Thuanus, Rainald. [q] Vera y Figueroa, & al. supra citat. [r] Mayerne Turquet, Mariana. [s] Osorio, Faria y Sousa. [t] Bayle. [u] Godwin's Annals. [w] Goes. [x] Sandoval, & al. ubi sup.

By

By another lady he had a ſon, who was the famous Don *Juan* of *Auſtria*, who was bred up by the emperor's faithful ſervant *Lewis Quixada*, without knowing who was his father, and who conſidered *Margaret Ulloa*, the wife of *Quixada*, as his mother [y]. At his departure from *Bruſſels*, it is ſaid the emperor acquainted Don *Philip*, that he had a brother, and where he was. Upon this diſcovery, Don *Juan* diſcerned, that the wife of *Quixada* was not his mother. He was afterwards told, that a *German* lady of *Ratiſbon*, *Barbara de Blomberg*, was his mother, and he thought her ſo to his death [z]. But ſome modern writers, upon the credit of the jeſuit *Strada*, have ſurmiſed, that his birth was not leſs illuſtrious on the ſide of his mother than his father, which, however favoured by great writers, is liable to many difficulties [a]. Thoſe who ſay that the emperor had another natural ſon, whoſe name was *Priam Conrad*, are miſtaken; he was the ſon of *Barbara Blomberg*, by her huſband, and therefore Don *Juan* conſidered him as his half-brother [b]. Some mention [c] another Don *Juan*, who died at ſeven years of age; but whether this be true or not, is ſcarce worth inquiry.

Reaſons for preſerving the hiſtory entire, and not intermixing it with his ſon's.

WITH regard to the character of this great prince, the reader will collect it from the facts that have been related. His own hiſtorians lift him too high; other writers have viſibly laboured to diminiſh his reputation, and laboured to little purpoſe [d]. There are few monarchs of whom more falſities have been related, and this from his firſt entrance on the government to his reſigning it; which many would make us believe was with a view to the papacy, a thing highly improbable, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with other reports of his dying in proteſtant ſentiments; which is not altogether unlikely, ſince the emperor was ſerious in his religious notions, and had converſed with divines who had embraced the Chriſtian faith as ſet forth in the Scriptures, and who ſuffered for that faith [e]. It is alſo ſaid, that he repented of his reſignation, as we have hinted already; but as there is no act of his mentioned to prove it, it is far from deſerving credit [f]. We have now conducted him from his retreat to

[y] BAYLE, SANDOVAL, FERRERAS. [z] LUIS CABRERA, MAYERNE TURQUET. [a] See the article of Don Juan of Auſtria in BAYLE. [b] See the article of Barbara Blomberg in BAYLE. [c] JACOBUS WIDHELMUS IMHOFIUS, Notitia Germaniæ Procerum, p. 2, edit. Tubing. 1693. [d] VARILLAS, MEZERAY. [e] BRANTOME, Capit. Etrangers, tom. i. p. 36. THUANUS AUBIGNE. [f] See the Preface to the French tranſlation of the ninth volume of FERRERAS.

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his tomb, and shall therefore proceed to the reign of his son Don *Philip*; having taken this method to render his history clear and connected in all its particulars, and to avoid breaking the thread of the ensuing narrative, by interspersing facts that would have been far less intelligible in that way than when the reader sees them, as he does here, all together.

SECT. XV.

The History of the Reign of Don Philip II.

The first act of Philip's *administration, the peace or truce with* France.

THE first thing done by Don *Philip* after his accession to the dominions of *Spain*, by the resignation of his father, was to satisfy the queen of *England*, his consort, and his subjects in general, by concluding a peace, and, when this was found impracticable, a truce, with the crown of *France* for five years, which was published at *Cambray* on the 4th of *February*, between the emperor and the two kings of *France* and *Spain*; the news of which was very acceptable every-where, except at *Rome* [a]. *Paul* IV. persisted in his aversion to the house of *Austria*, and, to gratify his resentment, shewed very little care either for what he did, or for what was said of his actions. His scheme was to deprive king *Philip* of the kingdom of *Naples*, to give it to a *French* prince, and, by the assistance of that crown, to make such other regulations in *Italy*, as might gratify his own inclinations, and the ambition of his family [b]. This truce, therefore, was very unwelcome to him, who was already in arms, and left the dominions of the church in a manner at the mercy of the duke of *Alba*, whom he endeavoured to amuse with propositions and treaties, but who was, of all men living, the least to be imposed upon by such artifices. In *Spain*, the nobility and people were inclined to carry on the war in *Africa* against the *Moors*, who, after taking from them *Bugia*, were disposed to strip them of the rest of their conquests; and it was to prevent this, that the *Spaniards* were for engaging in an offensive war, which *Philip* prevented, by sending them positive orders not to proceed therein till his arrival, which they very punctually obeyed [c].

1556.

[a] Luis Cabrera Historia del Rey de Espana, Don Phelippe II. fol. 1616. [b] Rainald, Ferreras. [c] Camp. Herrera, Luys de Marmol Description gen. de Africa, fol. 1599. Salazar, Ferreras.

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THE pope, having ſent his nephew cardinal *Caraffa* into *France*, engaged *Henry* the ſecond to conclude a ſecret league againſt the *Auſtrians*, in which the *Turk* was to have a ſhare, tho' that part of the ſcheme failed [d]. The duke of *Guiſe*, however, was ſent with a potent army to protect the city of *Rome* from being ſacked by the duke of *Alba*, as it had been by the duke of *Bourbon*; and, about the ſame time, the truce was violated by the admiral *Coligny*'s attempting to ſurpriſe *Doway*, in which he failed [e]. Upon this king *Philip* found himſelf under a neceſſity of renewing the war; and, at his requeſt, his conſort queen *Mary* prevailed upon her ſubjects to take part in the quarrel againſt *France*. Accordingly a conſiderable body of troops was ſent over, under the earl of *Pembroke*, to join the king's army, which, under *Philibert* duke of *Savoy*, and count *Egmont*, were employed in the ſiege of *St. Quintin* in *Picardy* [f]. The *French* army, under the command of the conſtable and marſhal *St. André*, marched towards *St. Quintin*, to cover a reinforcement they meant to throw into the place, which they effected; but, in their retreat, prince *Philibert* and the count of *Egmont* attacked and routed them intirely with great loſs. This action happened on the 10th of *Auguſt* [g], dedicated by the church of *Rome* to the honour of *St. Laurence* the martyr; and, four days after, the place was taken by ſtorm, the king having then joined the army, which ſtruck the *French* with ſuch conſternation, that they immediately ſent their fleet to *Civita Vecchia*, in order to bring over the duke of *Guiſe*'s army from *Italy*; ſo that the pope, finding himſelf abandoned, was conſtrained to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the duke of *Alba* thought fit to preſcribe, to receive him with great kindneſs and reſpect when he thought fit to make him a viſit in *Rome*, and to diſmiſs him with his bleſſing [h]. This year died the cardinal archbiſhop of *Toledo*; upon which the king Don *Philip* advanced to that ſee father *Bartolome de Carranza y Miranda*, a *Dominican* frier, who was conſtrained to accept of it againſt his will, and who was afterwards very cruelly treated by the inquiſition [i].

Pope Paul IV. *engages the* French *to violate that truce by ſallacious promiſes.*

1557.

[d] RAINALD, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS. [e] FRANCISCI HARÆI Annales Ducum Brabantiæ & utriuſque Belgii, fol. 1623. CAMPANA, THUANUS, MEZERAY, FERRERAS. [f] GODWIN's Annals, FERRERAS. [g] LAURENTII SURII Comm. Rerum in Orbe geſtarum, ab anno 1500 ad annum 1566. 8vo. 1566. [h] RAINALD, ILLESCAS, FERRERAS. [i] DIEGO DE CASTEJON Y FONSECA Primatia de la Santa Igleſia de Toledo, fol. 1625.

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The French beat at Gravelines by the assistance of the queen of England's fleet.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the duke of *Guise*, having surprised some of the adjacent fortresses, pursued the advantage he gained so well as to make himself master of *Calais*, and all its dependencies, by which the *English* being intirely driven out of *France*, a deep sense of the loss and disgrace so affected queen *Mary*, that it brought her to the grave [k]. The same duke, in the spring, attacked the strong fortress of *Thionville*, of which he made himself master: soon after which the marshal duke *de Termes* marched with a great body of forces from *Calais*, and, after sacking *Dunkirk*, advanced to *Gravelines*, where being attacked in front by the *Spanish* and *Flemish* horse, commanded by count *Egmont*, and taken in flank by the artillery of the *English* fleet, he was thoroughly beaten, and taken prisoner, with the loss of almost all the army that he commanded. In *Italy* [l], the duke of *Alba* being recalled, that his severity might not lose those countries, which by his great military skill had been defended, the *Turkish* fleet, under the command of the basha *Piala*, consisting of one hundred and thirty gallies, came in the month of *June*, and insulted the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and, having done what mischief they could, proceeded to *Corsica*, to join the *French*, who treated them that year as they had been treated by them the year before [m]. They sailed from thence to *Minorca*, where they took and plundered *Port Mahon*, and then, with a large booty and many slaves on board, returned to *Constantinople*. The *French* army under monsieur *de la Motte* gained some advantages in the beginning of the summer, but were afterwards beaten; and, about the approach of winter, the two crowns, being equally weary of the war, consented to a negotiation, and a suspension of arms, in order to the conclusion of a stable and solid peace [n].

1558.

Peace concluded by Philip *at* Chateau Cambresis, *in which the empire and* England *are abandoned.*

In the beginning of the year the peace was concluded at *Chateau Cambresis*, in which it was stipulated, that his catholic majesty should marry the princess *Elizabeth* of *France*, who, in the life-time of *Mary* of *England*, had been thought of for his son the prince Don *Carlos*. Madame *Margaret*, the *French* king's sister, was to marry the duke of *Savoy*, in consideration of which the *French* were to restore to him all his dominions. *Corsica* was to return to the *Genoese*; the *Spaniards* quitted all claim to *Burgundy*; and the *French* to

[k] Godwin's Annals. [l] Emanuel Meteren Histoire des Pays-Bas, depuis 1515 jusqu'en 1612, fol. 1618. [m] Campana. [n] Herrera.

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the *Milaneſe* and the kingdom of *Naples*. In this treaty *Philip* did not take proper care of his allies; for the empire loſt *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and the *Engliſh Calais*; though, to ſave appearances, it was ſtipulated that the *French* ſhould render it in eight years, if Q. *Elizabeth* did not furniſh them within that time with a pretence to keep it [o]. The duke of *Alba* was ſent to *Paris*, to eſpouſe the princeſs *Elizabeth* for the king; and the duke of *Savoy* went thither to wed the princeſs *Margaret* himſelf. The rejoicings for theſe marriages, and for the peace, were interrupted by the fatal accident of the *French* king's death, by a ſplinter of a lance that ſtruck him in the eye; which, however, had no influence on the treaty or the marriages [p]. King *Philip* haſtened his return to *Spain*, and left his ſiſter *Margaret*, princeſs of *Parma*, governeſs of the *Low Countries*, keeping her ſon prince *Alexander Farneſe* at *Madrid* by way of hoſtage, under colour of providing for his education. The king embarked in *Zealand* on the 20th of *Auguſt*, and arrived in *Biſcay* on the twenty-ninth [q]. He held ſoon after an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Caſtile* at *Toledo*, where, according to the deſire of his father, he acknowleged Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* for his brother; and is ſaid to have wept when he firſt ſaw him, becauſe of the ſtrong reſemblance he had to the emperor [r]. On the 4th of *October* the king was preſent at an act of faith, and, which is ſingular enough, he is highly commended by the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians for his want of humanity, and for his attributing to the goſpel of peace, cruelties that would have made *Mohammedans* tremble. But the inquiſition were reſolved to tear up what they ſtiled hereſy by the roots; and, having perſuaded the king to conſider this as a point of ſtate, they proceeded without mercy, and he, who ſhould have protected, was preſent, and looked on the ſlaughter of his ſubjects with pleaſure [s]. 1559.

THE princeſs *Elizabeth* of *France*, being conducted to the frontiers of that kingdom by the cardinal of *Bourbon* and the duke of *Vendoſme*, was received there by the cardinal archbiſhop of *Burgos* and the duke of *Infantada*, who conducted her to *Toledo*, where the marriage was celebrated with great pomp on the 2d of *February* [t]. In the aſſembly of the ſtates held ſoon after, the prince Don *Carlos* was acknowleged ſucceſſor, and ſworn to by all who were preſent [u]. The knights *The duke de Medina Celi, with the Spaniſh fleet, beat by the Turks.*

[o] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. v. part i. p. 34. [p] CABRERA. [q] EMANUEL METEREN. [r] HERRERA. [s] SALAZAR DE MENDOZA. [t] THUANUS. [u] HERRERA.

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of *Malta* having solicited the king very earnestly to recover *Tripoli* out of the hands of the infidels, the command of that expedition was committed to the duke of *Medina Celi*, viceroy of the *Sicilies*, who assembled for that purpose a numerous army and a strong fleet. He was assisted also by *Doria*, by the pope, and other princes and states of *Italy*, and was very successful at the beginning, making himself
1560. master of the island of *Gerbes*. While he remained there with his fleet, he was surprised by the basha *Piali*, with the whole force of the *Ottoman* empire under his command, which threw the Christians into such a panic, that they might with greater propriety be said to be destroyed than defeated. The duke himself escaped with great difficulty; his son, with several other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners, together with twenty gallies, and at least as many were sunk, with all who were on board them. Soon after the fortress and island of *Gerbes* were likewise reduced [w]. The king Don *Philip* was extremely affected by this misfortune, and immediately demanded from the new pope, *Pius* the fourth, the necessary powers for raising money on the clergy. *Antony* of *Bourbon*, duke of *Vendosme*, endeavoured to engage the pope to procure from his catholic majesty the restitution of the kingdom of *Navarre*, which he claimed in right of the family of *Albret*, but without effect; tho' it is said *Philip* was not extremely well satisfied with his own title to that kingdom [x]. The city of *Toledo* appearing to the king less convenient for the residence of his court than that of *Madrid*, he removed thither this year, and began to lay out those improvements which have since rendered it the capital of *Spain* [y]. The persecution against the protestants was still carried on with unrelenting severity, and, on the 22d of *December*, there was an act of faith held at *Seville*, in which some were put to death, and many were condemned to grievous punishments, of which perpetual imprisonment was amongst the mildest [z].

Don Carlos prince of Spain in great

THE king, sensible of that insolence which prosperity always inspires, more especially amongst the *Turks*, gave orders for building gallies in all the ports on the coasts of *Catalonia*, *Valentia*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and directed such precau-

[w] GIACOMO BOSIO Hist. dell' Origine de San Giovanni Gierosolimitana, fol. 1594. [x] RAINALD. [y] CEPEDA.
[z] Annales Eccleſiasticos y Seglares de la Ciudad de Seville desde el ano 1246, en que fue conquistada del Poder de los Moros, hasta el de 1671, por Don Diego Ortiz de Zuniga, fol. Madrid 1677.

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tions to be taken for the protection of all the maritime parts of his dominions as preserved them from any insult. The jealousies and heart-burnings, that afterwards produced such terrible consequences in the *Low Countries*, began about this time, not through any fault in the duchess of *Parma*, but from the rigour and haughtiness of the bishop of *Mechlin*, so well known to the world by the title he acquired next year of cardinal *Granvelle* [a]. The great danger that *Spain* was in of being attacked by the infidels, and the repeated intelligence which the court received that the *Moresco*es in the kingdom of *Granada* held secret correspondence with the *Moors* in *Barbary*, induced the king to cause them all to be disarmed; which was done with great dexterity and address, but at the same time it so terrified those poor people, that it has been thought the most probable cause of their subsequent insurrection; from whence it appeared of how much greater consequence it would have been to have left their arms, and by good treatment have taken away their disaffection [b]. The *Moors* threatening *Oran* with a siege, the king ordered Don *Juan de Mendoza* to sail from *Malaga* with a squadron of twenty-four gallies, with a body of troops on board, for that fortress; but they met with such a storm at sea, that twenty-two gallies, four thousand men, and amongst them the general himself, and several other persons of quality, were lost [c]. The emperor *Ferdinand*, making peace about this time with the grand signior, obtained the liberty of the *Spanish* noblemen, who were made prisoners in the fight at sea before-mentioned, except Don *Gaston de la Cerda*, son to the duke of *Medina Celi*, who died at *Constantinople* [d]. This year an accident befell the prince Don *Carlos*, which was very near being fatal to him. The king had sent him, together with his brother Don *Juan* of *Austria*, and his nephew prince *Alexander* of *Farnese*, to the university of *Alcala de Henares*, to pursue their studies. The prince, who was then about seventeen, and very sprightly and active, unluckily tumbled down stairs, by which he received such a blow on the head, that for some time he scarce gave any signs of life, but by degrees came to himself, and continued for some days tolerably well, when on a sudden he was attacked by a fever, attended with such violent symptoms, that the physicians acquainted the king that his life was in the utmost danger, who thereupon immediately repaired to *Alcala*, where

danger of death from a fall down stairs. 1561.

1562.

[a] CABRERA. [b] Historia de la Rebellion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada, por Luys de Marmol Carvajal, fol. 1600. [c] FERRERAS. [d] SALAZAR, MARMOL.

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he shewed the utmost tenderness and concern for the prince, who is said to have recovered, when at the very point of death, by laying his hand upon the head of a dead monk, afterwards highly revered in *Spain* by the name of *St. Diego*[e].

The king builds the stately and splendid edifice of the Escurial.

In the spring of the ensuing year, the king Don *Philip*, after having maturely considered the plan offered him by *Juan Baptista de Toledo*, for building a most magnificent edifice, or rather a group of elegant and magnificent structures, made choice of a great extent of rough, barren, and heathy country, at a small distance from the village of *Escurial*, which lies about seven leagues from *Madrid*, where the first stone of the monastery was laid with great solemnity on the 23d of *April*; and, on the 20th of *August* following, the first stone of the church was likewise laid with equal solemnity, and dedicated to the honour of the holy martyr *St. Laurence*, who is said to have been broiled alive at *Rome* in the third century[f]. The best *Spanish* authors say, that in this the king executed the will of his father, who was very desirous of erecting a monastery for the burial-place of himself and his family, worthy of those vast dominions over which they ruled while living; and, as a proof of this, they allege the placing *Geronymites* in the monastery; but at the same time it is agreed, that the dedication of the church, and indeed the whole form of the structure, which is that of a grid-iron, is to be referred to the victory of *St. Quintin*, which was gained upon the feast of *St. Laurence*[g]. In the spring, the project of *Hassan*, the son of *Barbarossa* king of *Algiers*, for the recovery of *Oran* and *Mazalquivir* out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, began to discover itself. He had formerly treated with his catholic majesty, of which, as they had some suspicion at *Constantinople*, he framed this design to recover his credit, and employed in it the whole force of the infidels in *Africa*, as well as a great naval armament, which was furnished by the grand signior.

Hassan king of Algiers *besieges the fortresses of* Oran *and* Mazalquivir.

About the middle of *March* he took the field with a numerous army, invested both fortresses, and so stationed his squadrons, that they could obtain little or no relief by sea. The count *de Alcaudete* commanded in *Oran*, and his brother Don *Martin de Cordova* in *Mazalquivir*, who having an intire affection for, and perfect confidence in, each other, made all the necessary dispositions for a long and gallant de-

[e] Francois de Pena dans le Vie de St. Diegue, liv. ii.
[f] Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo, por Fray Joseph de Siguenca de la mismen Orden, fol. 1613. [g] Herrera.

fence,

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ence, for which, by their having very numerous garrisons, they were the better enabled. As there were many strong forts and outworks detached from the body of both places, the two brothers took care to put these in the best state of defence possible, because they might be defended with a small force, and their garrisons frequently changed. This had a good effect; for tho', in *Oran* and *Mazalquivir*, the allowance of provisions was very sparing, yet, in the forts, the soldiers were allowed to fare well; and when they were either wounded or fatigued beyond measure, the garrison was changed. By these methods the *Turks* suffered extremely, and paid very dear for every yard of ground they gained; but at length they came to attack *Mazalquivir* by sea, and notwithstanding they were repulsed in several general assaults, as they persisted obstinately in the pursuit of their point, the place had been probably taken, if the Christian fleet had not arrived, under the command of Don *Francisco de Mendoza*, upon which king *Hassan* was obliged to retire, after a fruitless siege of three months. The king immediately declared the count *de Alcandete* viceroy of *Navarre*, and gave his brother Don *Martin de Cordova*, and all the officers who commanded under them, particular marks of his favour[h]. This war engaged the king to cause the *Moors* of *Valentia* to be disarmed, which was done throughout that kingdom in a single hour, and six thousand sabres, that were taken from them, sent to the militia in the island of *Sardinia*[i]. The king made a tour in the winter to *Saragossa*, where he was 1563.
treated with great splendor and magnificence; however, being informed that great acts of injustice were committed by magistrates, and other persons in power, upon the lower sort of people, he caused many to be put to death, and their estates being confiscated, he made full restitution out of them to all who had been injured. He went from thence to *Monçon*, where he held the states of *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, where he obtained very liberal supplies, and immediately issued his orders for assembling a very numerous fleet in the spring, as well as for finishing all the gallies upon the stocks[k]. The king, still neglecting to recall cardinal *Granvelle*, the troubles in the *Low Countries* daily increased. The council of *Trent* being closed this year, the *Spanish* prelates and divines, who had assisted there, returned home[l], and

[h] Pierre de Salazar. [i] Gaspar Escolano Hist. de la Ciudad y Reyno de Valentia. [k] Cabrera. [l] Ferreras.

the king, who had been the principal support of that council, received them with much respect.

Don Garcias de Toledo *attacks and reduces the castle of* Penon de Velez.

As the king had been informed that some of his subjects in *America* were apprehensive that they might some time or other be divided from *Castile*, he caused a solemn instrument to be drawn up, by which all the countries the *Spaniards* possessed, or which might be conquered by them, in that part of the world, were irrevocably annexed to that crown; for the due performance of which he, for himself, his heirs and successors, pledged his royal faith to them and their posterity; which act was transmitted thither for their satisfaction [m]. As the succession depended at this time solely on the life of the prince Don *Carlos*, the king sent for his nephews the archdukes *Rodolph* and *Ernest*, the sons of *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, who soon after became emperor, and received them with great kindness and affection. The vast preparations that had been made, as well in *Italy* as in *Spain*, for assembling a great naval power, were in some measure relaxed, upon the king's having certain intelligence that the *Turks* had laid aside their design of sending their fleet into the *Mediterranean*; but, however, as the expence had been very great, as many gallies were assembled at *Carthagena*, and as the squadrons of *Portugal* and *Malta* were arrived, it was determined to employ them. The king judged no expedition so proper for that purpose as the reduction of *Penon de Velez*, a fortress which the *Moors* had recovered out of the hands of the Christians, and under the cannon of which their corsairs took protection whenever they were chased by the gallies of *Spain*. There had been an attempt made upon the place the year before, but without effect, chiefly through a misunderstanding amongst the general officers employed in that service. The command was now given to Don *Garcia Toledo*, viceroy of *Sicily*, who, with a numerous army and a potent fleet, sailed in order to execute his master's orders. Notwithstanding the place was very strong from situation, as well as the effects of art, covered by several good forts, and defended by a numerous garrison,
1564. it was, after a very gallant defence, abandoned by the infidels, and, the *Spanish* troops taking possession of it, was fortified in a better manner, and rendered much stronger, than before [n]. The king ordered the decrees of the council of

[m] Campana. [n] Mambrino Roseo Compendio della Storia dal Regno di Napoli, parte secunda, che seguita la parte prima del Collenuccio, con le Annotazioni di Tomaso Costo, e vol Libro settimo di Colonello Pacca, 4to, 1613.

Trent

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Trent to be publiſhed, enforced, and obeyed, throughout all his dominions. It was this that determined the inhabitants of the *Low Countries* to defend liberty of conſcience by the ſword, and to prevent the introduction of the inquiſition amongſt them; and they began to diſpoſe every thing for throwing off the yoke of *Spain*, notwithſtanding the king had at length, to comply with their deſires, made uſe of an honourable pretence to remove cardinal *Granvelle*; a condeſcenſion that, two years before, might have reſtored the public tranquillity [o], but was then conſidered as a teſtimony that the king ſaw he had been in the wrong.

THE corſairs of *Barbary*, notwithſtanding their loſs at *Peñon de Velez*, continued ſtill to diſturb the commerce, and to make frequent deſcents upon the coaſt of *Spain*, which it was impoſſible for the king's ſquadrons to prevent, as they committed theſe depredations in light ſhips, and by ſurpriſe. However, the king recollecting the advice given him by Don *Garcia de Toledo*, reſolved to ſend a ſquadron, with a certain number of veſſels filled with ſtone and bitumen, to block up and ſpoil the mouth of the river of *Tetuan*, to which theſe pirates commonly reſorted. This meaſure, as it was wiſely contrived, was very happily executed, to the great ſatisfaction of the king and benefit of his ſubjects. But it was not long before both he and they were alarmed with certain intelligence that the *Turks* were arming with incredible diligence, and that they would ſpeedily put to ſea a greater fleet than any that had yet appeared. On this, proper precautions were taken for the ſecurity of the *Spaniſh* coaſts, more eſpecially thoſe of *Catalonia* and *Valentia*, for the protection of *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, for putting *Sicily* and *Naples* in a proper condition of defence, and for aſſembling the gallies of *Genoa*, *Tuſcany*, and the other *Italian* ſtates, to be employed as occaſion might require [p]. The *French* monarch *Charles* IX. and his mother, having demanded an interview with his catholic majeſty at *Bayonne*, he excuſed himſelf, and ſent the queen Donna *Iſabella* to confer with her mother and brother, attended by the duke of *Alba*, and ſome other perſons of great quality; and in theſe conferences, which laſted about three weeks, it is ſaid that various reſolutions were taken for extinguiſhing hereſy, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, for the extirpation of thoſe whom they ſtiled heretics [q]. The king likewiſe cauſed ſeveral pro-

Interview at Bayonne between the queen of Spain, her mother, and brother.

[o] ANTONIO CARNERO Hiſtoria de las Guerras Civiles que ha avido en los Eſtados de Flandres, fol. 1625. [p] CABRERA.
[q] DUPLEIX, THUANUS.

vincial

1565. vincial councils to be held in his dominions, in which the decrees of the assembly of *Trent* were received; and tho' one would have imagined this must have been very acceptable at *Rome*, yet it happened quite otherwise; for *Pius* IV. observing that all this was done by virtue of the royal prerogative, and without so much as mentioning his holiness's name, he was extremely offended at it.

The grand signior causes the island of Malta *to be invaded by* Sinan *basha.*

In the mean time, certain advice was received, that this prodigious armament of the *Turks* was intended against *Malta*, which induced the grand master *Jean de Valette* to demand the assistance of all the Christian powers. Don *Garcia de Toledo*, viceroy of *Sicily*, went thither immediately with a squadron of twenty-eight gallies, in order to give the best advice and assistance in his power. He found all things in a much better state than he expected, and the grand master at the head of five hundred knights, and four thousand regular troops besides, exclusive of two thousand five hundred domestics, capable of bearing arms. He left with him his natural son Don *Frederic*, with a hundred *Spanish* volunteers; and having furnished him with ammunition and provisions, and promised him all the succours in his power, he returned to *Sicily* towards the end of *April*. On the 18th of *May*, the *Turkish* fleet, commanded by *Piali* basha, consisting of upwards of three hundred sail, appeared in sight, and debarked soon after an army of forty-five thousand men, under the command of *Mustapha* basha. As the *Turkish* generals are almost always responsible for the success of the expeditions in which they are employed, they pushed their military operations with prodigious obstinacy, notwithstanding the great and continual losses they sustained, which, however, were as regularly supplied by continual reinforcements. While things were in this situation, a vast naval force was assembled in *Sicily*, where, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the grand master, the viceroy Don *Garcia* delayed their departure, which occasioned much discontent in *John Andrew Doria*, and other principal officers; but the viceroy considered, that, if the expedition miscarried, it must be fatal to *Malta*, and might be so to *Naples* and *Sicily*. At length, however, taking his measures from his own intelligence, he sailed with a fleet of seventy gallies, and, on the 6th of *September*, landed 12,000 *Spanish* and *Italian* foot without any interruption, and returned safe with his fleet to *Sicily*[r].

[r] Gonzales de Illescas Historia Pontifical. Raynald, Ferreras.

The

THE *Turks*, as soon as they knew that the succours were landed, raised the siege, embarked their artillery, and would have put their troops on board, but that *Piali* basha persuaded *Mustapha* to attack the Christians in their camp, which he did, and was very soundly beat; upon which he retired to the fleet, and the *Turks* quitted the island with much precipitation [s]. The viceroy of *Sicily* returned with his fleet, and pursued them, but with no great effect; after which he reimbarked the forces, and carried them back to *Sicily*. This war produced some very singular consequences in *Spain*, where Don *Juan* of *Austria* made his escape from court, with a sincere intention of going to *Malta*, to signalize himself against the infidels; but, over-heating himself in his journey, fell sick of a fever in *Arragon*, where he received the king's orders to return, which he was forced to obey [t]. The prince Don *Carlos* was inclined to take the same step, but in appearance only; for, in reality, he meant to go to *Flanders*, being upon bad terms with his father. By a strange infatuation, the person he trusted was *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, the king's favourite, who cheated him with a false letter from the viceroy of *Naples*, importing that *Malta* was relieved; upon which he laid aside his journey, and then, as is generally supposed, revealed it to his father [u]. This year prince *Alexander Farnese* was sent by the king to his mother in *Flanders*, after procuring for him Donna *Maria*, the daughter of the infant Don *Edward* of *Portugal*, in marriage; and Don *Antonio*, who afterwards took the title of king of *Portugal*, being at this time upon bad terms with the regency, retired to *Madrid*, and was kindly received by king *Philip* [w].

Relieved by succours from Sicily, by whom the Turks are defeated in battle.

TOWARDS the close of the preceding year, pope *Pius* the fourth, had sent a cardinal, with the title of his legate, accompanied by two commissaries, to inquire into the reasons which had induced the inquisition to seize and imprison the archbishop of *Toledo*; but the death of the pope obliged the cardinal legate to return, and put an end to the commission. The king was in hopes that the cardinal of *Alexandria*, who, upon his accession to the papal throne, assumed the name of *Pius* V. might have been prevailed upon to act in a different manner from his predecessor; but it proved otherwise; for he not only renewed the commission, but likewise ordered that the archbishop should be sent to *Rome*, with all the original

Intrigues of Don Carlos with the malecontents in the Low Countries discovered.

[s] GIACOMO BOSIO. [t] LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN Y LEON Historia del Don Juan de Austria, 4to, 1627. [u] CABRERA. [w] FARIA Y SOUSA.

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ginal pieces that regarded his proceſs, which the inquiſition at firſt endeavoured to avoid, but with which at length they were obliged to comply [x]. King *Philip*'s intelligence, tho' it was generally pretty good, failed him this year, in regard to the motions of the *Turks*, who, he was brought to believe, would employ their whole ſtrength in a land-war againſt *Hungary*. This kingdom they attacked indeed with a numerous army, but at the ſame time they diſpatched *Piali* baſha, with a ſtrong fleet, to plunder the coaſt of *Naples*, which he performed ſo effectually, that, after loading his gallies as deep as they would ſwim with booty and ſlaves, he was conſtrained to leave much that he had taken behind, having intelligence that Don *Garcia de Toledo* was at ſea with a fleet to attack him [y]. His catholic majeſty, at the ſollicitation of the grand maſter, reſolved to be at the expence of building a new fortreſs to cover the capital of that iſland; and having ſent an engineer, with a ſufficient number of workmen for that purpoſe, agreed to furniſh the value of ten thouſand ducats in military ſtores, proviſions to the ſame value, and the like ſum in ready money annually, till it ſhould be com-
1566. pletely finiſhed [z]. On the 11th of *Auguſt* the queen Donna *Iſabella* was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized by the pope's nuncio, and had the name given her of *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak frequently [a]. The prince Don *Carlos* was one of the ſponſors at this ceremony, though the king had diſcovered his intrigues with Mr. *Montigny*, one of the deputies from the malecontents in the *Low Countries*, by whom he was ſolicited to go thither; for which that unfortunate gentleman was ſent priſoner to the caſtle of *Segovia*, and, upon his attempting to make his eſcape from thence, was transferred to *Medina del Campo*, where, with ſome of his friends, who had accompanied him to *Spain*, he loſt his life upon a ſcaffold. Not long after, a reſolution was taken to ſend the duke of *Alba* to ſupport the inquiſition, and compel the *Flemings* to remain good catholics by a military force, tho' ſome of the council adviſed that the king ſhould go thither in perſon; and perhaps his affairs would have taken a better turn, if he had yielded to this advice [b].

The archbiſhop of Granada.

Don *Pedro Guerrero*, archbiſhop of *Granada*, having made a tour to *Rome*, to viſit the new pope, acquainted him with the ſtrong ſuſpicions he had that the *Moreſcoes* in his dioceſe

[x] Herrera. [y] Mambrino Roseo. [z] Giacomo Bosio. [a] Diego de Colmenares Hiſtoria de la Ciudad de Segovia, fol. 1637. [b] Ferreras.

were

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were few or none of them Christians in their hearts; that, though they were baptized, he was informed they afterwards washed their children's faces with hot water, as a token of their intention to efface that sacrament; that, after they were married according to their usual form in the churches, they espoused their wives privately at home after the manner of the *Moors*; that they pursued the same conduct in other respects, received privately their countrymen from *Africa*, gave them intelligence prejudicial to the Christians, and frequently stole their neighbours children, whom they sold to these corsairs, who carried them into *Barbary*, circumcised, and brought them up *Mohammedans*, with much more to the same purpose; upon which informations, the zealous pope wrote in very strong terms to king *Philip*, to stir him up against these poor people, and to raise a new flame about religion in *Spain*, at a time when he was already sufficiently embarrassed by pursuing this conduct in the *Low Countries*. If this conduct was strange in the pope, it was still stranger in the king, who took his advice, and sent express orders into the kingdom of *Granada* to oblige the *Moriscoes* to change their habit, their manners, and their language, all at once. *Mondejar*, who was captain-general of that province, and others of his principal officers, remonstrated strongly in favour of those poor people, and declared their unwillingness to attempt the execution of a scheme equally unreasonable and impracticable, which looked as if they had a design to drive them first into despair, and then into rebellion [c]. The *Moors* themselves also, by their deputies, represented with great humility the sad situation they were in; and with much modesty, but by clear and strong arguments, as the best *Spanish* historians admit, refuted the principal points of accusation that had been urged against them. But it was to little or no effect, except procuring a small respite; for the king gave express orders, even to those who had most strongly opposed this measure, to take their instructions from the resident *Spinosa*, a man who, in point of inflexibility, did not yield at all to the duke of *Alba* himself; and we shall quickly see what this produced.

stirs up a persecution against the Moriscoes.

THE king ordered a fleet to be assembled at *Corunna*, and it was certainly given out, at least if not intended, that he would go in person to the *Low Countries*. An author of great reputation [d] assures us, that permission was asked from *Charles* IX. to debark the *Spanish* troops at *Frejus*, and so to march them by land into *Burgundy*; but the king found a

Duke of Alba goes into the Low Countries, and

[c] LUYS DE MARMOL, CARVAJAL. [d] THUANUS.

civil

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the princess Margaret *resigns the government.*

civil pretence for declining what it was not either his interest or his inclination to grant. When the duke of *Alba* came to take his leave of the prince Don *Carlos*, in order to go to *Flanders*, the young man threw himself into a violent passion, told him he meant to go thither himself; that the army should have no other chief; and that he should not presume to go thither on pain of his high displeasure. The duke of *Alba* answered with great respect, that, at this time, those countries were in the utmost confusion; that he went to settle tranquillity; that the prince would bestow that time in preserving a life infinitely precious to *Spain*; and that when all troubles were composed, he might visit the *Low Countries* without danger, and be the distributer of those favours which his father might think fit to bestow on such as he desired either to reward or to reclaim. He added, that, at all events, it was his own duty to obey the king's orders, which he hoped his highness would not take amiss. The prince immediately drew his dagger in great passion, and would have killed him; but the duke seized him by the arms, cried out for help, and, as soon as some of the courtiers entered, withdrew, and informed the king of this strange event, which, without question, gave him great displeasure[e]. The

1567. duke of *Alba* landing at *Nice*, passed into *Lombardy*, and put himself at the head of the *Spanish* army, which, though not very numerous, was composed of such good troops, and the duke's military reputation was then at such a height, that some of the greatest powers in *Europe* were alarmed. The *Swiss* were apprehensive, that, in compliment to the pope, the duke would have taken *Geneva* in his passage; and therefore they thought fit to arm by way of precaution. The protestants in *France* had their fears; but the duke executed his commission punctually, and, having conducted the army into the county of *Burgundy*, proceeded from thence into *Flanders*, where having caused the counts of *Egmont* and *Horn* to be arrested as they came from council, he directed a citadel to be built at *Antwerp*. As he paid little or no regard to the princess *Margaret*, she very prudently resigned the title of governess, and retired into *Italy*, leaving the duke to reap all the fruits and all the glory of his own measures[f]. Measures which had one good effect, that they served to establish the *Dutch* republic.

[e] Cabrera, Ferreras.

[f] Herrera, Cabrera, Strada Famiani Strada de Bello Belgico. Meteren, Ferreras.

The

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THE unfortunate prince Don *Carlos* of *Spain* seemed to be intent upon accomplishing his own undoing. He had the misfortune to be deformed in his person, and to have a weakness in one of his legs; circumstances which occasioned more than ordinary indulgence to be shewn him in his infancy; and this, if it did not excite, at least strengthened, bad habits. He was hasty and passionate, and, which rarely happens in the same person, he was obstinate and sullen, very apt to take offence, and implacable in his aversions; which very probably was the occasion of his distractions; for as he did not conceal his resentment, so some of the greatest persons about the court were the objects of it, and therefore little inclined to conceal or to excuse his errors. The president *Spinosa*, Don *Ruy Gomez*, prince of *Eboli*, and the king's favourite, were of this number; and Don *Garcia Toledo*, his governor, who had a sincere affection for him, taking the liberty, as they were riding together in a wood, to expostulate with him upon his ill conduct, the prince suddenly attempted to kill him; upon which he immediately set spurs to his horse, and fled to *Madrid* [g]. The prince was desirous of marrying his cousin the archduchess *Anne* of *Austria*, which was likewise very acceptable to the emperor; but as the king made no great haste in the negotiation, he conceived in his own mind that the king thought him unfit to be married, and incapable of the succession; upon this he took a resolution of flying into *Germany*, and wrote letters to most of the nobility, desiring their assistance in a certain great affair; which they promised him, provided it was not against his father, and furnished him with a very large sum of money. He then broke the matter to Don *John* of *Austria*, and pressed him to concur in it; but he told him he had put it out of his power; that some of the nobility would acquaint the king, and therefore it was better in him to drop the thing itself [h].

The prince Don Carlos forms a design of quitting his father's court, and flying into Germany.

BUT he persisted; upon which his confessor forsook him. The admiral, and some other lords, having brought his letters to the king, and his majesty being likewise informed that the master of the posts had received the prince's orders to furnish horses for a long journey, he resolved to arrest him; and, for this purpose, went the same day, which was the 18th of *January*, to *Madrid*. About midnight he entered his son's apartment in the palace, attended by *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, Don *Juan Manrique de Lara*, Don *Antonio de Toledo*, the prior of *St. John*, and *Lewis Quixada*, the duke of *Feria*

On which the king goes in person to his apartment, and causes him to be arrested.

[g] FERRERAS. [h] HERRERA.

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following with some of the guards. The prince, as soon as he saw him, shrunk under the bed-cloaths, crying out, *Will your majesty kill me? I am not mad, but am rendered desperate by the manner in which your majesty treats me.* The king bid him make himself easy, and be assured that he meant every thing for his good. The king seized all the arms that were in the room, together with his papers, and a strong box. He then appointed six noblemen of the first families in *Spain* to wait upon the prince, with express orders that two of them should have him constantly in their sight; and that they should permit him to have nothing in his reach by which he might endanger his own life [i]. The king immediately gave notice to the pope's nuncio, and to all the foreign ministers, of the motives which led him to treat the prince in this manner. He did the same to all the great towns by a letter, which is still extant in more volumes than one [k]. Their imperial majesties interposed with great earnestness and anxiety in favour of the prince; but the king assured them, that he had taken the advice of civilians and divines before he proceeded so far; and that they might be assured he would act with caution and tenderness for the future [l].

He dies under that confinement in the space of a few months.

Don *Carlos*, however, bore his confinement with great impatience. He refused all nourishment for two whole days, of which the king being informed, he went to his apartment, and staid till he had taken some refreshment. He afterwards eat with great avidity, and overcharged his stomach. When the weather became hot, he drank to excess of ice dissolved to water, by which he weakened the tone of his stomach to such a degree that it would bear nothing. His physicians, seeing the danger he was in, advised him to prepare for death; which he did with great piety and calmness, being assisted by his confessor and other divines. He desired earnestly to see his father, who went to him immediately, and gave him his blessing. The prince begged his pardon, and desired that he would provide for his servants. The king asked him what he would have done for them, and, when he told him, promised to do all that he had asked. In a short time after the king withdrew, he expired, on the 24th of *June*, in the 24th year of his age [m]. Such was the end of this unhappy prince, according to the best *Spanish* historians; but other writers have taken great freedom upon this subject, and have, without scruple, asserted that he was put

[i] Cabrera. [k] Diego de Colmenares. [l] Ferreras. [m] Cabrera, Campana.

to

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to death by his father's command [n]. If this be true, it is inexcuſable; if it be not true, the king was doubly unfortunate in the loſs of his ſon and of his reputation, of which few princes were ſo tender. He cauſed the whole court to go into mourning, and buried him publickly with great ſplendor [o] (A).

THE

[n] Hiſt. de France, par PIERRE MATTHIEU. [o] CABRERA, CAMPANA.

(A) The prevailing opinion, as to the violent death of the prince Don *Carlos*, has proceeded chiefly from the confidence with which it was reported by *French* hiſtorians; one of them has given a long account of the king's proceedings againſt him before the inquiſition, the iſſue of which was his being ſentenced to death; but he was to be allowed to chuſe what death he pleaſed; which having refuſed, four ſlaves came into his chamber in a morning, where two held his arms, one his legs, and the other ſtrangled him with a ſilken cord. The ſame writer agrees that many were of opinion he was bled to death in a warm bath (1). *Turquet*, in his hiſtory of *Spain*, diſcuſſes the point largely, and at length aſſerts, that the inquiſitors perſuaded the king that he might lawfully put to death the prince his ſon, the queen his wife, and the prince with whom ſhe was ſuppoſed to be with child, tho' it proved a princeſs. After all, he leaves it doubtful whether the prince was poiſoned, or ſtrangled by ſlaves. According to this writer, Don *Carlos* was impotent, and the unfortunate queen fell a ſacrifice to the king's jealouſy, not of the prince, but of the marquis de *Poza* (2). Monſieur *St. Evremont* indulges a very unbecoming pleaſantry upon this melancholy ſubject. He ſays, the *Spaniard*, who ſtrangled Don *Carlos*, cried out while he was doing it, *Calla, calla, Senor, todo que ſe haſe es por ſu bien*; that is, *Hold your tongue, hold your tongue, Sir; all that is done is for your good* (3); which ſeems to be a wilful miſtake of what the king ſaid when he ſeized him; for at the breaking open of the door, the prince cried out, *What brings your majeſty here? Is it to kill me?* To which the king anſwered, *No, my ſon; it is for your good. Be not impatient* (4). Wiſer and more impartial writers of that nation confeſs that thoſe ſtories have been tranſmitted to poſterity, *odio magis quam ex fide*, rather to indulge ſpleen than vindicate the truth (5). But let us hear ſtrangers well informed, and whoſe integrity will admit of no ſuſpicion. A *Poliſh* biſhop and ſenator, who had his information from the *Poliſh* mi-

(1) *Pierre Matthieu Hiſt. de France.* (2) *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, liv.* xxix. *p.* 1400——1406. (3) *Oeuvres de St. Evremond.* (4) *Luis Cabrera Hiſt. del Rey d'Eſpana, Don Phelipe* II. (5) *Memoires Hiſtoriques, Politiques, Critiques, & Literaires, par Amelot de la Houſſaie, tom.* i. *p.* 205.

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Revolt of the Moreſcoes in Granada followed by a long and bloody civil war.

THE marquis *de Mondejar*, finding all his repreſentations ineffectual, left the publication of the king's injunctions to his ſon the count *de Tendilla*; and they were accordingly publiſhed about the beginning of the year P. The archbiſhop alſo enjoined the clergy in their reſpective pariſhes to require the *Moreſcoes* to regiſter all their children from the age of five to fifteen, in order to be taught the *Caſtilian* tongue, and to be thoroughly inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion. This manner of proceeding determined them at once to revolt; which reſolution, tho' ſuddenly taken, was purſued with great ſlowneſs and ſecrecy, and was managed intirely by *Farax Aben Farax*, and ſome others of their chiefs. The firſt thing they did was to ſend into the mountainous country of *Alpujarros*, where their ſtrength lay; and finding that there were eighty-five thouſand *Mooriſh* families, that they could with eaſe bring fifty thouſand able men into the field, they conceived the recovery of *Granada* a thing very practicable, if the ſcheme was rightly conducted. They ſent an agent to *Algiers*, without being ſuſpected, and they contrived a very ſingular method of introducing their deputies to ſound the minds of the people in all parts of the kingdom,

P DIEGO DE MENDOZA.

niſter, then in the court of *Philip* II. ſays, that the king, going from *Valladolid*, turned out of the road to go and make a viſit to his ſon at *Madrid*, out of paternal affection, and found him giving up the ghoſt; but he leaves it doubtful whether he died of poiſon or of grief (6). *Moroſini*, the *Venetian* ſenator, who was permitted to inſpect the diſpatches of their miniſter to the republic, aſſures us, that Don *Carlos*, not being able to find a ſword or dagger, the king left him no weapons, and ſuffered none to go near him armed, with which he might diſpatch himſelf, took the diamond ſecretly out of his ring, and ſwallowed it; but finding this did him no hurt, weary of life, and aſhamed of his impriſonment, he eat voraciouſly of all that was brought before him, and ſwallowed afterwards great quantities of cold water, which brought on a dyſentery, that killed him; but that he firſt received all the ſacraments of the church, with his father's forgiveneſs and bleſſing (7). This agrees perfectly well with what we have related in the text from a *Spaniſh* hiſtorian, and in a matter of ſo dark and perplexed a nature, may, as the aſtronomers ſpeak, without any ſenſible error, paſs for truth (8).

(6) *Pauli Piaſcii Chronica, A. D.* 1568.

(7) *Paoli Moroſini Hiſtoria della Citta e Republica di Venetia.*

(8) *Luis Cabrera Hiſtoria del Rey d'Eſpaña, Don Phelipe* II.

without

without giving any umbrage. They addreſſed themſelves to the archbiſhop of *Granada*, and having informed him, that a great number of their poor countrymen, coming about their buſineſs to the city, were taken ſick and died, without receiving either temporal or ſpiritual comforts; they intreated him to procure a place for erecting an hoſpital without the gates, promiſing to leave it intirely to his direction. He obtained for them this favour, and afterwards paſſes for thoſe whom they named to go abroad, and beg a ſum ſufficient to erect and to endow this hoſpital; and theſe were the very men who managed the inſurrection [q]. They firſt fixed upon *Holy Thurſday*; but finding their preparations not complete, they put it off to *Chriſtmas Eve*. In the mean time, another deputy of theirs, who was going to *Africa*, was diſcovered by accident; and tho' he made his eſcape into the mountains, yet his papers were ſeized, and ſent to the court by the count *de Tendrilla*, which gave ſuch light into their deſigns, that the king ordered the marquis *de Mondejar* to repair immediately to *Granada*, who, by his great prudence, prevented their ſurpriſing that city [r]. At the time appointed, however, or rather a little before, they revolted every-where in the country; and having elected Don *Ferdinand de Valor*, a young man of the age of twenty-four, very rich, extremely brave, and very prudent, they proclaimed him, by the name of *Mohammed Aben Humeya*, king of *Granada* and *Cordova*, of which family he really was, and ſome of them had formerly bore the ſame title. He ſwore, at the time of his election, to live and die in ſupport of the *Mohammedan* religion. After the revolt, they committed every-where the moſt outrageous exceſſes, and the moſt inexcuſable cruelties, more eſpecially on eccleſiaſtics and women, profaning churches, and expreſſing ſuch an averſion and deteſtation of the Chriſtian religion, as if they were deſirous of juſtifying all that their enemies had ſaid of them, and to bring thoſe who had interceded on their behalf into ſuſpicion with the court, or at leaſt into contempt [s].

The death of Donna Iſabella queen of Spain, and the rumours it occaſions.

In the month of *May*, the king named his brother Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* captain-general of the gallies of *Spain*, and ſent him to *Carthagena* to take upon him the command, after having given him very full inſtructions in regard to the operations of the campaign, and of his own conduct. Don *Juan* having with him Don *Alvaro Bazan*, and moſt of the old officers, received from them, with all imaginable docility,

[q] Cabrera, Herrera. [r] Luys de Marmol, Carvajal. [s] Don Diego de Mendoza.

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whatever counsels and lights they thought fit to give him, visited the coasts of *Italy* and of *Africa*, examined the ports, changed the garrisons, and returned to court in the month of *September*, and made a large report to the king of the condition in which he found things every-where, with which
1568. his majesty was highly satisfied [t]. The queen Donna *Isabella*, who the year before had been delivered of another daughter, the infanta Donna *Catalina*, being in the fifth month of her third pregnancy, died of a miscarriage on the third of *October*, not without strong suspicions that her death was owing to ignorance, or something worse, in her physicians [u]. The murmurs this occasioned were extremely heightened, when it came to be known that the king had entered into a negotiation for marrying the archduchess *Anne* of *Austria*, whom the emperor had intended for his son [w]. He sent, upon this occasion, his brother the archduke *Charles* to the court of *Spain*, with instructions to persuade the king, if possible, to recall the duke of *Alba*, and to pardon the prince of *Orange*. All possible marks of kindness and respect were shewn to the archduke; but the advices he gave in the emperor's name were not only slighted, but ill-received; and the successes which the duke of *Alba* had this year in the *Low Countries* were magnified, as if he had actually put an end to the war [x].

War with the Moriscoes in Granada carried on with incredible fury.

Mohammed Aben Humeya laboured all that was in his power to obtain assistance from the princes of *Africa*, and from the grand signior. The former promised much, and gave little; but as for the latter, he neither promised nor gave any thing at all. The Christians, under the command of the marquis *de Mondejar*, took the field, and carried on the war with vigour; but the marquis, who was thoroughly persuaded in his own mind, that a great part of the *Moriscoes* involved in this rebellion were in reality Christians, driven to madness and despair by oppression and ill usage, treated them with lenity, and received many to mercy; by which he gained very useful intelligence, and brought the war, as he imagined, very near to an end. At *Granada*, however, the president *Deza* gave out that the marquis husbanded the war, in order to enrich himself and his captains by the plunder of the *Moriscoes*, for whom, at the same time, they suggested he had too much compassion, and held a correspondence with them inconsistent with the king's service. The marquis wrote to the archbishop of *Granada*, and justified himself fully; but

[t] Lorenzo Vander Hammen. [u] Herrera. [w] Ferreras. [x] Carrera.

it

it vexed him so much, that, having dispossessed the *Moreſcoes* of a post of great consequence, he caused the old men, women, and children, they had left behind them, to be put to the sword; an action unworthy of so great a man, and of which he was very much ashamed all his life after. The marquis *de los Velez* also entered the *Alpujarros*, and had many actions against the *Moreſcoes* with different fortune; but he was jealous of the marquis of *Mondejar*, and would not act in concert with him, which turned to the prejudice of both. The king, to put an end to these disputes, sent his brother Don *Juan* of *Austria* to command in chief with very full powers. He acted with great prudence; and, having received the advice both of the marquis of *Mondejar* and of the president, he sent them in writing to the king, and desired to know whose advice he should take.

Reasons why the king would not extermiate those people, as he was pressed to do.

The preference that was for some time given to violent councils furnished *Aben Humeya* with a better army than he had before, though he had been twice beaten by the marquis *de Mondejar*. He shewed great dexterity and courage in the perilous situation in which he was; for his father Don *Antonio* and his brother Don *Francisco Valor* were prisoners at *Granada*, and this induced him to write to the marquis of *Mondejar* and to Don *Juan* of *Austria*, which raised suspicions in his own people. He chastized such as discovered them with great severity, and, amongst the rest, put to death his father-in law; and by giving a loose to his passions, in taking several women, created such jealousies, that one of his secretaries, by counterfeiting an order for cutting the throats of a body of *Moors* that came from *Barbary* to his assistance, engaged them to conspire against him, and set up *Lopez Aben Abo*, at whose instance they seized the unfortunate *Aben Humeya*, and, notwithstanding he gave them the strongest assurances of his innocence, resolved to strangle him. When he found his death inevitable, he declared himself a Christian, and that he had acted out of revenge for the injuries done to his father and his family. *Lopez Aben Abo* assumed, with the royal dignity, the name of *Muley Abdallah*, took all imaginable precautions to prevent the Christians from penetrating into the mountains, laboured to procure fresh succours from *Barbary*, and, notwithstanding the duke of *Sessa* and Don *Juan* in person acted against him with numerous troops, and gained several advantages, he found ways and means to keep up the war to the conclusion of the year. The king Don *Philip* was exceedingly disturbed by this dangerous rebellion in the heart of his kingdom, and yet he was very unwilling to rely wholly upon his arms for putting an

1569.

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end to it, paying great regard to the ſuggeſtions of the marquis *de Mondejar*; that if the country of *Alpujarros* was totally depeopled, he would only gain a parcel of black rocks and deſert mountains, into which the *Moors* from *Barbary* might ſteal over at pleaſure, and keep up a war without end[y]. This year queen *Elizabeth* of *England* ſeized a great ſum of money he was ſending into *Flanders*, which induced the firſt open rupture between the two courts; and this year the king concluded his marriage with the archduchеſs *Anne* of *Auſtria*, his niece[z], notwithſtanding he could not be ignorant how this was cenſured throughout *Europe*.

An end at length put to this war, and the arrival of the archduchеſs queen in Spain. 1570.

Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* and the duke *de Seſſa* renewed the war againſt the *Moreſcoes* immediately after *Chriſtmas*, and met at firſt with a very obſtinate reſiſtance, by which numbers of men, and ſome perſons of diſtinction, amongſt whom was *Lewis Quixada*, whom Don *Juan* revered and loved as a father, were loſt. Some ſtrong places were reduced, and others revolted; ſo that on the whole there was a great ſlaughter on both ſides, and no great ſucceſs on either. In the mean time the king, by the advice of the preſident *Deza*, cauſed the *Moreſcoes* to be removed out of the city and plain of *Granada* into the kingdom of *Caſtile*, where they had lands given them, and ſatisfaction for what they left behind. However, ſome of the noble families expoſtulated upon this treatment, and inſiſted upon the privileges they had from Don *Ferdinand* and the emperor *Charles*; upon their conſtant fidelity to the crown of *Spain*, the ſervices they had rendered, and the impoſſibility of making ſatisfaction for their large eſtates; upon which the preſident was obliged to demand an explanation of the king's order, and whether it would admit of any exceptions. To this Don *Philip* anſwered, that the privileges of his predeceſſors were inviolable, that it was never his intention to invade them, and that the *Moreſcoes*, diſtinguiſhed by their fidelity, ſhould be likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by marks of his favour. This declaration had a great effect, for ſome of the chiefs of the rebels immediately began to treat, and even *Lopez Aben Abo* inſinuated, that he had been forced to do all that he had done; upon which Don *Juan* offered him pardon, and great poſſeſſions; but he acted perfidiouſly, and murdered *Abaqui*, a noble *Moreſco*, who had laboured honeſtly to put an end to theſe troubles; which induced another of his countrymen to treat him in the ſame manner; and, upon his death, the pub-

[y] Diego de Mendoza.

[z] Camden's Annals, Corps Univerſel Diplomatique, tom. v. part i. p. 175.

lic

lic tranquillity was quickly restored [a]. This war of the *Moreſcoes* laſted between two and three years, coſt the lives of twenty thouſand *Caſtilian* ſoldiers, about five times that number of *Moreſcoes*, and depopulated and deſtroyed ſome of the fineſt countries in *Spain*. The king, towards the cloſe of the ſummer, made great preparations for the celebration of his marriage; which he might well do, ſince, upon his making a tour to *Seville* in the ſpring, which city he had never before honoured with his preſence, they made him a preſent of ſix hundred thouſand ducats [b]. His intended conſort, the archdutcheſs *Anne*, came from *Germany* into the *Low Countries*, where the duke of *Alba* had prepared a fleet to tranſport her into *Spain*; and though at that time, and chiefly through his management, there was no good underſtanding between the two courts, yet queen *Elizabeth*, in point of civility, ſent an *Engliſh* ſquadron to eſcort the archdutcheſs, and to invite her to put into any *Engliſh* port, in caſe the ſeaſon, which was far advanced, ſhould render it expedient [c]. She embarked on the 24th of *September*, and arrived, without any accident, at the port of *St. Andero* in *Biſcay*, from whence, accompanied by her brothers the archdukes *Albert* and *Wenceſlaus*, ſhe continued her journey to *Valladolid*, where ſhe was met by the archdukes *Rodolph* and *Erneſt*, and from thence came to *Segovia*, where ſhe was received by the princeſs Donna *Juanna* and the cardinal *Zuniga Eſpinoſa*. There the marriage was celebrated about the middle of *November*, after which the court returned to *Madrid* [d]. The king entered this year into what was called the *Holy League* againſt the *Turks*, in favour of the *Venetians*, and ſent prince *Doria* with his gallies to join the fleet of the allies; which, though a great force, did little, through the diſputes that aroſe amongſt the ſeveral generals who commanded. The duke of *Alba*, having rendered himſelf univerſally odious in the *Low Countries* by his cruelties, diſpleaſed his maſter by his imprudence, in cauſing his own ſtatue to be erected at *Antwerp*, with figures repreſenting the ſtates under his feet [e].

A GENERAL council was held at *Venice*, compoſed of the miniſters of the powers embarked in the holy league, wherein it was agreed, that the fleet ſhould conſiſt of two hundred gallies, and the army of fifty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. The pope agreed to furniſh the ſixth part of the expence; the ſmaller ſtates of *Italy* the like proportion

Don Juan *gains againſt the* Turks *the glorious victory of* Lepanto. 1571.

[a] GASPAR ESCOLANO. [b] ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA.
[c] CABRERA. [d] HERRERA. [e] THUANUS.

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amongſt them, which did not take effect; the republic of *Venice* a third, and his catholic majeſty one half. *Mark Antonio Colonna* was appointed to command the pope's gallies, the *Venetians* named for their general *Sebaſtian Venier*, and Don *Juan of Auſtria* was declared generaliſſimo of the league [f]. The emperor of the *Ottomans*, *Selim*, having reduced a great part of *Cyprus*, ſent his fleet, conſiſting of two hundred and eighty gallies, excluſive of ſhips of war and galliots, commanded in chief by *Hali* baſha, and under him by four other baſhas, with orders to fight the Chriſtians at all events, and where-ever he found them. In the mean time Don *Juan of Auſtria*, having aſſembled the fleet of the league, and reviewed them carefully, found the *Venetian* gallies feebly manned, and indifferently provided with ammunition. To remedy the firſt, he put on board them four thouſand of his own troops, and ſupplied the latter from his ſtores. At *Corfu* a grand council was held, when, by the advice of prince *Doria*, the following orders were ſettled: The van, conſiſting of fifty-four gallies carrying green ſtreamers, was commanded by *Andrew Doria*, which, in the line of battle, was to form on the right; Don *Juan*, with the grand commander of *Caſtile*, and the generals of the pope and the republic of *Venice*, followed next, with ſixty-four gallies, whoſe ſtreamers were blue, the ſtandard of the league being carried by the *Real*; this ſquadron was to compoſe the main body in the line: then came the proveditore *Barbarigo* with his ſquadron of fifty-five gallies, and yellow ſtreamers, which was to form the left; the rear guard, which conſiſted of thirty gallies with white ſtreamers, was commanded by the marquis of *Santa Cruz*; and in this order, on the 7th of *October*, the two fleets met in the gulph of *Lepanto*. The *Turks* formed in a half-moon, into which they brought two hundred and thirty gallies and ſeventy galliots. The firſt ſhot was fired by *Hali* baſha, and anſwered by Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* from the *Real*. The Chriſtians made no great haſte to engage, depending upon the artillery of their galleaſſes, which were extremely well ſerved, and put the *Turks* into great confuſion; at length *Barbarigo*, with the left wing, began the attack, and the battle became general about half an hour after twelve. Don *Juan* engaged the gally of *Hali*, and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, carried it, the commander being killed upon the ſpot. Upon this, he ordered the banner of the croſs to be

[f] ANTONIUS GABUTIUS, libri vi. de vita & rebus geſtis Pii V. Pont. Max. fo. Romæ, 1605.

diſplaye

diſplayed from the mainmaſt, and the head of *Hali* to be fixed upon a pike, and placed in the ſtern; after this, it was all carnage and confuſion; and if *Uluccíali*, who was in the left wing, had not retired in time with 28 gallies, the whole *Ottoman* fleet had been deſtroyed. As it was, they loſt thirty thouſand men, beſides ten thouſand that were taken priſoners, and fifteen thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves releaſed. Thirty gallies were ſunk, twenty-five burnt, and one hundred and thirty taken. On the ſide of the Chriſtians, the loſs, in the whole, was about ten thouſand men; but, which was much greater, for the want of unanimity in their generals, they loſt the fruits of their victory, and, after diſputing a long time about what they ſhould do, agreed at laſt to do nothing. The king Don *Philip* celebrated this victory by a feaſt, which continued nine days; and appointed the anniverſary to be kept for ever in the cathedral of *Toledo*, to which he ſent the ſtandard of the grand ſignor, and other trophies [g]. The queen, on the 4th of *December*, was delivered of the prince Don *Ferdinand*; and in this year the *Spaniards* ſeized the important fortreſs of *Final*, to which they pretended no better title, than that it might fall into worſe hands [h].

THE next year a grand council was held at *Rome*, to conſider of the moſt effectual method for continuing the war. The grand commander of *Caſtile*, who was there on the part of the crown of *Spain*, propoſed, that the pope, the *Venetians*, and the leſſer ſtates of *Italy*, ſhould attack *Albania* and the adjacent countries; that the maritime force of *Spain* ſhould be employed againſt the *Turks* and *Moors* in *Africa*; while the emperor and the king of *Poland* made a powerful diverſion on the ſide of *Hungary*. But thoſe who could concur in nothing elſe, were unanimous in rejecting this; to which the ſentiments of the pope did not a little contribute, who was againſt dividing the forces of the league [i]. On the other hand, the emperor of the *Ottomans* gave the command of his fleet to *Uluccíali*, one of the ableſt officers in his ſervice, and who with incredible diligence aſſembled a greater naval force than could well be imagined. He diſpatched likewiſe an embaſſador to *Charles* the ninth of *France*, to diſſuade him from entering into the holy league, and this not without effect [k]. The death of pope *Pius* the fifth was another unlucky incident, becauſe the princes of his commu-

The next campaign proves fruitleſs, tho' highly honourable to Don Juan.

1572.

[g] ANT. DE HERRERA. [h] ILLESCAS. [i] LORENZO VANDER-HAMMEN, HERRERA. [k] P. DANIEL, CABRERA.

nion

nion looked upon him as a saint [l]. He was succeeded by cardinal *Buoncompagno*, who assumed the name of *Gregory* the thirteenth [m]. The allies were very apprehensive, that, fresh troubles breaking out in the *Low Countries*, his catholic majesty would quit the league, from which he received little benefit, and to which he contributed most. The king, however, assured them he had no such intentions, and, to convince them of it, he ordered Don *Juan* of *Austria* to take the command of the confederate fleet. That prince went accordingly to *Italy*, where he had an interview with the princess *Margaret* his sister, whom he had never seen before [n]. He then proceeded to *Naples*, and, as soon as the fleet of the allies assembled, he went and took the command. His active spirit led him immediately in search of the *Turkish* fleet: *Ulucciali*, who was much inferior in strength, advanced to meet him, but, like a great seaman, often offered him battle, and as often avoided fighting. At length Don *Juan* blocked him up in the port of *Modon*, where he would have attacked him, but most of the other generals said it was impracticable, as his fleet was protected by a good fortress, and many batteries along the coast. Don *Juan* replied, that when they were once engaged, the cannon on shore must cease firing, or do as much mischief to their friends as to their foes; but the other generals persisting in their opinion, the fleet retired, after having performed little or nothing; but Don *Juan*'s character was as much raised by the proposition he made in this, as by the victory he gained the year before [o]. This year the king lost his great favourite, and his principal minister. The first was *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, prince of *Eboli* [p], singular in this, that, during the king's whole reign, he had remained equally possessed of his good graces, and died as much regretted by the people as by his master; the other was cardinal *Espinosa* [q], of whom his master *Philip* said, long after he was dead, that he was the greatest minister *Spain* ever could boast; and yet *Spain* had produced cardinal *Ximenes*, who had possessed his master's confidence long after he lost his affections.

He forms a project of becoming

Don *Juan* of *Austria*, in obedience to the king's orders, had employed infinite care and diligence in augmenting, repairing, and equipping, his fleet, that, in conjunction with

[l] Antonio de Fuenmayor, Vie du Pape Pie V. par Jean Bapt. Feuillet. [m] Illescas. [n] Lorenzo Vander Hammen. [o] Cabrera. [p] Ferreras. [q] Herrera.

the

the allies, he might put to sea in the month of *April*, fully determined to proceed through the *Archipelago*, and put an end to the naval power of the *Turks* for a century at least; but when he thought himself in a condition to execute this project, he received the surprising news, that the *Venetians* had made their peace with the *Turks*; upon which he caused the colours of the league to be struck, and hoisted the banner of *Spain*[t]. The king either was not, or did not seem much displeased. He removed *Juan de Soto*, who was secretary to his brother, and made him intendant of the fleet, on account of his advising his master to think of doing something for himself, and of acquiring an independent sovereignty at the expence of the infidels. *Juan de Escovado* succeeded him as secretary to the prince; and the king, who bestowed upon him several favours, told him plainly the reasons for which he had removed his predecessor[s]. He afterwards sent orders to Don *Juan* to reduce *Tunis*, and to demolish it. The season was very late before this order could be put in execution, but it was executed by the bare appearance of the fleet, for the *Turks* abandoned it; the prince, contrary to Don *Philip*'s order, fortified the town, and marked out a new citadel, capable of holding eight thousand men; and afterwards, by the advice of both his secretaries, engaged the pope to propose to his brother declaring him king of *Tunis*. To this Don *Philip* answered, that the respect as well as affection he had for his brother would not permit him to grant that request, as he knew the grand signor meditated the recovery of all the places held by the Christians in *Africa*; and that, in its proper season, he would explain himself to his brother's satisfaction[t]. This year the royal family was increased by the birth of the infant Don *Carlos*; soon after which died the infanta Donna *Joanna*, the king's sister[u]. This year also he removed to the escurial the bodies of his queen Donna *Isabella* and of the prince Don *Carlos*, as also those of the emperor *Charles* the fifth, of the empress, of Donna *Leonora* queen of *Portugal* and *France*, of his brothers and sisters, and of his aunt Donna *Maria* queen of *Hungary*; at the same time he caused the body of his grandmother Donna *Joanna* to be transferred to *Granada*, and interred there near the bodies of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*[w].

king of Tunis, *by the mediation of the pope.* 1573.

[r] Lorenzo Vander Hammen. [s] Idem, & Herreras. [t] Herrera. [u] Campana. [w] Siguenca.

This

All those places, of which his kingdom was to be forced, conquered by the Turks.

1574. THIS year opened with a scene which never would have happened if the king had not lost the cardinal his minister. The wars in which the king had been so long involved in the *Low Countries*, and in the defence of *Italy*, and the places he possessed in *Africa* against the *Turks*, had constrained him to borrow money upon his revenues, from those in other countries, as well as the bankers in his own dominions, for which they had assignments. To supply his present necessities, he had recourse to the states, and they advised him to supersede those assignments; and to deduct, after liquidating his creditors demands, what he judged reasonable in regard to usury and exchange. His own subjects thought this hard; but those who durst call things by their proper names said, that he had declared himself a bankrupt. In consideration of this worthy action, the states gave him another tenth of the *Alcavala*; and thus, for a small temporary advantage, he lost his credit for ever [x]. The apprehensions of the *Turkish* fleet was the great motive to this measure, of which the king gave notice to cardinal *Granvelle*, viceroy of *Naples*; to the duke of *Terra Nova*, who had the government of *Sicily*; and to Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who was then in *Italy*; with express orders to provide in time for the safety of the *Gouletta* and of *Tunis*. Don *Juan* did all in his power; but the viceroys were so much concerned for the provinces under their government, that they did not do what they might have done in time. The consequence was, that *Sinan* basha, who commanded the *Turkish* fleet, landed forty thousand men without opposition; upon which the Christians abandoned *Tunis*, and retired into the new fort. *Sinan* basha, leaving the command of the fleet to *Uluccialí*, invested both that and the *Gouletta* at the same time: the former was carried by assault; and Don *Pedro Porto-carrero*, with the small remains of his garrison, carried into slavery. The new fort had the same fate not long after; so that the *Spaniards* lost all they had been so long acquiring, and at least twelve thousand good troops. The king thereupon sent prince *Vespasian Gonzaga* to examine the state of things at *Oran*, who, finding them in disorder, fortified *Mazalquivir*, and abandoned the place before-mentioned. Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who was hindered by the bad weather from going in person to the relief of the fortresses in *Africa*, was exceedingly chagrined at their loss; but the king bore it with great temper, and laid no blame either upon Don *Juan*, or the people who commanded [y].

[x] CABRERA. [y] LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN.

Don

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Don *Juan* had this year the honour of entertaining *Henry* the third of *France* at *Cremona*, in his return from *Poland* to his hereditary dominions [z].

THE death of the *Turkish* emperor *Selim* gave some hopes that the war would not be continued with the same vivacity; but these were quickly dashed by the news that a numerous fleet was equipping at *Constantinople*. Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who was then at *Genoa*, pressed the king so warmly for leave to return to *Spain*, that he obtained it. His business was to solicit two requests; the first was, to be declared infant of *Castile*; and the other to be created lieutenant-general of *Italy*. After mature deliberation, the king refused the first, because there was no precedent of any such thing; and declined the latter, by telling him his presence was necessary in *Italy*, and that he would send full powers after him [a]. The *Turkish* fleet made an attempt upn *Calabria*; but were so roughly handled, that they thought proper to return to *Constantinople*. This year was fatal to the infant Don *Carlos*; but the queen was delivered on the 12th of *July*, which was three days after, of the infant Don *Diego* [b]. *Don Juan of Austria forms, notwithstanding, new pretensions on his brother.* 1575.

IN the spring of the year died Don *Lewis de Requisens*, who had succeeded the duke of *Alba* in the government of the *Low Countries*, and the king immediately resolved to send Don *Juan* of *Austria* thither. Don *Juan*, who knew very well that both money and troops were wanting, sent *Escovedo* his secretary to court, who presented so many and so sharp memorials, that the king directed *Antonio Perez*, who was secretary of state, to tell him, that he would not be importuned, and that he should learn to write in a more becoming stile [c]. Don *Juan*, perplexed with this delay, embarked at *Genoa*, and came to *Barcelona*, of which he gave the king notice, who, to avoid receiving him as an infant of *Castile*, which he knew that prince expected, retired to the escurial, and sent for him thither. At his audience, he would have kissed the king's hand; but Don *Philip*, rising from his seat, threw his arms round his neck, and embraced him. He then kissed the queen's; and, in paying the same respect to the infant Don *Ferdinand*, he raised his forehead with the pommel of his sword. The child cried out violently; upon which the king took him in his hands, and said to Don *Juan*, "God be praised, it is only a scratch." "So "much the better," replied Don *Juan*; "for, if it had "been ever so dangerous, here is no window out of which *The king sends him into the Low Countries with discretionary powers there.* 1576.

[z] LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN. [a] CABRERA. [b] HERRERA. [c] FERRERAS.

"I could

"I could have thrown myself." "Brother," added the king coldly, "more or less dangerous would not have al-"tered the case, for it would have been still an accident, "and accidents are not in our power[d]." The king held several councils, to which the duke of *Alba*, the marquis *de los Velos*, and the secretary *Perez*, were called; and the result was, that the king left every thing to his brother's discretion, except the point of liberty of conscience, which he absolutely refused to grant. As so much time had been lost, the king enjoined him to pass through *France* in disguise, which he did in quality of domestic to *Octavio Gonzaga*, and arrived safely at *Luxemburgh*[e]. *Muley Mohammed*, who had been expelled the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco* by his brother, solicited Don *Philip* to restore him by force of arms; but the king, grown weary of *African* expeditions, declined it. He then applied himself to his nephew Don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*; who sent one of his ministers to solicit the assistance of Don *Philip* in this enterprize, and to demand one of his daughters in marriage. The king answered, that the infantas were too young; and that if his nephew, under the appearance of devotion, would come to our lady of *Guadalupe*, he would meet him there; which he did; and the duke of *Alba* had a share in the conference. The king and the duke both laboured to dissuade Don *Sebastian* from the war, by shewing him how great an army was necessary to do any thing in *Africa*, how impossible it was to subsist such an army, and how little he could rely upon the promises of a *Moor*. These remonstrances were vain; and the king was at last forced to promise his nephew, that he would furnish him with fifty gallies and five thousand men, provided the *Turk* had no fleet at sea[f]. This year died at *Rome* the unfortunate doctor *Carranza*, archbishop of *Toledo*, after being obliged to abjure certain doctrines, which he affirmed in the most solemn manner, when he was dying, he had never supported or believed. His persecution is said to have been owing to the envy of a great prelate, who had passionately sought what without desiring *Carranza* obtained. In *Spain* some had still their doubts about him, but at *Rome* he was unanimously regarded as a saint[g].

Don Philip *makes peace with*

THE king Don *Philip*, in order to be better informed of the state of affairs in *Morocco*, sent over *Francisco Aldana*, who had been long a prisoner in that country, and was well

[d] CABRERA. [e] VANDER HAMMEN. [f] Epitome de la Vida y Hechos de D. Sebastian, Rey de Portugal, por JUAN DE BAENA. [g] ILLESCAS.

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acquainted with *Muley Moloch*. He was extremely well received by that king, and, after he had remained there some time, was kindly dismissed. At his return, he assured his catholic majesty, that *Muley Moloch* had a great body of *Turks* about his person, was well provided with artillery, and could raise a numerous army without difficulty; upon which he was sent to make the like report to Don *Sebastian*, though it proved to no purpose. The king procured for his brother-in-law the archduke *Albert* a hat from *Rome*, and the grand cross of *Malta* for the archduke *Wenceslaus*, with one of the richest commanderies that order had in his kingdom. The news brought him by captain *Aldana* made him very apprehensive that the *Turks* might seize the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*; and as he by no means desired such neighbours, he caused it to be intimated to *Muley Moloch*, that he was well disposed towards him. That monarch, who needed, immediately solicited his friendship; so that an alliance was quickly concluded, and, by the interposition of the *Venetians*, the king made a truce with the *Turks* for three years. In consequence of these measures, he sent the duke of *Medina Cœli*, in the winter, to dissuade Don *Sebastian* from attempting the war in *Africa*, but without any effect [h].

the emperor of Fez *and* Morocco. 1557.

In the spring of the year the king had the news of the arrival of the archduke *Matthias*, whom the confederates had invited into the *Low Countries*, and whom they acknowleged as their governor [i]. On the last day of *March Juan de Escovedo*, secretary to the prince Don *Juan* of *Austria*, was assassinated in the streets [k]. The general opinion was, that he was in the secret of his master's intention to espouse queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and that this induced the king to order him to be put to death. But it is very certain that he was murdered by the express direction of the secretary *Antonio Perez*, who gave out to those he employed, that it was for his majesty's service; and that he procured for them, by way of reward, commands in the army in *Italy*: it is also certain, that *Perez* had twice attempted to poison him before, once at his house, to which he invited him for that purpose, and another time by procuring poison to be put into his victuals at home, which he escaped by accidentally dining abroad, and of which his wife had like to have died, and on this account a poor slave was unjustly put to death [l]. This assassination made a great noise at the time, and was attended, as such actions always are, with very fatal conse-

Don Juan *of* Austria *dies in the* Low Countries, *not without suspicion of poison.* 1578.

[h] Cabrera. [i] Emanuel Meteren. [k] Vander Hammen. [l] Herrera.

quences.

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quences. On the fourth of *April* the queen was delivered of the infant Don *Philip*, who ſucceeded his father [m]. This year, however, was very fatal to the royal family; for on the 7th of *October* died Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* of a malignant fever [n], as ſome ſay, but, as others aſſert, not without a great ſuſpicion of poiſon. On the eighteenth of the ſame month died the prince Don *Ferdinand*, at the age of ſixteen, to the inexpreſſible grief of his parents; and on the 24th died the archduke *Wenceſlaus* [o]. This year was alſo fatal to the unfortunate Don *Sebaſtian*, king of *Portugal*, who periſhed in his raſh expedition into *Africa* [p], as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew at large in its proper place; and as ſoon as the news of it arrived at *Madrid*, the king ſent orders to cover the places which the *Portugueſe* poſſeſſed in that country.

Antonio Perez, ſecretary of ſtate, and the princeſs of Eboli, diſgraced and impriſoned.

The cardinal Don *Henry* having aſſumed the regal dignity in *Portugal* immediately after the death of Don *Sebaſtian* was known, felt very early the cares of a crown; for, on the one ſide, he was ſolicited by the people to marry, that the independency of *Portugal* might be preſerved; and, on the other, he was preſſed by the embaſſadors of Don *Philip* to regulate and declare the ſucceſſion. His catholic majeſty, who had not the leaſt ſcruple about his own right, ſent a frier to perſuade the king of *Portugal*, that, being a prieſt, a biſhop, and a cardinal, he could not in conſcience, or with any degree of decency, marry, more eſpecially at his time of life. He likewiſe applied to the pope, to prevent any diſpenſation from being obtained for that purpoſe; alleging
1579. the great ſcandal that would attend it, and what advantages would be taken of ſuch a ſtep by heretics. The king Don *Henry*, who, though no great politician, was an honeſt, pious, and juſt man, was abſolutely deaf to theſe inſinuations. At *Rome* they opened but one ear to his catholic majeſty, and at the ſame time extended one hand, reſerving as much for the king of *Portugal*, that, in ſo important a buſineſs, ſomething might be heard and felt on both ſides [q]. The new emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, perceiving how much it was his intereſt to be well with the king of *Caſtile*, ſent over one *Andrew Gaſparo*, a *Corſican*, who negotiated a peace for twenty years between the two crowns; in conſideration of which, and of the aſſiſtance promiſed by Don *Philip*, in caſe of any foreign invaſion or domeſtic trouble, he yielded to him the town of *Larach* for their mutual conveniency; and, rejecting the large offers that were made for the ranſom

[m] Campana. [n] Antonio Carnero. [o] Cabrera. [p] Faria y Sousa. [q] Illescas.

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f the duke of *Barcelos*, ſon to the duke of *Braganza*, and ephew to the king of *Portugal*, he made a preſent of him o king *Philip*, and ſent him to the houſe of Don *Pedro de Cinegas*, his embaſſador [r]. The council of *Caſtile* adviſed he king to detain him as an honourable priſoner, whom he night otherwiſe find the moſt formidable competitor to the rown of *Portugal*; but Don *Philip*, with great magnanimity and prudence, rejected their advice, and bound him in tronger chains, by ordering him to be ſet at liberty, and ſent ome with all poſſible marks of kindneſs and reſpect [s]. The king cauſed the body of his brother Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* to be brought privately into *Spain*, and then to be removed publicly, and with great funeral pomp, to the eſcurial, and, according to the dying requeſt of that prince, it was there interred, on the 24th of *May*, cloſe by that of his father the emperor *Charles* the fifth [t]. On the 29th of *July*, *Antonio Perez*, ſecretary of ſtate, was arreſted, and ſent to priſon, upon ſome diſcoveries that were made of the murder of Don *Juan*'s ſecretary; and the princeſs of *Eboli* was at the ſame time confined for having too great an influence over *Perez*, by which ſhe had drawn from him ſome ſecrets of ſtate [u]. Some time after the ſecretary, falling ſick, had leave to return to his own houſe, where he was viſited by the king's confeſſor; upon which, and his not being removed from his office, the world, always buſy in criticiſing the actions of princes, made ſome very ſtrange concluſions [w].

The duke of Alba *drives out* Don Antonio, *and conquers the kingdom of* Portugal. 1580.

Don *Henry* of *Portugal*, who, though not a great, was a very good prince, declared, that, as to the ſucceſſion, the king Don *Philip*, and the duke of *Braganza* in right of his wife, were the two competitors, and the only two whoſe rights would admit of a diſcuſſion; for as to Don *Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, though he had the greateſt credit with the populace, yet he eſteemed and adjudged him a baſtard. He appointed five commiſſioners to hear and determine the affair of the ſucceſſion, and in this diſpoſition died, on the laſt of *January*; upon this, the five commiſſioners aſſumed the government with the title of regents; and though they did all that it was poſſible to keep the people within bounds, yet their averſion to the *Caſtilians* was ſo ſtrong, that Don *Philip*'s embaſſadors could not have been ſafe, if the duke of *Braganza*, with great generoſity, had not received them

[r] Hieron. de Mendoza. [s] Faria y Sousa. [t] Sicuenca. [u] Cabrera. [w] Mayerne Turquet.

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into his palace [x]. But the king, though he was secure of three of the regents, never intended that his title should be regulated by their judgments; but, having taken his measures from the very death of his nephew, had an army and a fleet ready to put him in possession of that kingdom. He resolved to put at the head of his forces the best officer in his dominions, which was the duke of *Alba*, old in disgrace, and at that time a prisoner; the reason of which was this: His eldest son Don *Garcia de Toledo* had given a promise to one of the queen's ladies of honour, which he refused to make good; upon which the king caused him to be arrested, and sent to *Tordesillas*. His father the duke took him from thence by force, carried him to his own castle of *Alba*, and there married him to his cousin Donna *Maria de Toledo*, daughter to the marquis of *Villena*. The king could not but punish this offence, tho' perhaps he did not highly resent it. However it was, upon the death of the king of *Portugal* he sent to know of the duke, if his health would permit him to command an army; who replied, that his strength and abilities, such as they were, should be always devoted to his service. The king then sent him directions to come to some place near *Madrid*, where he might receive his orders; and he did accordingly come to *Barajos*, where they were sent him, without his seeing the king at all [y]. As soon as the *Spanish* troops entered *Portugal*, the populace proclaimed Don *Antonio* king, first at *Santaren*, and then at *Lisbon*; notwithstanding which, the duke of *Alba* reduced the kingdom without much trouble, after defeating Don *Antonio* in two battles [z]. The king, in the mean time, after causing the prince Don *Diego* to be acknowleged his successor by the nobility, advanced to *Badajoz*, where he fell ill towards the end of *September*, and was hardly out of danger before the queen, whom he had sent for thither, was seized with a violent fever, of which she died on the 26th of *October*, in the 31st year of her age, exceedingly regretted by the king and by his subjects [a].

Don Philip *goes in person into* Portugal, *and is acknowleged by the states.*

THE king, at the request of the duke of *Alba*, entered *Portugal* in the spring, and opened the assembly of the states at the convent of *Tomar*, where the nobility, clergy, and deputies from the cities, did homage and swore allegiance; the duke of *Braganza* and his son the duke of *Barcelos* being the first who took the oaths [b]. The king then granted a general

[x] FARIA Y SOUSA. [y] CABRERA. [z] VIPERANUS.
[a] SIGUENCA. [b] ANTONIO D'ESCOBAR.

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general pardon, excepting to Don *Antonio*, and fifty-two others, who were named; he beſtowed likewiſe many favours upon the nobility, who remained notwithſtanding diſcontented, and, if we may truſt ſome of the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians, the revenues of *Portugal* would not have ſatisfied their expectations [c]. On the 29th of *June* he made his public entry into *Liſbon*, where not long after the fleet from the *Indies* arrived; which gave him great ſatisfaction, more eſpecially as he underſtood that he had been acknowleged and proclaimed there; and conſequently, by the end of the year, was intirely maſter of the kingdom of *Portugal*, the iſlands of *Azores* only excepted [d]. As for the unfortunate Don *Antonio*, he remained diſguiſed and concealed in the kingdom till towards winter, and then found a paſſage to *England*, where he was kindly received and protected by queen *Elizabeth* [e].

THE king, having ſpent the winter at *Liſbon*, found himſelf, at the beginning of the new year, in greater perils and perplexities than ever he was in his life; perſecuted with numberleſs demands, which it was impoſſible for him to grant; and which, if he denied, was likely to increaſe that diſcontent which was too great and dangerous already. He had ſent for his ſiſter the empreſs Donna *Maria*, upon the death of his queen, to take care of his children; and, not finding him at *Madrid*, ſhe came to *Liſbon*. The king received her with all poſſible reſpect and kindneſs, and had ſome thoughts of making her regent of that kingdom; but he ſoon laid that aſide, to prevent the diſputes that muſt have ariſen with another lady, who had appointed herſelf regent. This was the ducheſs of *Braganza*. The king had in general promiſed to comply with her demands; but when ſhe came to make them, he did not think himſelf obliged to keep his word. She expected to be made regent, to have a great number of towns given her in property, and to have all her debts paid, with ſome other things of leſs conſequence. In this embarraſſed condition the king firſt ſent away his ſiſter, and then took the report of five *Portugueſe* commiſſioners, whom he had appointed to conſider of the ducheſs's demands; who ſaid, that if his majeſty gave her ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand ducats to pay her debts, ſhe ought to eſteem it a great favour, as well as a full ſatisfaction [f]. Don *Antonio*, by the aſſiſtance of the queen mother of *France*, and other princes who pitied his condition, equipped

Becomes very uneaſy there, and finds it impoſſible to render himſelf beloved.

1582.

[c] CAMPANA. [d] FARIA Y SOUSA. [e] CAMDEN's Annals. [f] HERRERA.

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a fleet of ſixty ſail, with a conſiderable body of forces on board, with which he propoſed to go to the *Azores*. In their paſſage, or rather as they were on the point of entering into port, they were attacked by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, with a *Spaniſh* ſquadron under his command, and totally defeated. In this battle three hundred perſons were taken priſoners, amongſt whom were thirty noblemen and fifty gentlemen. They produced *French* commiſſions, and expected to be treated as priſoners of war; but the marquis finding by papers, that their chief aim was to intercept the fleet from the *Indies*, inſiſted there was no war between the crowns of *France* and *Caſtile*, treated them all as pirates, beheaded the gentlemen, and hanged the reſt without mercy[f]. On the 21ſt of *November* died the prince Don *Diego*, to the great grief of the whole *Spaniſh* monarchy[h], as well as of his father, who, though he was eſteemed the greateſt maſter of diſſimulation of any prince of his time, and made his utmoſt efforts to appear calm and eaſy amongſt his new ſubjects, found it impoſſible to conceal the anxiety that this and other untoward accidents gave him; more eſpecially when he found that all his efforts to gain the affections of the *Portugueſe* were fruitleſs and ineffectual. In this year pope *Gregory* the thirteenth made that famous alteration in the calendar which produced the diſtinction of old ſtile and new; and though it was perhaps not well underſtood, and withal very little pleaſing to the *Caſtilians*, the king cauſed it to be obſerved and brought into uſe through all the countries under his dominion, as in ſuch caſes he piqued himſelf extremely upon ſhewing his reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the ſee of *Rome*[i].

Returns into Spain, *and marries the infanta* Catalina *to the duke of* Savoy.

IT is no great wonder, if, in this ſituation of things, the king grew weary of his reſidence at *Liſbon*, where, when he had cauſed his ſon the infant Don *Philip* to be acknowleged and ſworn to as ſucceſſor, and had directed the bodies of the two laſt kings *Sebaſtian* and *Henry*, together with the remains of twenty other perſons of the royal family, to be transferred to the chapel of *Belem*, he made preparations for his departure[k]; at which time the duke of *Alba* being ſick, he viſited him with all the kindneſs of a friend, and ſhewed great concern for his death[l]. On his leaving *Portugal*, he appointed the cardinal archduke *Albert* regent, and brought many of the *Portugueſe* nobility with him to the eſcurial, where, to his great ſatisfaction, he found moſt of thoſe things

[f] Conestaggio. [h] Siguenca. [i] Illescas.
[k] Cabrera. [l] Ant. de Herrera.

executed

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executed which he had directed, and seemed to please himself with the hopes of repose, when in truth the busiest and least agreeable part of his life was yet to come [m]. He was desirous, however, of reducing the *Azores* islands, and sent the marquis *de Santa Cruz* with a fleet for that purpose, which service he performed with great success; but it would have turned more to his reputation, if it had been attended with less bloodshed; but the adherents to Don *Antonio* in those islands had given great provocation; the marquis was naturally severe, and the executions that followed upon their reduction were numerous and cruel [n]. There happened nothing of great importance in the succeeding year, except the assembly of the states of *Castile* and *Leon* at *Madrid*, for acknowleging the infant Don *Philip*, and the conclusion of a marriage between the duke of *Savoy* and the infanta Donna *Catalina*; to which the king consented, upon condition that the duke came in person to espouse her [o].

1583. 1584.

Finds himself extremely incommoded by the power and policy of the queen of England.

In the beginning of the year the gallies of *Spain* were sent to bring that prince; and the king, with the whole court, went into *Arragon*, where at *Saragossa* the marriage was consummated in the month of *February*, and in *June* the king accompanied his son-in-law to *Barcelona*, where he embarked for his own dominions [p]. He went afterwards to hold the states of *Catalonia*, *Arragon*, and *Valencia*, at *Moncon*, in order to have the prince acknowleged by them, where, as things went not altogether to his mind, he fell sick, and, upon his recovery, dissolved the states, though his affairs obliged him to remain at *Valencia* the remainder of the year, where he received the embassadors of some princes of *Japan*, who afterwards went to *Rome*, to pay obedience in the name of their masters to the pope [q]. In the succeeding year, finding himself, as his own historians say, deeply touched in his honour by the depredations committed in *Europe* and *America* by the *English*, he entertained a project of making queen *Elizabeth* feel the whole weight of his resentment. Some say he was excited to this by the prince of *Parma*; and that, after he had begun his preparations, he was dissuaded from pursuing them by the same prince, who, upon mature deliberation, foresaw the difficulties that would attend such an enterprize, and concluded it impracticable. It is much more probable that he was encouraged to it by the popish fugitives from *England*, men of a violent and implacable spirit, who, under the veil of religion, sought to vent

1585.

[m] Faria y Sousa. [n] Ant. Herrera. [o] Campana. [p] Ferreras. [q] Cabrera.

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their own passion and resentment; and that he was farther importuned to it by pope *Sixtus* the fifth is very certain. Besides, Sir *Francis Drake* had burnt several ships in the road of *Cadiz*, and had taken a very rich *East Indiaman*, named the *Saint Philip*, which provoked the king highly [r].

1586. The *Spanish* writers say, that, notwithstanding this, the prince of *Parma* prevailed upon him to consent to certain conferences for a peace in the *Low Countries*, which is out of doubt; but when they add, that the propositions of the *English* commissioners rendered them ineffectual, we have great reason to question their sincerity, since we know that those commissioners came into a great deal of trouble for their complaisance; and that, in the issue of this business, these pacific propositions appeared to be no more than a

1587. *Spanish* amusement. The truth seems to be, that the king had lost his old able ministers; and that his councils were chiefly governed by cardinal *Granvelle*, who did not live, however, to see the mischiefs and misfortunes they produced [s].

Resolves to employ the whole force of his dominions in humbling that princess.

THE king, bent upon the execution of this expedition, issued his orders for assembling the whole maritime force of his vast dominions, and ordered all the fleet to assemble as early as it was possible at *Lisbon*; while the prince of *Parma* had instructions to provide in the *Low Countries* the greatest force he was able, both by sea and land, for effecting and covering a descent. The steadiness of the king, in pursuing whatever resolution he had once taken, joined to the high opinion the *Spaniards* had of the invincible force of their maritime power, which at that time was certainly the greatest in *Europe*, and the zeal, not to say fury, of the catholics, to pull down a princess whom they considered as the protectress of heretics, animated all the preparations for this

1588. extraordinary design, for the execution of which the king spared no expence; so that, as Don *Bernard de Mendoza* (and none knew better) told the president *de Thou*, it cost the king upwards of thirty-six millions of pieces of eight by that time the fleet was assembled at *Lisbon*. This invincible armada, as it was stiled, consisted, according to the *Spanish* accounts, of one hundred and thirty ships of war and gallies, having on board upwards of twenty thousand land troops, and eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen, besides slaves at the oar. When things were almost ready, the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who was to have commanded,

[r] LUIS DE BAVIA, Historia Pontifical. [s] CAMDEN'S Annals.

died,

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died, and the king appointed the duke *de Medina Sidonia* to succeed him, who would willingly have excused himself, as being conscious of his want of skill in maritime affairs, and was afraid of the king's displeasure. He sailed from *Lisbon* the 27th of *May*; but, meeting with very bad weather, was obliged to put into the port of *Corunna*, where he remained some time, and came in sight of the coast of *England* on the last of *July*. They were from that time harrassed by the *English* fleet, composed of small and light ships, which had great advantage over them in the *English* chanel, and, being commanded by the ablest seamen of that age, pushed their advantage to the utmost. The weather was also favourable to them, and destructive to the *Spaniards*. The prince of *Parma* was in the middle of his preparations, and in no condition to execute any thing; so that, after suffering much, and seeing no hopes of executing their enterprize, the duke *de Medina Sidonia*, and the rest of the *Spanish* commanders, from meditating a conquest, were brought to study how to escape; and in this they were no less unfortunate, as being in the midst of their enemies, and but very indifferently skilled in navigating those seas. They quickly found it was impossible to retire through the *English* chanel, and were therefore forced to sail northward, along the coast of *Scotland*, beaten all the way by furious tempests; and, after losing twelve large ships that ran upon the coast of *England*, some were also lost upon the west of *Scotland*, some were driven to *Denmark*, and some to *Ireland*. The duke *de Medina Sidonia*, with the few ships that remained at last, put into *St. Andero*. The *Spaniards* compute their loss at thirty-two large ships and ten thousand men, but it was certainly much greater; *Mariana* says truly, that it ruined their marine, and that the best part of their old troops and most experienced seamen perished in this fatal expedition, which, as in the beginning it was intended to crush *England*, so in its conclusion it proved the heaviest blow that *Spain* had ever felt since she became a maritime power[t]. Some great historians, and amongst them Mr. *de Thou*, say, that the king was so much chagrined, that he would not permit the duke of *Medina Sidonia* to come to court; but in reality the duke himself declined it, and went to his own house, full of sorrow and regret. But the king issued his orders for relieving all the poor people that returned, and wrote the duke a very kind letter, in which he thanked him for his services, expressed a great concern for the miseries he had endured,

The dismal catastrophe of his invincible armada, by which his naval power was lost.

[t] Campana.

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and told him, that, in things depending upon the elements, the fault was never to be imputed to men. This letter, as it deserves, is extant, and shews, that whatever passed in his mind, *Philip* knew how to conceal all his passions[u].

Spain and Portugal in great danger by an invasion from England.

THE next year the king found himself in a new situation, which he little expected; for Don *Antonio*, who stiled himself king of *Portugal*, having prevailed upon queen *Elizabeth* to assist him with a numerous fleet and a powerful army, the former commanded by Sir *Francis Drake*, and the latter by General *Norris*, arrived on the coasts of *Spain* in the spring, where they sacked *Corunna*, and did a great deal of mischief, which, how much soever it chagrined the *Spaniards*, in reality undid themselves[w]; for Don *Philip* immediately sent express after express to the archduke *Albert*, to provide for the security of *Portugal*; which had been out of his power, if they had sailed directly to *Lisbon*, where they did not arrive till the first of *June*. Don *Antonio* had promised that his countrymen would rise unanimously in his favour, in which no doubt he went too far; but the bulk of the nation were certainly so inclined, and it was owing to the precautions taken by the archduke that they became masters of the suburbs only, and not of the capital, where, however, it was as much as he could do to restrain the populace from a general insurrection; and, if there had not been a misunderstanding, or at least a want of right intelligence, between the *English* admiral and general, Don *Antonio* might have succeeded in his enterprize, or at least have given rise to a long war. But Sir *Francis Drake* not bringing the *English* fleet up the *Tagus*, and the cardinal archduke having burnt all the magazines of provisions without the town, general *Norris* was obliged to decamp on the 4th for want of provisions. In his retreat, he took the fortress of *Cascaes*, which was ruined and blown up at his departure; and the *English* fleet made prizes of a great number of ships, after which they embarked their forces, and returned[x]. Though this was considered as a high dishonour in *Spain*, yet in reality the loss was very inconsiderable, in comparison of what it might have been; and it so effectually opened the king's eyes, that he studied from this time to suit his councils to his circumstances, and to consider of the properest ways and means to put his own dominions in a state of defence against enemies whom he found to be far more formidable than he had ever imagined; and, if he had not

1589.

[u] ANTONIO HERRERA. [w] FARIA Y SOUSA. [x] CABRERA.

done

done ſo, it is highly probable that his territories would have ſuffered more than they did, though, notwithſtanding all his care, they ſuffered a great deal.

THE civil war in *France* occupied in a great meaſure the thoughts of Don *Philip*, at a time when the ſituation of his own affairs ſeemed to demand his whole attention, as the neceſſities of the ſtate required the whole forces of his vaſt dominions in *Europe* and elſewhere. But it may be he had continued his intrigues with the catholic league, as it was ſtiled, ſo long for his own ſecurity, that he could not eaſily withdraw his protection. Perhaps he looked on the troubles of *France* as very favourable to his own ſafety and power; but it is moſt probable that he had ſtill greater things in view; and that, having procured for himſelf the adminiſtration of that kingdom, under the title of protector of *France*, he thought it not impracticable to obtain the poſſeſſion of it for his favourite daughter the infanta Donna *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, who it was once propoſed ſhould eſpouſe the young duke of *Guiſe*; but, whatever his motives were, his conduct plainly ſhewed, that he meant to fruſtrate the pretenſions of *Henry* the fourth, ſtiled in *Spain* the prince of *Bearn*, to the crown of *France*; and to the deſire of doing this, he ſacrificed intereſts that much more nearly concerned him: for, not content with ſending a great corps of *Spaniſh* troops to the duke *de Mayenne*, which weakened his own army in the *Low Countries*, he ſent expreſs orders to the prince of *Parma* to relieve *Paris*; which he performed with great reputation to himſelf, but with irreparable loſs to the concerns of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*. His expence in ſupport of the *French* rebels in their own country and at *Rome* was immenſe, at the ſame time that his own affairs everywhere ſuffered for want of money; and, while he meditated the deſtruction of other powers, the very means he employed for that purpoſe exhauſted his own *y*.

The civil war in France *becomes a great object of Don* Philip's *politics.*

1590.

WE have before mentioned the diſgrace and impriſonment of *Antonio Perez*, the king's ſecretary of ſtate, who in conſequence of his being charged with various crimes, had been ſentenced to a fine and impriſonment; and afterwards the old proſecution, for being concerned in the murder of *Eſcovedo*, being revived, though he had compounded it with the ſon of the deceaſed, by giving him a large ſum of money, he was tortured to make a confeſſion, and proſecuted afreſh upon th[illegible]. This, tho' he was a man of very

Antonio Perez *tortured on account of the buſineſs of* Eſcovedo's *murder, and his eſcape.*

[illegible]AVIA, Hiſtoria y Pontifical, Hiſtoire de [illegible]AIMEBOURG.

quick.

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quick parts, drove him to the very extent of them; so that, being a native of the kingdom of *Arragon*, he contrived to make his escape thither, in order to shelter himself under the privileges of that kingdom, which not without great difficulty he effected. Being again apprehended by the king's orders, upon his appeal to the chief justice, he was carried to *Saragossa*, and thrown into the prison belonging to that tribunal, of which the justice of *Arragon* was the chief. But as all proceedings before them were in public, and in a clear and open manner, that by no means answered the intention of his enemies, who made use of the royal authority, as if the king was of that number, they therefore caused it to be suggested to the inquisition, that *Perez* intended, as soon as he should be acquitted by the tribunal of the chief justice, to retire into *Bearn*, and put himself under the protection of queen *Catherine* of *Navarre*, mother of *Henry* IV. of *France*, and, if he did not like that country, to withdraw into *Holland* or *England*. It was clearly computed from hence, that a man who placed his hopes in heretics (tho' he could hope protection from none else) could never be in his heart a good catholic. To fish out, therefore, this latent heresy, the inquisitors thought fit to transfer him to their prison without the city of *Saragossa*. This produced a revolt, which the bishop of *Tervel*, who was then viceroy, quieted, by taking *Perez* out of the prisons of the inquisition, and sending him back to the prisons of the chief justice; but the marquis of *Almenara*, the king's minister, was so rudely handled by the populace, that he died.

Delivered by the people of Arragon, *which draws on them the king's indignation.*

THE inquisitors, having engaged all their friends to support them, constrained the viceroy to deliver up the prisoner to them again; and, having assembled about two thousand foot, to cover this great enterprize, they attempted to carry it into execution, which excited a fresh insurrection, and in this there perished about one hundred persons, some of them gentlemen. However, as the soldiers could not be brought to act against their countrymen, or rather against their country, the people prevailed, and set *Antonio Perez* at liberty, who very prudently withdrew into *Bearn*[z]. In the midst of these disputes, the chief justice of *Arragon*, Don *Juan de Lanuza*, died, and was succeeded in that high office by

[z] Obras, Relaciones, et Cartas, d'Antonio Perez, Memoires historiques, politiques, critiques, et literaires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAIE, History of the sad catastrophe of Antonio Perez, secretary of state to Philip II. king of Spain, by MICHAEL GEDDES.

his

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his ſon. The people, upon certain intelligence that Don *Alonſo Vargas*, with a body of 6000 men, was advancing, by the king's command, in order to puniſh this oppoſition to his will, inſiſted upon the aſſembling an army for protecting the liberties of *Arragon*, and obliged the young chief juſtice to iſſue commiſſions for that purpoſe; but moſt of the nobility, being become dependent upon the court, or willing to obtain favours by ſacrificing that conſtitution which had made them great, either acted againſt the commons, or affected to appear neuters. The chief juſtice himſelf would have retired, if the people, who ſuſpected it, had not reſtrained him. Don *Alonſo Vargas*, who was himſelf an *Arragoneſe*, no ſooner appeared with his troops before *Saragoſſa*, than the magiſtrates went out to meet him, and, when he had taken poſſeſſion of the city, the chief juſtice, Don *Juan de Lanuza*, returned with the duke of *Villa Hermoſa* and the count *de Aranda*. Don *Alonſo* cauſed them all three to be arreſted, and, by the king's expreſs order under his hand, directed Don *Juan*'s head to be cut off upon a ſcaffold the ſame day[a]. In the opinion of all ſenſible people, the blow that deprived him of life, extinguiſhed the liberties of *Arragon*. As to the other two noblemen, they died in ſeparate priſons, under proſecutions for high treaſon; but their heirs making it fully appear, that they only made uſe of that popularity which their great probity and unblemiſhed characters had given them to quiet the firſt commotions, and had no ſhare at all in the laſt, they were, by a ſolemn ſentence, declared loyal and faithful ſubjects[b]. This end had the troubles of *Antonio Perez*, who in a tedious exile, in which he was driven to great neceſſities, ſurvived his mother and moſt of his enemies (B). 1591.

THE

[a] GEDDES's Miſcellaneous Tracts, vol. ii. p. 398. BOURDEILLE, Sieur de BRANTOME, Memoires des Grands Capitaines Etrangers. [b] CABRERA.

(B) We have ſaid ſo much in the text of *Antonio Perez*, and the fortunes and misfortunes of that great miniſter are in general ſo well known, that we ſhall inſiſt here only on a few particular points that have hitherto in ſome meaſure eſcaped the public notice, and which, in conjunction with his own writings and the common hiſtories, will give the reader a true idea of the moſt ſingular character perhaps that the world ever ſaw. It is certain, that his intimacy with Donna *Anna de Mendoça y la Cerda* plunged them both into misfortunes. This

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Intrigues of Don Philip to disturb the peace of France, and procure the

THE king Don *Philip* was still very intent upon his projects in *France*; but finding it very difficult to supply the leaguers with money, in proportion either to their demands or to their wants, he formed a project, which shews his abilities as a politician. Pope *Sixtus* V. had amassed prodigious sums of money, which he laid up in the castle of *St. Angelo*, under pretence of employing them, if it should be necessary,

This lady was princess of *Eboli*, equally remarkable for her accomplishments and her passions. She had a high genius, lively wit, and exquisite beauty; she was at the same time very ambitious and very gallant. The mistress, as the world said of *Philip* II. and the mistress too, if the same authority may gain credit, of *Antonio Perez*. She is said to have been in love with the power of the king, and the person of the secretary (1). The king's jealousy had no share in their disgrace; the princess always retained a great power over that monarch, notwithstanding she always corresponded with, and affected great attachment to *Perez*, who, thro' his long exile, still held a place in his master's esteem. This appears in part from the king's will, but more clearly and with better evidence in the memorial which Don *Balthazar Zuniga* drew up for the information of his nephew the *Conde de Olivarez*, in which he expressly affirms, that *Perez* was the faithful servant of the king, though disgraced, tortured, and banished, and kept his secret among his enemies, in spite of the threats, the arts, and the gifts, employed to extract it from him (2). He had a great affection for his wife, as appears from the elegant *Latin* epitaph he wrote for her; but he had his gallantries notwithstanding; and we are told, that *Henry* IV. of *France* hinted to him one day his surprise, that he should be so much the slave of a woman that had but one eye. *Perez* answered with emotion, she set the world on fire with that; if she had preserved both, she would have consumed it. We are not at the bottom of this history, which had a large share in his misfortune; he kept up his *Spanish* haughtiness in the midst of his wants, and would give the title of excellency only, not highness, to the count of *Soissons*, the duke of *Guise*, and other princes. Though he was a beggar, he was very intimate with queen *Elizabeth*'s favourite the earl of *Essex*, and no less with M. *de Villeroi*, the *French* secretary of state, to whom those letters were addressed, which are intituled, *To a friend*; but he quickly lost his credit with queen *Elizabeth* and *Henry* IV.; and perhaps it would have been as well if he had not preserved it with their ministers. He died at *Paris* in 1611, in mean circumstances; for though he had many great qualities, he wanted oeconomy (3).

(1) *Herrera, Cabrera, Naut.* (2) *Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, p.* 257. *Anecdotes de Philippe* II. *p.* 143. *Vie d'Antoine Perez, Secretaire & Favori, &c.* (3) *Memoires Historiques, Critiques, Politiques, & Literaires, par Amelot de la Houssaie, tom.* i. *p.* 242——262.

against

againſt the infidels; but Don *Philip* ſuſpected rather it was intended for the conqueſt of *Naples*. His immediate ſucceſſor *Urban* VII. died ſo ſoon, that the king had it not in his power to practiſe upon him; but *Gregory* XIV. being raiſed to the pontifical throne, he ordered his ambaſſador to acquaint him how much it was in his will, and how little it was in his power, to ſupport the holy league in *France*; and, as a proof of his ſincerity, deſired leave to ſell ſome of the church-lands in *Spain* for ſo good a purpoſe. This, he knew, the *Spaniſh* cardinals would labour to prevent; but, that they might not ſeem to have leſs zeal for the church than their maſter, they ſuggeſted that the treaſures laid up by pope *Sixtus* might as well be employed againſt heretics as againſt infidels; in which they prevailed, and no leſs than three millions were this year iſſued for the ſervice of the league [c], which the *Spaniſh* faction in *France* placed to the account of king *Philip*, tho' not a penny of it came out of his pocket. But the duke of *Mayenne*, deſirous of knowing what his catholic majeſty's ſentiments really were, ſent the preſident *Janin* to *Madrid*, to diſcover them, where he found the king ſo fully perſuaded of his title to *France*, that, in his diſcourſe, he frequently made us of theſe terms, *My city of* Paris, *my town of* Orleans, *my port of* Rouen, which by no means pleaſed that miniſter, tho' he diſſembled it. At length he was plainly told, that the king looked upon the infanta *Iſabella* as the heireſs of *France*; that he was inclined to marry her to the archduke *Erneſt*, and, in conſideration of the zeal and fidelity of the catholic league, in raiſing them to the throne, he was content to give them the *Low Countries* [d]. At this very juncture, the council of ſixteen took upon them to offer the crown of *France* to the infanta, provided ſhe eſpouſed the young duke of *Guiſe*, who was juſt eſcaped out of priſon. It was from theſe propoſitions, and the ſlender ſupply of ten thouſand crowns a month, which the king promiſed the duke of *Mayenne*, that the preſident took occaſion to make the beſt terms he could with *Henry* the fourth [e]. The *Engliſh* had this year a fleet upon the coaſt of *Spain*, under the command of the earl of *Cumberland*, and another ſquadron under lord *Thomas Howard* at the *Azores*, which, but for the intelligence they received from the former, had been ſurpriſed by Don *Alonzo Bazan*; who had the honour, however, of taking the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir *Richard Greenfield*, whoſe name *Ferreras* has

crown for the infanta.

[c] Herrera, Bavia. [d] Hiſtoire de France, par Pierre de Matthieu. [e] Thuanus.

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hiſpaniolized into *Campo Verida*; the only ſhip of war the *Spaniards* took from queen *Elizabeth*. But this ſaved the plate-fleet; the beſt part of which, however, together with the prize, periſhed by a ſtorm in their return to *Spain*, where, notwithſtanding, Don *Alonſo* was received in triumph [f].

A new inſurrection in Aragon, *attended with freſh acts of ſeverity.*

THE next year the unfortunate *Arragoneſe*, who had been obliged to take ſhelter in the principality of *Bearn*, believing that the ſeverities which had been exerciſed at *Saragoſſa* muſt have ſpread univerſal diſcontent through the kingdom of *Aragon*, they, with ſuch ſuccours as could be procured from the queen of *Navarre*, reſolved to make an irruption into that kingdom; in which poſſibly they might have met with ſome ſucceſs, if one of the queen's ladies of honour had not betrayed them to the viceroy Don *Alonſo Vargas*, who poſted troops there with ſuch propriety, that Don *Martin de Lanuza*, who commanded the refugees, was ſurpriſed and beat, almoſt as ſoon as he entered the kingdom. He had, however, the good fortune to eſcape himſelf; but Don *Diego de Heredia*, Don *Franciſco Ayerbe*, Don *Juan de Luna*, and Don *Diego Perez*, were taken, and executed, together with numbers of an inferior rank; and an expedition that was made into *Catalonia* by the *Bearnois* was not more ſucceſsful [g]. Don *Philip*, upon this, publiſhed an amneſty, in which, however, were excepted *Antonio Perez*, and twenty others by name, all who were in priſon, or under proſecution, and ſuch as might be objected to by the inquiſition. Upon which the *Arragoneſe* ſaid truly, that the king had ſent them a very handſome ſuit of cloaths, but that it would fit nobody. Soon after, he convoked an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Tarragona*, which was held in his name by the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*, and which, when they had curtailed ſome of the privileges of the kingdom, and done other diſagreeable acts, the king meant to honour with his preſence. The houſhold of prince *Philip* being ſettled, the king, though ſomewhat indiſpoſed, ſet out for *Navarre*; but, in his route, was taken ſo ill at *Eſtrella*, that it was believed his life was in danger. He recovered notwithſtanding, through the ſtrength of his conſtitution, and, as ſoon as he was able to bear the fatigue of travelling, proceeded with the prince to *Pampeluna*, where he was received with all apparent marks of joy, held an aſſembly of the ſtates, in which the prince Don *Philip* was ac-

[f] CAMDEN's Annals, CABRERA, HERRERA, FERRERAS.
[g] MAYERNE TURQUET.

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knowleged his heir apparent. Having left an able architect to finish the castle, he returned through *Arragon*, and was present at closing the assembly of the states at *Tarragona*, where, upon his giving orders to Don *Alonso de Vargas* to leave the kingdom with his troops, excepting only a detachment that was to guard the inquisition, he obtained a free gift of seven hundred thousand livres, of that country money [h]. 1592.

His projects with regard to *France* were now at a crisis. He had a strong body of forces in *Bretagne*, and had directed the duke of *Parma*, who had gained so much reputation the year before by raising the siege of *Rouen*, to enter *France* a third time, to countenance the general assembly that was to be held at *Paris* for the choice of a king. That nothing might be wanting to facilitate his design, he caused ingots of gold to be carried by land to *Namur*, to be coined there into a million and a half of ducats, the best part of which were to be distributed amongst the deputies to the assembly, where the duke of *Feria* was to assist in his name, and to demand the duchy of *Bretagne* for the infanta *Isabella*, to which he asserted her right was indisputable, since that duchy came to the crown of *France* by an heir female, whose immediate direct heiress was his deceased queen, and consequently his daughter by her. The duke was also to support the interests of the duke of *Guise*, who, in case he was elected king, was to marry the new duchess of *Bretagne*; but, previous to this, he was to use his utmost endeavours to procure the election of the infanta, and to consent to the other measure only in case of necessity. These fine-spun schemes were broken by a variety of accidents. The duke of *Parma* died at *Arras*, where he was assembling his forces; upon which the troops mutinied, and a great part of them disbanded. The duke of *Feria* quarrelled with the duke of *Mayenne*; and the *Spanish* ministers were so scrupulous in parting with their money, that they were not able to carry any considerable point in the assembly; so that if the king persuaded himself, as some think he did, that his daughter would have been this year declared queen of *France*, he must have been much disappointed [i]. The *Spanish* historians tell us [k], that Don *Alonzo Bazan*, with the gallies under his command, took several *English* ships that had made themselves masters of two of the plate fleet at the islands of the *Azores*; but an author of our own [l], who was at that time in *Spain*,

The king insists upon the incontestable right of the infanta Donna Isabella.

[h] Herrera. [i] P. Daniel. [k] Ferreras.
[l] Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts.

affirms,

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affirms, that Don *Alonſo* might have done it, if he had followed the king's orders; but that, by purſuing his own notions, he failed, was diſgraced for it, and never recovered the king's favour any more.

Manages with great addreſs, and obtains a large free gift from the ſtates of Arragon.

THE king Don *Philip* employed a great part of the ſpring in taking the beſt meaſures poſſible for quieting the minds of the people of *Arragon*, and at the ſame time provided for the ſecurity of that kingdom, by diſpoſing his troops in ſuch a manner on the frontiers, as to put a ſpeedy end to any commotion that might be excited, in hopes of aboliſhing the conceſſions made in the laſt aſſembly of the ſtates, in prejudice to their old conſtitution. He ſent likewiſe a ſquadron of ſhips from *Biſcay*, to ſupport the leaguers in *Bretagne*; in the proſecution of which enterprize they engaged ſome

1593. *Engliſh* ſhips, by which both ſides were loſers; but the *Spaniards* carried their main point of preſerving what they had acquired in that country, which gave great uneaſineſs to queen *Elizabeth* [m], on account of its ſituation. The king held a chapter of the order of the golden fleece, for the inſtallation of his ſon the prince Don *Philip*, in which the collar was given to the duke of *Infantado*, the marquis *de Villena*, and Don *Pedro de Medicis*, a young *Mooriſh* prince, whoſe name was *Muley*, ſon to *Muley Mohammed*, the dethroned king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, who came privately to the king's court, and declared that he did it with a deſire of becoming a Chriſtian. After due precautions taken to be ſecure of his ſincerity, he was baptized, and the king not only gave him appointments ſuitable to his birth, but alſo made him a knight of *St. Jago*, and grandee of *Spain* [n].

Hen. IV. of France *becomes a catholic, which breaks all the plots of* Spain *and the league.*

HENRY IV. of *France*, having declared himſelf a catholic, broke all the meaſures of the league, and brought over at once all who had any ſincere inclinations to reſtore the peace, and revive the honour, of their country [o]. The catholic king, in a manner little ſuitable to his great prudence, as even the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians confeſs, perſiſted in the purſuit of thoſe projects that were now become impracticable, and had ſo much influence at *Rome* as to engage pope *Clement* the eighth to delay the abſolution which he had demanded by the duke *de Nevers*; and perhaps might have done more, if a *French* prieſt had not honeſtly and boldly ſaid to that pontif, *Holy father, your predeceſſor* Clement VII. *loſt* England *by gratifying the emperor* Charles V. *have a care therefore that you do not loſe* France *by puſhing too far your complai-*

[m] CABRERA, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. [n] HERRERA.
[o] CATHERINOT, LOUIS MAIMBOURG, MEZERAY.

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sance for Philip II. This, and other remonſtrances, wrought upon the pope; but as for the king, tho' he might at that time have made very good terms with *Henry*, he continued obſtinate in his own meaſures, and in laviſhing vaſt ſums to no purpoſe, while his affairs ſuffered at home and abroad through the debts and difficulties that were by this means brought upon his adminiſtration [p]. In the *Low Countries*, the principal nobility refuſed to acknowlege the count *de Fuentes*, whom he had appointed their governor; ſo that the management of public affairs was left to count *Peter Ernеſt de Mansfeld*, who had been appointed his deputy by the duke of *Parma*; and this viſible declenſion of his grandeur on all ſides, tho' it had no effect upon his behaviour, is thought to have affected the king's mind, and to have increaſed his infirmities [q].

THE friends of the *Spaniards* in *France* had prevailed upon the duke of *Mayenne* to remove the count *de Belin* from the poſt of governor of *Paris*, and to beſtow it on the count *de Briſſac*, whom they looked upon as an irreconcileable enemy to the king; and ſo perhaps he might have been, if they had not procured him this poſt, which enabled him to make his peace with his maſter, by putting the capital of his dominions into his poſſeſſion. He managed this affair with ſuch ſecrecy, that, while the army of *France* entered on one ſide of the city, the duke of *Feria*, with about four thouſand *Spaniſh* troops, marched out of the other. There is no doubt that *Henry* might have attacked, and probably cut them to pieces; which, however, he was ſo far from attempting, that he ſent them a ſafe-conduct, and offered them an eſcorte [r]. The king Don *Philip*, having ſent his nephew the archduke *Erneſt*, with the title of governor, into the *Low Countries*, the *French* king made him ſome propoſitions of peace; and, upon his declining them for want of proper powers, he ſent an agent to *Madrid* with as little effect. Hoſtilities were ſtill continued by the *Engliſh* at ſea, and, by their aſſiſtance, the *French* were enabled to recover ſeveral places in *Bretagne*. 1594.

The city of Paris *taken, and the duke of* Feria, *with the* Spaniſh *garriſon, retires.*

To heighten the perplexities of Don *Philip*, a *Turkiſh* fleet, under the command of the baſha *Zigala*, appeared very unexpectedly on the coaſt of *Calabria*, where they committed moſt horrid outrages; and having acquired a vaſt booty, and a multitude of ſlaves, returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople* [s]. This year died Don *Gaſpar de Quiroga*,

A Turkiſh *fleet unexpectedly ravages the coaſt of* Calabria.

[p] CABRERA. [q] EMANUEL METERIN. [r] MEZERAY.
[s] CAMDEN's Annals, THUANUS.

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archbishop of *Toledo*, a person equally beloved and revered, and who had opposed, as far as he was able, most of the measures that had brought the king into distress. He was a great oeconomist, and died immensely rich, but without making any disposition of his effects, which were therefore claimed by the pope. It is probable this might have met with some opposition, if, at the same time the claim was made, the pontif had not declared his intention that one-third should be employed in works of piety, that another should be paid into the royal treasury, and the remainder belong to the apostolic chamber, which was executed without any dispute [t]. The king, upon the demise of this prelate, recalled the archduke *Albert* from the government of *Portugal*, where the administration was committed to five regents; and, upon the archduke's arrival in *Spain*, the king gave him the rich see of *Toledo*, to the great joy of his mother, tho' she had no interest in his promotion; for tho' he treated her with great civility and respect, yet it was believed he never forgave her the defeating his father's scheme of causing him to be elected king of the *Romans*.

An attempt made to set up an impostor for Don Sebastian *detected and punished.*

THE king, having received the news of the death of the archduke *Ernest*, governor of the *Low Countries*, appointed Don *Pedro Henriquez de Toledo de Fuentes* to succeed him for the present, intending that government for the cardinal archduke *Albert*, who, for that reason, was not consecrated to his see, tho' he took possession of it by proxy, and appointed *Garcia Loyasa* his administrator, who, upon his resignation, became his successor [u]. *Henry* IV. of *France*, believing that he could receive no greater injuries than he had done from Don *Philip*, declared war against *Spain*, and took proper measures, with the assistance of the queen of *England*, to make his power felt, where his friendship had been despised [v]. There happened this year, or rather there was finished this year, a very singular and almost incredible transaction in *Spain*. At the time king *Philip* made himself master of *Portugal*, amongst other ecclesiastics, who were in the opposite interest, there was one father *Michael de los Santos*, an *Augustine* frier, who had been vicar-general of his order, chaplain to Don *Sebastian*, and confessor to Don *Antonio*. He was a man of learning and sense, and yet took such liberties in his discourse, that the king found it absolutely necessary to remove him out of *Portugal*; upon which he caused him to be

[t] CABRERA, LUIS DE BAVIA. [u] ANTONIO CARNERO. [v] MEZERAY, P. DANIEL, CAMDEN's Annals.

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ſeized, and ſent him to *Madrigal*, where he made him confeſſor to a monaſtery of nuns of his own order, amongſt whom was Donna *Anna* of *Auſtria*, his niece. Father *Michael* took notice there of one *Gabriel de Spinoſa*, at that time a paſtry-cook, a native of *Toledo*, but a foundling, who had been bred a velvet-weaver, who went as a ſoldier when the king ſent the duke of *Alba* into *Portugal*, and, having carried away a young woman from that country, took up the trade he then followed for a ſubſiſtence. This man father *Michael* engaged to aſſume the name of Don *Sebaſtian*; and as he could not have a more able maſter, and as a great deal of time and pains were ſpent in giving him inſtructions, there was ſcarce ever an impoſtor who acted his part with greater dexterity. The next thing father *Michael* did was to introduce him to Donna *Anna*, who, through reverence of her ſpiritual guide, prejudice in favour of a man who did all he could to render himſelf agreeable to her, and through want of experience, was eaſily brought to believe that he was really the perſon he repreſented. Being flattered that a diſpenſation from the pope might enable her to ſhare his throne and his bed, ſhe gave him ſome jewels of great value to furniſh him with money; and, in diſpoſing of theſe privately at *Madrid*, he was apprehended for a thief, and, at the time he was ſeized, declared the truth, that he was a paſtry-cook in *Madrigal*, and that the jewels belonged to the princeſs *Anne* of *Auſtria*. But, ſoon after he was confined, a packet was intercepted, directed to him from *Madrigal*, in which the title of majeſty being given him, it was immediately carried to the king, and orders thereupon ſent to confine Donna *Anne* to her cell. The ſhare father *Michael* had in this buſineſs came ſoon after to be underſtood; upon which he was made priſoner, and the deciſion, with reſpect to him, left to the pope's legate. *Gabriel Spinoſa* at firſt confeſſed freely, but afterwards retracted; however, being carried to *Madrigal*, and confronted both with the princeſs and the frier, the two men 1595.
being put to the queſtion, acknowleged all. The iſſue of this matter was, that *Gabriel de Spinoſa* was condemned to ſuffer death; to which he ſubmitted with great reluctancy. Father *Michael*, after being degraded by order of the nuncio, was delivered over to the ſecular arm, and hanged. He is ſaid to have died very penitent, and to have confeſſed that he intended to make uſe of the pretended *Sebaſtian* to excite a rebellion, and, if poſſible, to bring about a revolution in *Portugal*; after which he was to be removed, to make way for Don *Antonio*. As for the unfortunate princeſs, ſhe was

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removed to another convent of the same order, and very closely confined during the remainder of her life [x].

The Spaniards revenge themselves on the Turks for pillaging Calabria.

TOWARDS the end of the month of *August*, the cardinal archduke and archbishop *Albert* set out for the *Low Countries*, vested with full powers to treat and conclude a peace with the *French* monarch; for as Don *Philip* could not prevail his being absolved by the pope, he at length abandoned the design of making the infanta a queen, and contented himself with what was in his power, resigning to her the *Low Countries*; a resolution which, if it had been earlier taken, might have produced those effects that were now expected from it in vain [y]. Don *Pedro de Toledo*, captain-general of the gallies of *Naples*, in conjunction with Don *Pedro de Leyva*, general of the gallies of *Sicily*, made a descent at *Patrass* in the *Morea*, at the time of the fair, where they took from the *Turks* a booty to the value of 400,000 ducats, and brought away many rich merchants, whom they ransomed at a very high price. This year the *English* had a strong squadron in *America*, under the command of Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Francis Drake*, who both died there, after doing much mischief to the *Spaniards*, but with little advantage to themselves [z].

Island and castle of Cadiz attacked and taken by lord Howard and earl of Essex.

AGE and infirmities had by degrees broke the spirit of king *Philip*; so that, notwithstanding the natural loftiness of his temper, his confidence in his own strength, and conceit of his superior policy, he had a strong inclination to peace, and was even disposed to make some sacrifices for obtaining it; yet, partly from the slowness of the *Spanish* councils, and partly from that inactivity into which he was now fallen, he did not pursue his new measures with that vigour which was necessary to have procured them success. He had intelligence of an *English* fleet and army preparing to invade his dominions, and he would persuade himself that the place aimed at was *Lisbon*; upon which he ordered all his strength thither. But this fleet, commanded by the lord admiral *Howard* and the earl of *Essex*, had, in reality, no other view than attacking *Cadiz*, and destroying there the fleet outward-bound to the *Indies*. They were very fortunate in all respects; for they brought the first news of their own arrival, and found the *Spaniards* miserably unprepared. Don *Juan Portocarrero*, who commanded the gallies in the bay, provided in the best manner he was able for the defence of the forts, and the security of the merchantmen; which, how-

[x] MAYERNE TURQUET. [y] CABRERA, FERRERAS.
[z] MAMBRINO, ROSEO, CANTEMIR, CAMDEN'S Annals.

ever,

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ever, proved to very little purpose. The *English* attacked them with their small ships, as the depth of water did not permit them to use the large ones, and shewed more concern to outstrip each other in getting in than about the resistance with which they might meet. The passage being forced, the frigates, instead of taking shelter under the castle of *St. Philip*, run ashore on the other side, by which the men escaped. The galleons were either taken or burnt; the gallies had the good luck to get out, by the breaking down of a bridge, which the *English* somewhat imprudently had quitted. This, however, put it out of the power of the duke of *Medina Sidonia* either to relieve the place or favour the retreat of those who were in it; so that the earl of *Essex* stormed and took it; but the admiral landing to second him in that design, the fleet of merchantmen got up the bay, which otherwise might have been all taken; to prevent which the duke ordered them to be set on fire. The *English* remained in possession fourteen days, and tho' they ransomed the place for one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, the adjacent country could not raise the money; so that they carried with them their hostages. The *Spanish* authors are divided as to the value of the plunder; some say it amounted to four, and others say to eight millions, and six millions more perished at least on board the fleet [a]. This struck such a terror along the coast, that the inhabitants every-where abandoned it; so that the *English* landed at *Faro* in *Algarve*, burnt and plundered it, carrying from thence the library of the famous *Jerome Osorio*, and afterwards searched the harbours of *Corunna* and *Ferrol*, where they would have burnt the king's ships, if they had found them. The loss they sustained was great, the dishonour greater; the king felt both, and, with much difficulty, assembled a fleet and army to revenge it, by invading *England*. The high steward of *Castile*, Don *Martin de Padilla*, commanded both; but it was so late in the season before they sailed, that they met with a violent tempest at sea on the 27th of *October*, by which forty sail of ships were destroyed, and the shattered remains of the fleet forced into *Ferrol* [b]. In the summer, pope *Clement* VIII. sent his legates, cardinal *Medicis* to *Henry* IV. and father *Bonaventure*, general of the *Observantines*, to king *Philip*, to mediate a peace; and this was the step for which the king had waited, that the negotiation might be opened with the greater honour; whereas it might have been ended with much more 1596.

[a] Herrera, Vander Hammen, Camden's Annals, Mayerne Turquet. [b] Cabrera.

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advantage two years before. In the mean time the archduke *Albert* ſuſtained the reputation which the count *de Fuentes* had acquired in the *Low Countries*, by taking *Calais* and *Ardres* from the *French*, and the iſland of *Hulſt* from the *Dutch*, which afforded ſome, tho' but a ſmall, conſolation for what had happened in *Spain* [c].

The ſurpriſal of Amiens *delays the peace with* France *for a whole year.*

THE peace with *France* would have been ſooner concluded by a year, if it had not been for an unexpected piece of good fortune, or at leaſt ſo it was eſteemed, which happened to the *Spaniards*. This was the ſurpriſal of the city of *Amiens* in *Picardy* by *Hernando Tello Portocarrero*, an officer of a ſmall ſtature, but of a moſt enterpriſing genius, accompanied with great firmneſs of mind, and a perfect knowlege of the military art, as it then ſtood. The archduke *Albert* put him upon, and ſupported him in, this expedition; the ſucceſs of which threw the city of *Paris* into a general conſternation, and embarraſſed *Henry* IV. extremely, who had ſtill the duke of *Mercoeur* and other chiefs of the league to contend with, and was but upon indifferent terms with the proteſtants. The king ſaw that peace was not to be made upon reaſonable terms till that place was retaken, which he cauſed to be blockaded immediately, beſieged it afterwards in form, and commanded there in perſon. The archduke *Albert* marched with an army of 25,000 men to its relief, and approached it ſo unexpectedly, that the advanced guards of the *French* army had probably been beat, or at leaſt forced to raiſe the ſiege. But taking time to form his own troops, he afforded that leiſure to *Henry* which was neceſſary to remedy this diſorder; and then it was thought unadviſeable to riſk a battle; ſo that, in *September*, the place was ſurrendered upon honourable terms; and the negotiations of the peace were in earneſt reſumed [d]. About the ſame time his catholic majeſty made known to the archduke *Albert* his reſolution with reſpect to his marriage of the infanta, and the ceſſion of the *Low Countries*, and ſent him full powers to demand in marriage for the prince Don *Philip* the daughter of the archduke *Charles* of *Auſtria* [e].

Providence defeats a ſecond time an invaſion in-

THE war with *England* continued as warm as ever. Intelligence had been received there of the invaſion that was intended the year before, and that this was ſtill the aim of his catholic majeſty. To prevent this, *Elizabeth* equipped a very ſtrong fleet, with a numerous body of troops on board, to block up or burn the *Spaniſh* armada in their own ports.

[c] La Vie de Clement XI. [d] AUBERTUS, MIRÆUS.
[e] GONZALEZ DE CESPIDES Hiſt. del Rey Phelipe III.

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A terrible tempeſt having diſſipated this fleet almoſt as ſoon as it put to ſea, the original ſcheme was laid aſide, and the earl of *Eſſex*, with the beſt part of the fleet, and as many of the troops as were judged neceſſary, ſent to reduce the *Azores*; in conſequence of which it was thought impoſſible that they ſhould miſs the plate fleet. But this fleet was in the firſt place to viſit the coaſt of *Spain*, which they did in a haſty manner, and then continued their route to the iſlands: thus Don *Martin de Padilla* had an opportunity to come out of *Corunna* with his ſhips and forces, which gave the *Spaniards* great hopes, and indeed great probability, of ſucceſs; but when they were within thirty leagues of the *Engliſh* coaſt, they were ſo roughly handled by a ſtorm, that the fleet was intirely diſperſed; and every ſhip being obliged to ſhift for itſelf, they put back in a moſt ſhattered and diſtreſſed condition into different ports of *Biſcay*; ſo that, as the *Spaniards* themſelves confeſs, through the immediate and apparent interpoſition of Providence, all their attempts to the prejudice of *England* were fruſtrated, and turned to their own loſs [f]; but if the *Spaniards* were unlucky in their intended invaſion, they were very fortunate in repelling the intended invaſion of the iſlands. Don *Gonçalez Vaez Continho*, who was governor of the iſland of *St. Michael*, drew the whole force of that iſland to *Punta Delgada*, where he threw up ſuch ſtrong retrenchments, that the *Engliſh* were obliged to leave him, and go to *Villa Franca*, from whence the earl of *Eſſex* ſuppoſed he could have marched by land to *Punta Delgada*, which upon trial he found impracticable. But what was ſtill worſe than miſcarrying in their conqueſt, they, thro' ſome miſunderſtanding amongſt their officers, ſuffered the plate-fleet to eſcape almoſt unhurt, tho' it fell in with them, by which the *Spaniards* received a ſupply of ten millions of dollars, which had otherwiſe gone into their enemies pockets, and would, in all probability, have been employed in military operations againſt them: theſe obſervations are the more certain, ſince in theſe the beſt *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* writers agree [g].

tended upon England.

1597.

THE conferences at *Vervins* for a peace between the crowns of *France* and *Spain* began on the ſeventh of *February*, under the mediation of the pope's legate, cardinal *Medicis*; but the plenipotentiaries of *Spain* were named by the cardinal archduke, in virtue of the full powers that had been granted him by the king. They demanded that the duke of *Savoy* ſhould be included in that treaty, and, with ſome difficulty,

Peace concluded with the crown of France *at* Vervins.

[f] CAMDEN's Annals. [g] CABRERA.

carried that point; but when they made the like demand in favour of the duke *de Mercœur*, it was absolutely refused, which occasioned some delay; but the duke having made a separate peace with the king, that difficulty was removed. Many others were started, but by the firmness and address of the cardinal legate, who knew very well that, notwithstanding the high and harsh language that was sometimes held on both sides, the *French* monarch and the cardinal archduke were equally desirous of peace, it was at length concluded and signed on the second of *May*, to the satisfaction of both monarchs. This famous treaty consisted of 34 articles, which in the main were very near those of the treaty of *Chateau Cambresis*, two only excepted; for, by the first, all places taken were to be restored, which was intirely in favour of *France*; and, by the 23d, *Henry* reserved all his rights to be discussed in an amicable way, or in the course of justice, by which was understood his title to the kingdom of *Navarre*. On the other side, *Philip* preserved his rights, and those of his daughter the infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, to be discussed in like manner; and these were supposed to respect the duchies of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* [h]. It is very remarkable, that as all the restitutions were on the side of the *Spaniards*, who were possessed of *Blavet* in *Bretagne*, and of *Calais*, *Ardres*, *Montulin*, and several other places in *Picardy*, the archduke sent the duke of *Arscott*, the admiral of *Arragon*, count *Aremberg*, and Don *Lewis de Velasco*, to be hostages for the evacuation of these places, as well as to be witnesses to the king's swearing to the peace, which he did in the presence of the cardinal legate on the 21st of *June*, and the archduke did the like at *Brussels*, in the presence of marshal *Biron*, on the 27th of the same month [i].

The death of Philip II. *and the perplexed state of affairs at the time.*

The archduke having received his uncle's orders to go into *Germany*, in order to conduct the archduchess *Margaret* through *Italy* into *Spain*, he, in the first place, resigned his hat by a letter directed to the pope, which was delivered by the archbishop of *Besançon*. He also resigned the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, which was bestowed on Don *Garcia de Loyasa*, who was preceptor to prince *Philip*; and then, in virtue of the renunciation made by the king, on the sixth of *May*, at *Madrid*, and of full powers granted him by the infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, he received the oaths of the states, and those of the duchy of *Brabant*, who were the first, upon the 10th of *August*. All this was done with a view to

[h] Corps Universel Diplomat. tom. v. p. i. p. 561. [i] Aubertus, Miræus, Herrera.

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conclude his marriage, while the king was yet alive, from an apprehension that some doubts or difficulties might arise on the part of his successor [k]. All this diligence, however, was ineffectual in this respect; for the king declining daily, thro' a complication of distempers, caused himself to be removed from *Madrid* to the *Escurial*, not without great difficulty, and against the advice of his physicians, to whose representations the king answered with great firmness, that they would have the trouble of carrying him thither when he was dead, and they might as well do it while he was alive. He was much better after his arrival there for some days; but then he relapsed. Upon his death-bed he gave a paper of instructions to the prince his son, to whom he recommended the infanta, calling her the joy of his heart, and the delight of his eyes. He ordered some state-prisoners to be set at liberty, and, amongst the rest, the wife of *Antonio Perez*, upon condition that she retired to a monastery. At length, with great marks of piety, as the *Spaniards* say, and, in the midst of the most excruciating torments, he breathed his last, on *Sunday* the 13th of *September*, about five in the afternoon, in the seventy-first year of his age, and in the forty-second of his reign [l].

Maxims of his administration in regard to the general system of Europe.

THERE is scarce any character in history that has been more frequently examined, or more severely censured, than that of this prince, who, though magnified by some *Spanish* historians as another *Solomon*, under whose form he is represented in a statue at the entrance of the *Escurial*, where *Charles* the fifth is adorned by the sculptor with the robes and the crown of *David*; yet others have more fitly compared him to *Tiberius*; and, while his panegyrists held him forth as a model for princes, those who criticised his character described him as the mirrour of tyrants. Without partiality or prejudice, we will offer the reader a few observations drawn from facts. He was stiled *Philip the Prudent*, and with justice; for he was in all things a politician. Those who magnify his piety, by which they mean his zeal for the church of *Rome*, seem thereby to offer an exception; but they only seem to offer it; for *Philip* was only a political bigot. When *Philip* began his reign, he was only upon bad

[k] HERRERA, CATHERINOT, AUBERTUS, MIRÆUS, EMANUEL METEREN, GABRIEL CHAPUYS Histoire Generale de la Guerre de Flandres. Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. v. part i. p. 573.

[l] CABRERA, HERRERA, CAMPANA, BOURDEVILLE, SIEUR DE BRANTOME, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

terms

terms with the court of *Rome*; he was therefore no persecutor in *England*, but shewed rather a compassion for those that suffered here for their sincerity in the faith. He introduced and subjected the *Spanish* church to the decrees of the council of *Trent*, but it was in his own way, and by his own authority; and though, through his whole reign, he was pressed to banish the *Moriscoes* for the security of religion, his constant answer was, *You must find some other way; for this is impracticable.* The truth of the matter is, the church was the great instrument in his government, and he made great use of churchmen in his administration; and thus his zeal is accounted for on political principles. In point of system, if ever a modern prince aimed at universal monarchy, it was *Philip* II. He was disappointed in his schemes; but those schemes were equally bold and well-contrived. He was near being king of the *Romans*; he bid fair for making his daughter queen of *France*; and his projects for the conquest of *England* were defeated by Providence, but by competent judges were never derided. As his plans were very extensive, so he had great fertility of invention, and was never at a loss for expedients to piece them together again when broken, till his treasure and his power were equally exhausted, and then as he began, so he ended, his reign, with endeavouring to establish peace. In his domestic administration, he has been justly commended for encouraging and promoting men of abilities; but he depressed the nobility too much, and therefore he advised his son to a contrary course, that of caressing the grandees, and curtailing the revenue and power of the clergy; and this he did from his observation, that new men were turbulent, and, being raised from nothing, nothing could content them. It is very certain that he had not much affection, and less of pity, in his composition; but it is as certain that he has been represented as more cruel than he really was; for however severe he might be when his scheme of policy required it, he was never wantonly so, and could not therefore be said to delight in blood.

His conduct in domestic affairs, and personal character.

In private life he was vicious, and therefore his pretences to religion were certainly political; for true piety appears in the conduct of a man's life, and is not to be taken from exterior actions, which may have another motive, and must have it, when, with high pretensions to piety, a person is corrupt in his morals. He had great haughtiness in his nature; and it was said, that tho' in his person and his complexion he resembled the *Flemings*, his temper and behaviour were intirely of the growth of *Spain*. Those who had audience

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dience of him, spoke upon their knees, which he excused from the lowness of his stature, pretending he did it to avoid being overshadowed by those who addressed him. He not only held the nobility in subjection, but at a distance; and, to qualify these apparent signs of pride, he was very easy of access to persons of meaner rank, but without departing from his dignity, unless he might be said so to do in conversing familiarly with peasants. He used the like condescension to churchmen, to his ministers, and to the ladies. He acquired by habit such an equality of temper, that success, or the want of it, made no alteration in his behaviour. He was never reputed brave, but he had a great firmness of mind; and tho' less active than his father in his person, who executed all his great designs himself, yet he was at least equal to him in abilities; for he gave his enemies more disturbance by the factions and insurrections he excited by his intrigues, than the emperor had ever done by his arms. Upon the whole, his ambition and his policy made him great and terrible during the major part of a long reign; but at the same time it made him odious, and exhausted his power. He saw this when it was too late, subscribed to the advice given by his father, and penned a censure of his own conduct for the use of his son. It is now time to see what effect this had upon a young prince, to whom, with his crowns, his father left the best counsels he could devise, but who with all this could not bequeath him his capacity.

SECT. XVI.

The History of the remaining Monarchs of Spain, *of the House of* Austria; *viz.* Philip III. Philip IV. *and* Charles II.

THE prince Don *Philip* of *Spain*, at the time of his accession to the throne, was in the twenty-first year of his age [a]. He had received a good education, under the care of Don *Garcia* archbishop of *Toledo*, was sincerely virtuous and pious, and, as a noble *Italian* historian says, exceeded most of his subjects in moral virtues; but was very defective in those great qualities that, because they are necessary too, are generally expected in kings [b]. In the last years of his

Measures of the young king on his accession, and conclusion of his marriage.

[a] Gonzales de Cespides's Historia del Rey Don Phelippe III.
[b] Historia della Republica Veneta, di Batt Nani, Procuratore di Santo Marco.

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father's life he had assisted in the council for foreign affairs, and shewed somewhat of ambition in demanding the key from *Christopher de Mora*, the ensign of his office, while his father was yet living, at whose command it was delivered to him, and he gave it immediately to Don *Francisco de Rojas y Sandoval*, marquis of *Denia*, his favourite, to whom he not long after gave the title of duke of *Lerma* [c]. It was at first doubted what turn things would take at the new court, where several great affairs seemed to be but half-finished; but it very quickly appeared, that the king and his minister were disposed to moderate measures; in consequence of which the peace with *France* was ratified, as also the cession of the *Low Countries* in favour of the infanta [d]. The archduke *Albert* proceeded in his journey to *Germany*, and, with the duchess of *Gratz* and the archduchess *Margaret*, her daughter, travelled slowly, and with great pomp, through the territories of the state of *Venice*, where all imaginable honours were paid to them, into *Italy*. Pope *Clement* VIII. being at *Ferrara*, where, on the 15th of *November*, by virtue of a procuration from king *Philip*, he espoused the archduchess, the nuptial blessing was given by the pope; and at the same time the *Spanish* ambassador, who was the duke of *Sessa*, acting as proxy for the infanta Donna *Isabella*, the pope celebrated that marriage also; then taking *Mantua* and *Milan* in their way, the archduke brought her to *Genoa*; where, however, the rough weather detained them till the spring [e].

The duke, his favourite while prince, declared his prime minister, and hated on that account.

1599. In the beginning of the ensuing year died the archbishop of *Toledo*, which, besides the loss of so great a man, had a great influence on the court, as it put the king entirely into the hands of his favourite, who quickly procured the primacy of *Spain* for Don *Bernard de Rojos y Sandoval*, bishop of *Jacca*, who was soon after honoured with a hat from *Rome* [f]. The new queen, attended by the archduke, landed towards the latter end of *March* in the kingdom of *Valentia*, and the king repairing to that capital, the marriage was solemnized and consummated on the 18th of *April*. Amongst other signals of public joy on this occasion, there were two statues erected, one representing *Jupiter*, and the other king *Philip*, with a globe resting on both their shoulders; the meaning of which was obvious enough; but soon after an

[c] Sieur de Brantome Memoires des Grands Capitaines Etrangers. [d] P. Daniel. [e] Vita Clem. VIII. Grimston's Continuation of Mayerne Turq. [f] Luc de Bavia.

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inſcription was pinned upon the god, containing theſe words, *This* Jupiter *is the duke of* Lerma; which ſhewed how early the public envy began againſt this miniſter [g]. The old miniſters and governors of provinces, who had been bred in his father's maxims, excited the duke of *Savoy* to perſiſt in keeping the marquiſate of *Saluces* from the *French* king, and promiſed him the ſupport of *Spain*, provided he would ſend his three children thither to be educated, or, as the duke underſtood it, to ſerve for hoſtages. They prevailed alſo with the king to aſſemble great forces at *Liſbon*, and afterwards to bring troops and a fleet to *Corunna*. He alſo demanded of *Henry* the fourth, that his fleet might be received into the harbour of *Breſt*: all which was to alarm queen *Elizabeth*, as if he intended an invaſion; which compliment the queen returned by preparations of the ſame kind, though there does not ſeem to have been any real intention on either ſide [h]. The archduke *Albert* having married the infanta, the king conducted them to *Barcelona*, where they embarked on the 7th of *June* for *Genoa*, from whence they proceeded by land to the *Low Countries*, where the archduke no ſooner arrived, than he acquainted queen *Elizabeth*, that he had full powers to treat of peace; and commiſſioners being appointed on both ſides, they met at *Bologne* by conſent of the *French* king [i]. The *Dutch* ſent a ſtrong fleet to the iſlands, which did a great deal of miſchief, being the firſt time that they had acted at ſea alone againſt the crown of *Spain*; but, as auxiliaries, they had aſſiſted in taking *Calais* [k].

THE count *de Fuentes*, who had formerly made ſo great a figure in the *Low Countries*, having now the government of *Milan*, not only with very full powers, but with a million of pieces of eight at his diſpoſal, raiſed a great army, which drew the eyes of all *Europe* upon him; but, however, he did little, and what he intended was never perfectly underſtood. It was apparently deſigned to ſupport the duke of *Savoy*, and to alarm the *French* king; but there were various ſecret deſigns, and one of them the ſurpriſing of *Marſeilles*, which miſcarried [l]. At laſt, that theſe prepa- 1600. *Attempts unſucceſsful againſt the* Moors, *and intrigues of the count* de Fuentes *in* Italy.

[g] GRIMSTON's Continuation of MAYERNE TURQ. [h] CAMDEN's Annals. [i] Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, extracted from the MS. ſtate-papers of Sir Tho. Edmondes, knight, embaſſador in France, by T. BIRCH. [k] Sir W. MONSON's Naval Tracts. [l] Hiſtoria della Republica Veneta, di BATTISTA NANI.

rations

tations, and magnified every unlucky accident that happened into a crime. Amongſt other things, it was alleged, that the very duties upon oil and wine had brought in three-and-twenty millions: that the fleets from the *Indies* were more richly laden than in his father's time; and that, notwithſtanding this vaſt income, the king's coffers were empty. All this confirmed the miniſter in his former ſentiment, that the maxims of the laſt reign were to be abandoned, the ſums ſquandered on ſpies and penſioners retrenched, and an end put to the war in the *Low Countries* without delay; ſince, beſides the immediate expences ſupplied to the archduke, it obliged the crown of *Spain* to put annually a ſtrong fleet to ſea, and ſubjected them to loſſes in the *Indies*, which it was alike impoſſible to prevent or repair [t].

Aſſembly of the ſtates, in which was regulated the great buſineſs of the coinage.

THIS ſituation of things made it requiſite to call an aſſembly of the ſtates, which was opened on the 16th of *April*, and continued ſitting the beſt part of two years at *Madrid*, to which city the court was returned on account of the inconveniencies that were felt from their reſidence at *Valladolid*. There, on the thirteenth of *January*, the infant Don *Philip* was acknowleged heir apparent to his father, and the nobility ſworn to his ſucceſſion [u]. In this aſſembly alſo the tender point of the duke of *Lerma*'s adminiſtration was brought upon the carpet; and this was doubling the value of the copper-money, in which without doubt he was ill adviſed. The famous jeſuit *Mariana*, who has rendered his name immortal by his hiſtory of *Spain*, ſhewed himſelf a judicious politician and an unbiaſſed patriot, in an admirable treatiſe upon this ſubject; but, having drawn the miniſter's picture in very ſtrong colours, and exhibited his maſter likewiſe as an indolent and inactive
1608. prince, who looked into nothing with his own eyes, but left all to the diſcretion of thoſe, or rather to the diſpoſition of him he truſted, he was arreſted, and remained a priſoner a full year [w]. The ſtates, however, more intent upon finding a remedy for the evil, than the puniſhment of thoſe who perhaps erred in judgment, paſſed a law on the 22d of *November*, in which they provided, that the ſilver

[t] GONSALES DE CESPIDES, Hiſtoria della Republica de Venetia di BATT NANI. [u] Idem. [w] BERNARD GERALD. PATAVINUS pro ſenatu Veneto Apologia, ſive de Juſtinia Decreti, quo ſenatus Venetus adoleſcentes ditioni quæ ſubditos ad Jeſuitarum ſcholas accedere interdixit; deque conditionibus quibus Jeſuitæ reditum at Venetos videntur impetrare poſſe. Nicolas Antonio Biblioth. Hiſp. tom. i. p. 560.

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which ſhould come from the *Indies* in the two next flotas ſhould be coined in the manner therein preſcribed; and that all the ſilver which came for the future ſhould be likewiſe coined into ſuch money as ſhould be moſt expedient; for, upon raiſing the value of the copper coin, it had been poured in upon them from abroad, and their ſilver ſuddenly ſwept away, as if it had been by enchantment. The duke, however, proſecuting his ſcheme, procured a truce for eight months to be concluded in the *Low Countries*, which made way for that by which the ſtates of the *United Provinces* were acknowleged as free and independent *.

Truce with Holland, when the Dutch republic was owned as a free ſtate. 1609.

THIS great event was brought about in the ſucceeding year by the interpoſition and under the mediation of the kings of *France* and *England*, who were guaranties of this treaty, by which a truce was concluded for twelve years between his catholic majeſty, the archduke, and the ſtates general. It was ſigned on the 9th of *April*, and ratified by king *Philip* at *Segovia* in the month of *June* †. This produced a new clamour againſt the duke of *Lerma*, who was certainly the author of this meaſure, which thoſe who hated him conſidered as highly diſhonourable to *Spain*. We need the leſs wonder at this, ſince the *Spaniſh* embaſſadors employed in making the peace with *England* always talked as if they had really believed it in the power of their monarchs to have reduced the ſeven provinces whenever they pleaſed by force, if they had not been reſtrained either by maxims of policy, or their unwillingneſs to exterminate the inhabitants of their hereditary dominions. To juſtify this, they compared the countries under the dominion of the ſtates, and their forces, with the vaſt territories and proportionable power in the hands of their catholic majeſties. But, whatever they might ſay, their ſtateſmen certainly ſaw and knew that the conteſt for the *Low Countries* had coſt *Spain* infinitely more than they were worth, and was ſuch a continual drain of treaſure, troops, naval ſtores, and ſhips, as wore out gradually the ſtrength of the monarchy. The duke of *Lerma*, therefore, in all appearance, had nothing to anſwer for in this reſpect, ſince he ſacrificed only phantoms and chimeras to the real intereſts of the crown, by taking the ſingle method that could be taken to reſcue the *Spaniſh* nation from

* Card. BENTIVOGLIO, della guerra di Flandra. † Les Negociations de M. le Preſident JEANIN ſur la treve des Pays, EMANUEL METEREN, Hiſtoire des Pays Bas, fo. 658. Recueil des Traités de paix, de treve, de neutralité, de confederation, d'alliance, et de commerce, &c. par FRED. LEONARD, tom. v.

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a consumption by which she was already brought very low, and by which, in the space of a few years, she must have been utterly undone; while most of her neighbours, who bore her no good will, were daily augmenting their strength and wealth, and, as she had good reason to fear, meant, at a proper season, to make her sensible that they had not forgot the injuries they had received from her in the days of her prosperity. But haughtiness, and a high conceit of their own power, are so natural to the *Spaniards*, that, how just soever the minister's motives might be, this step, of all others, was most likely to offend them; nor is it at all improbable that some of those, who best understood the reasons upon which he acted, from their envy to his high fortune, represented his actions in the worst colours.

The Morescoes, after much deliberation, are expelled out of the kingdom of Valentia;

ALL the measures that had hitherto been taken to secure the tranquillity of *Spain*, notwithstanding the number of *Morescoes* that were still left, could not dispossess the greatest part of the clergy, and many prelates, of whom the archbishop of *Valentia* was the chief, of their apprehension, which they represented in the strongest terms possible to the cardinal archbishop of *Valentia*; and he, on the other hand, prepossessed his brother the duke of *Lerma* in such a manner, that, in spite of all the arguments which could be used to the contrary, a resolution was taken to expel them out of that kingdom, and the edict for that purpose subscribed by the king, at the *Escurial*, *September* the 11th, 1609[z]. In this edict it is said, that the *Moors* had invited the grand signor, and the king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, to make a descent in *Spain* with a great army, promising that they should be received by 50,000 good infantry, who were as zealous *Mohammedans* as any in *Asia* or *Africa*. Some say that they were charged with a conspiracy to massacre all the old Christians on the *Good Friday* following; but this was only a contrivance to give a colour to this barbarous and inhuman expedient, which was vigorously opposed by all the nobility and men of property in the kingdom of *Valentia*, who foretold, and the event justified the prediction, that, with the *Moors*, industry, wealth, and plenty, would be banished from their country. But all methods possible being tried to alter the king's resolution without effect, the decree was put in execution, and the *Moors* at several times transported out of that kingdom into *Barbary*, where however his ca-

[z] JAIME BLEDA, Chronica de los Moros de Espana, History of the expulsion of the Morescoes out of Spain in the reign of Philip III. by MICHAEL GEDDES, vol. i. p. 115.

tholic

tholic majesty interposed his interest to procure them a good reception, and the best settlements that could be given them [a].

After the execution of this decree in *Valentia*, the same method was taken in *Andalusia*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Catalonia*, *Arragon*, both *Castiles*, *Estremadura*, and *La Mancha*, not without two rebellions, in each of which the *Moors* chose themselves a king, which were not suppressed without a great effusion of blood, and putting both those miserable pretenders to royalty to death [b]. A great number of children under the age of seven years were retained and sold; but his catholic majesty declared they should not remain slaves, but that those who bought and educated them should have their service as many years after they reached the age of twelve as they had bought them under it, and that then they should be free. By this expulsion of the *Moors*, some say that no less than a million of persons were sent out of *Spain*, which is probably beyond the truth; but it seems on all hands agreed, that there were eighty thousand families transported, and, according to the most moderate calculation, this rather exceeded than fell short of six hundred thousand persons [c]. We must, in common justice to the understanding of the king and his ministers, suppose there must have been very strong reasons for so bold and so extraordinary a measure (A). However,

and soon after out of all the provinces of Spain *in general, and without mercy.*

[a] Gonsales de Crespides, Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts.
[b] Jaime Bleda. [c] Amelot de la Houssaie.

(A) The chief reasons for expelling the *Moors*, or rather *Moresoes*, by the clergy, and more especially by the cardinal of *Toledo* and the archbishop of *Valentia*, might be reduced to three. *First*, That they were obstinate and incorrigible infidels, upon whom preaching did no good, and all instruction was cast away; and therefore it was to no purpose to bear with them any longer. *Secondly*, That they were traitors to the state, rejoiced at the misfortunes of the king's arms, wished well to his enemies, held a constant correspondence with them, invited them to invade the kingdom with a promise of their assistance, and, as often as they had opportunity, sold or betrayed people into the hands of their countrymen the *Moors* of *Barbary*; so that, from a principle of self preservation, it was requisite to remove them. *Thirdly*, That as they perpetually increased in their numbers, and began in many places to have great interest with their neighbours, there was great risque of their corrupting the manners and faith of the Christians, and no less hazard of their becoming strong enough to attempt recovering

ever, the bad effects that were foreseen quickly discovered themselves; and though the duke of *Lerma* secured by it the

recovering their dominion over them. It was therefore absolutely necessary, to prevent these evils, to remove them without delay. To these the barons opposed their answers. They said, that, if most of the *Moresco*es were *Mohammedans* at the bottom, it was owing to the want of learning and application in the clergy, to the wrong methods they took in converting them, to the impolitic and irreligious distinction between *old* and *new* Christians, to the want of suitable encouragements, and, above all, to the violences and cruelties exercised upon them by the inquisition. As to their treasons, they were at best chimerical; that, for their correspondencies with *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, they were downright falshoods, equally void of probability and evidence; and that, as to the persons they sold or betrayed to the *Moors*, they would undertake to ransom all captives at the expence of the *Moresco*es. In answer to the danger and hazard that might attend keeping them, they suggested the immense benefit that arose from their labours, the improbability of unarmed and dejected people rising and conquering a warlike and potent nation, and the dreadful indigence that must follow from expelling a million of industrious people to gratify the resentment, and still the fears, of avaricious and timid priests, some grudging the pensions they paid out of their revenues to those appointed to instruct them; and others weary of their pastoral functions, and willing to sell their flocks, which in conscience they were bound to feed (1). After all, it must be allowed, that the clergy spoke truth, when they affirmed the bulk of the *Moresco*es to be *Mohammedans*; and it must be also allowed they spoke sense, in affirming it to be very dangerous to let them remain in *Spain* if they continued so. On the other hand, the nobility were in the right as to the advantages derived from them, and no less so in the consequences they foresaw from the loss of them. Both spoke from their interests, and neither had any thing else in view (2). The king and his ministers, therefore, ought to have given full credit to neither; they should have employed their thoughts in devising how to make these people true Christians, which would have put an end to the dispute (3). This might have been done by separating them, by establishing an order of monks, whose sole business it should have been to convert them, by erecting schools for teaching their children the *Castilian* tongue, by bestowing upon those children employments in distant parts of the country, and by sending

(1) *The History of the Expulsion of the Moresco*es *out of Spain, among the Miscellaneous Tracts of Dr. Michael Geddes.* (2) *Gonzales de Cespides, Historia del Rey D. Phelippe* III. *p.* 391. (3) *Las Memorias de Phelippe de Comines, con Escolios propios de Don Juan Vitrian*, ii. 13.

the

the clergy in his intereſt, it loſt him the beſt part of the nobility, and was always conſidered as the worſt action in his whole adminiſtration. In the month of *November* the ſtrong and important fortreſs of *Larach* in *Africa* was betrayed to the *Moors*, through the treachery of ſome *Moreſcoes*, which, though in itſelf of great loſs, was of ſome uſe in allaying that general diſcontent which had been excited by their expulſion, though it was as likely to have been occaſioned by the reſentment of that meaſure as by any other way [d].

Death of the French *king held a very favourable event for the houſe of* Auſtria.

It is affirmed by ſome who were preſent in the *Spaniſh* court, that the news of the deplorable death of *Henry* the fourth of *France* was very acceptable there; which is the leſs ſtrange, ſince there is nothing more certain, than that his demiſe at this juncture concurred preciſely with their intereſts [e]. The *Spaniſh* miniſters, or at leaſt their emiſſaries, had given this prince perpetual diſturbance and repeated provocations ever ſince the peace of *Vervins*, which was concluded from neceſſity rather than choice; and it was well enough known, that though he bore this, he bore it with great reluctance, and with a purpoſe of being revenged as ſoon as it was in his power. At the very moment he was murdered, he was on the point of taking the field againſt the houſe of *Auſtria* in the empire, and, it was believed, had concluded a ſecret treaty with *Charles Emanuel* duke of *Savoy*, one of the ableſt, but one of the moſt unquiet, princes that age produced, by which he promiſed him his aſſiſtance in conquering *Milan* from the *Spaniards*. If, therefore, the war had broke out in *Italy* as he intended, at the ſame time that it began to blaze in the *Low Countries* and in *Germany*, the ſyſtem framed by *Charles* the fifth, and upon which *Philip* the ſecond wrought throughout his long reign, would in all probability have been demoliſhed in a few months, ſince the deep ſubmiſſion ſhewn both in *Germany* and in *Italy* was the pure effects of diſſimulation, and, upon the firſt appearance of a force ſufficient to protect them, the con-

[d] Gonsales de Cespides, Jaime Bleda. [e] Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 176.

apoſtates into *Barbary*, inſtead of leaving them at the mercy of the inquiſition (4). But the duke of *Lerma* was governed by his brother, and the king by the duke and his own ſuperſtitious fears, which were wrought on by pretended miracles and fictitious prophecies (5).

(4) *Geddes's Tracts, vol.* i.

(5) *Juſta, Expulſion de los Moreſcos de Eſpana, del M. F. D. Fonſeca.*

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cealed enemies of the house of *Austria* would in both have thrown off the mask. However, upon the first intelligence of the *French* king's death, the court of *Spain* went into mourning, and a minister was dispatched to *Paris* with compliments of condolance to the queen regent, as well as to put her in mind of the marriages that had been proposed; the flatterers of both courts gave out, that the match of the eldest infanta and the young king *Lewis* was intended by Providence, because they were born within a few days of
1610. each other; and this embassy was very kindly received, and the proposals of marriage were promised to be brought upon the carpet, notwithstanding the *French* nation appeared in general very much against it[f]. The duke of *Lerma* was extremely satisfied with this, as it fell in exactly with his pacific disposition, and allowed him to proceed at leisure in his scheme of paying the king's debts, and bringing the finances into order, for which he was highly applauded by his creatures, and abused almost by every body else, upon a supposition that old demands could not be satisfied without a proportionable present to the all powerful benefactor by whom they were procured.

The demise of the queen Donna Margaret *of* Austria, *and the suspicions it occasioned.*

QUEEN *Margaret* of *Spain*, who had an extreme attention to this marriage, a great influence over the king, and upon whom the *German* branch of the house of *Austria* chiefly relied, had the satisfaction of seeing herself the mother of three princes and as many princesses, when she was delivered of another son, Don *Alonso*, on the 22d of *September*, at the *Escurial*, which was celebrated with all possible demonstrations of joy; but these soon after were converted into mourning by the unexpected death of this princess on the third of *October* following[g]. A report prevailed some time after that she was poisoned, and very probably those who raised it cast the suspicion on the man in the world least likely to commit such a fact; this was Don *Rodrigo Calderona*, who was favourite at once to the queen and the duke of *Lerma*, and he had a prodigious influence, or rather command, over both; from which it was asserted, by those who had more wit than to believe it themselves, that
1611. he had inchanted them both. A certain prelate, however,

[f] P. DANIEL, GONSALES DE CESPIDES, Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. WINWOOD's Memoirs.

[g] GONSALES DE CESPIDES, Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. contenant ce qui est arrivé de plus remarquable en France et dans l'Europe depuis le commencement de son regne jusqu'à la mort de ce prince, par M. LE VASSOR.

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assures us, that the queen was poisoned by the smell of certain perfumed pastils thrown into the fire, which the season rendered necessary in the chamber; and the fact is ascribed to the natural aversion which the *Spaniards* have to *German* customs, from which the queen would never refrain [h]. Be this as it will, as soon as the king appeared in public, it was given out on one side, that he was desirous of marrying the *English* princess *Elizabeth*, but to others it was pretended that he had thoughts of a princess of *Savoy*, which, with the proposed marriage of the prince of *Piedmont* to one of the infantas, flattered the ambition of duke *Charles Emanuel* extremely.

Reciprocal marriages with the royal family of France solemnly confirmed.

The queen regent of *France*, having made the necessary alterations in her council, ventured to avow the double marriage concluded with the court of *Spain*; and sent the duke of *Mayenne* to *Madrid*, to demand the infanta, at the same time that the duke of *Pastrana* was sent to *Paris*, to make the like demand of the princess *Isabella*, or *Elizabeth*, sister to king *Lewis*, for Don *Philip*, prince of *Asturias*; which ceremonies, though supported with all imaginable splendor, from the natural antipathy of both nations, were not agreeable to either, though the situation of their affairs rendered them very convenient, according to the sentiments of their politicians [i]. The *Moresco*es, so hardly dealt with in *Spain*, sustained this year two persecutions from those of their own religion. At *Constantinople* they drove the *Jews* out of the suburb of *Pera*, and attempted the like with respect to the Christians, for which they were chastised by the grand vizir. The city of *Algiers* being afflicted with famine, they turned out thousands of those poor creatures to starve, and put numbers of them to death. The murmurs of the people in *Spain* were in some measure silenced by the arrival of a plate fleet from the *Indies* with eleven millions on board [k]. 1612.

War in Italy, and the renewal of a proposition for a marriage in England.

The *Spanish* ministry, as much as their parts were slighted by their countrymen, had with great address perfected what the *French* could never perform, that is, the intire subjection of *Italy*. *Charles* duke of *Savoy* could not brook this with patience; the *Venetians* saw it with concern; and the grand duke, though he felt but little of the yoke, was far from being easy under it. Pope *Paul* the fifth affected not to perceive it; and indeed the *Spaniards* occupied themselves

[h] Pauli Piasecii Chronica gestorum in Europa singularium. [i] Le Vassor, Winwood's Memorials, Gonsales de Cespides. [k] Cantemir.

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rather in forging and rivetting the chains of *Italy*, than in rattling them about people's ears, merely to make them know who were their masters. The death of the duke of *Mantua*, who left an only daughter, produced an explanation of this matter which the *Spaniards* did not expect or desire. Cardinal *Gonzaga*, brother to the deceased duke, laid aside his hat to place a coronet upon his head; and the duke of *Savoy*, having withdrawn the duchess dowager his daughter, surprised on a sudden the best part of the *Montferrat*, of his rights to which he had made a cession upon his daughter's
1613. marriage. The duke of *Mantua*, unable to defend himself, called in the assistance of his neighbours the *Venetians*, and the grand duke supplied him from a point of honour; but the governor of *Milan* received express orders from *Madrid* to oblige both princes to disarm, and to prescribe a peace upon certain terms, the most remarkable one of which was the marriage of the cardinal duke to his brother's widow. Both princes were displeased with this, as were indeed all the *Italian* states; but, after all, the cardinal duke wisely submitted, knowing that he had not a power to resist, and upon a presumption that his antagonist, who was stronger, would take the same steps upon other motives; so that he should lose nothing, and procure at the same time the protection of *Spain*, in which he judged right; for the duke of *Savoy* roundly refused to part either with his troops or his daughter, not doubting that he should be supported by *France*, in which however he found himself mistaken [l]. At this time the catholic king and his ministers continued to amuse the *English* court with distant and indefinite propositions. The princess *Elizabeth* was married to the elector Palatine, so that nothing more could be said on that head [m]. *Henry*, prince of *Wales*, whom they had often wished in *Spain* to espouse the infanta Donna *Maria*, was dead; and the loss of this prince put the *Spanish* ministers in mind, that when a match was mentioned between him and the infanta, of the disproportion between their ages. She was said to be a fitter match for the duke of *York*, in which they now concluded the *English* ministers had reason, and were for bringing this negotiation upon the carpet again, though all their purpose was only to amuse, since they knew the marriage was extremely odious in *England*, nor could it be more so there than it was to them.

[l] Historia della Republica Veneta di Batt Nani. [m] Wilson's History of King James I.

The

THE military preparations of the *Turks* being very great, no certainty at all upon whom the ſtorm would break, *Spaniſh* miniſters found themſelves under a neceſſity of viding for the ſecurity of their coaſts, and fitting out a ſiderable fleet. By that time this was completed, it was own that the *Turks* had in view the attacking of *Malta*; , before the *Spaniards* had leiſure to regulate the affairs their ſuccours, the grand ſignor laid up his fleet, and ned his arms againſt the *Perſians*. Upon this, orders re ſent to Don *Lewis Faxarado*, who commanded the *aniſh* fleet, to make a deſcent on *Barbary*, and to build a ong fort upon the gulph of *Marmora*, to prevent the pi- tes from taking ſhelter there, and diſturbing from thence, they had done, the coaſts and the commerce of *Spain*. his, in the month of *Auguſt*, was happily effected; and, ough it would ſcarce have deſerved notice in the days of *harles* or *Philip* his ſon, it was one of the moſt conſiderable ucceſſes of this reign [n]. The troubles of *Italy* ſtill conti- ued, though the duke of *Savoy* profeſſed upon all occa- ions the moſt profound deference for his brother-in law, and ctually ſent his ſon, the prince of *Piedmont*, into *Spain*; ut, having a ſecret underſtanding with the governor of *Milan*, it was ſometimes war, ſometimes peace, between hem, notwithſtanding very preciſe and clear orders were ſent from *Madrid*. The great point he laboured to evade was, the diſbanding his troops; for otherwiſe he was not very averſe to the terms of peace that had been preſcribed, more eſpecially when he found the queen regent of *France* would not embark in this quarrel, out of reſpect to the houſe of *Mantua*, with a branch of which in *France* ſhe had ſome meaſures to keep. On the other hand, the duke of *Lerma*, who was believed to have a perſonal prejudice againſt the duke of *Savoy*, and who, from the intire influence he had over his maſter, hindered him from proceeding farther than ſome general diſcourſes in a ſcheme of marrying a princeſs of that houſe, reſolved to ruin all his projects by ſending a new governor into the *Milaneſe*, who ſhould purſue his inſtructions punctually, and by making the *Venetians* feel the reſentment of *Spain* for the ſuccours they had privately given the duke, though they had taken part againſt him in the beginning of the quarrel. The ſole view of the *Spaniſh* miniſter was, that an end ſhould be put to theſe diſputes by the interpoſition of *Spain*, without admitting the ſhadow of

Duke of Lerma's ſcheme for ſupporting the power of Spain *in* Italy.

1614.

[n] MARIANA, GONSALES DE CESPIDES, AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAIE.

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the emperor's authority, or allowing the *French* to interfere in the negotiation. In this respect he was jealous of his master's honour, but took care to second his dictates with the princes of *Italy* by an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, which he judged the most probable means of having them obeyed. Though he was not reputed the most subtle statesman, yet even his enemies allow, that this plan was well drawn, and conducted throughout both with prudence and spirit[o].

Both the marriages solemnized with great pomp and splendor at Burgos.

He was prevailed upon, however, to trust *Mendoza*, the old governor, with the conduct of the campaign for this year, from various motives, of which this was none of the least, that, the double marriages being to take place, it was not so convenient that things should be carried with a high hand in *Italy*. He abated, however, nothing in his instructions, but left that intirely to the temper of him who was to execute them, and who, notwithstanding his superiority, having to deal with a prince of consummate capacity, made a confused kind of war, which he concluded as soon as he could by a perplexed peace[p]. In the mean time his catholic majesty went to *Burgos*, where, on the 18th of *October*, the marriage was celebrated by proxy between prince *Philip* of *Spain* and Madame *Isabella*, sister to the king of *France*. The same day was likewise celebrated the marriage of *Lewis* the thirteenth with the infanta of *Castile*, who two days before had renounced all her rights to the succession, in case her brothers died without issue, not only to her father's kingdoms, but even to the *Low Countries*[q]. On the ninth of *November* the two princesses were exchanged on the river of *Bidasso*. Affairs were at this time in such confusion in *France*, that the queen regent was forced to bring her son with an army to meet his bride, whom he received at *Bourdeaux*, and was afterwards obliged to conclude a peace with the malecontents, in order to open a safe passage back to *Paris*; which peace proved very soon fatal to the marshal *d'Ancre*, who had the chief hand in the marriage, and to the queen herself, who was exiled to *Blois*[r]. As for his catholic majesty, he remained with the prince at *Burgos* till the arrival of Madame *Isabella*, and soon after returned with the court to *Madrid*. There the treaty of *Asti*, which had been concluded by the governor of *Milan*, was disclaimed, and a resolution taken to send Don *Pedro de Toledo*, marquis of

1615.

[o] Historia della Republica Veneta di Batt Nani, Mariana. [p] Gonsales de Cespides, Le Vassor, Pauli Piasecii.

Villa

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Villa Franca, to replace him in that government; a man of high spirit and great talents, who it was not doubted would re-establish the superiority of *Spain*, and give law to the princes and states of *Italy*. This the duke of *Lerma* thought indispensably necessary for the honour of his master's crown, and for the credit of his administration*, which he knew was decried by the common people, at the same time that his authority was undermined, by those who were under all the ties and obligations that either the laws of nature or of society could establish, for the foundation of trust and confidence amongst men. He bore up against them, however, with courage, and opposed great prudence and long experience, as well as the interest he still had in his master, to the arts and intrigues of men who attacked him without any just cause, and were guided solely by the dictates of their ambition.

DON *Pedro de Toledo*, the new governor of *Milan*, quickly gave the duke of *Savoy*, and all who were interested in the treaty of *Asti*, to understand, that it was not to be the rule of his actions, farther than it was consistent with the glory of the *Spanish* crown, of which he took himself to be the sole judge. He applied himself with such vigour and diligence to augment his troops, and to dispose all things for the continuance of the war, that, notwithstanding he forbore committing hostilities, yet he perplexed the duke of *Savoy* much more than his predecessor had done at the head of a numerous army. The *French* king at first sent thither Monsieur *de Bethune*; and after him the marshal *de Lesdiguieres* was sent to *Turin*, where he served the duke of *Savoy* effectually by his advice, and saved him by his assistance, which enabled him to resist Don *Pedro* when he came to attack him openly, as well as to defeat that back blow by which the governor of *Milan* expected to have undone him; for understanding that the duke of *Nemours*, who was of the house of *Savoy*, and who had been but indifferently used by the duke, was notwithstanding raising forces on his behalf in *France*, he, by promising him the investiture of *Savoy*, engaged him to change sides, and, when admitted into his country, to fall upon the duke with that army which had been raised partly with his money, and intirely for his service. But this treachery was discovered in time, and prevented. It was upon this that the governor of *Milan*, who had dissembled to give the duke of *Nemours* time to pene-

Don Pedro de Toledo, *marquis of* Villa Franca, *made governor of* Milan.

1665.

* Historia della Republica Veneta di BATT NANI, MARIANA, LE VASSOR.

trate

trate into *Savoy*, discovered his real intentions, and began the war, in which his superiority gave him some success; but the great courage and conduct of duke *Charles* of *Savoy* prevented his doing any thing that could be accounted decisive. The duke of *Ossuna*, at this time viceroy of *Naples*, attacked the duke likewise by sea, and made some impression[t]. The *Spaniards* had also another quarrel with the *Venetians*, as auxiliaries of the archduke *Ferdinand*. This contributed to excite a general distaste to them and to the house of *Austria*, which was greatly augmented by the private views and bad designs of some great men, whose wickedness rendered a crown and an administration odious, though they had not the least concern in their intrigues, and must have suffered more by them than any other state whatever.

Strange designs and daring practices of the Spanish *ministers in* Italy.

THE flame of war blazed higher this year in *Italy* than ever, and had spread much farther than ever the court of *Spain* intended, if the intrigues before-mentioned had not been discovered. There was at this time a triumvirate of ministers in that country, capable of embarrassing all *Europe*, and of sacrificing it too, for their own private and pernicious purposes. This triumvirate was composed of Don *Pedro Gironne*, duke of *Ossuna* and governor of *Naples*, the marquis *de Bedmar*, who was embassador at *Venice*, and the marquis *de Villa Franca*, governor of *Milan*. The first of these, under pretence of arming against the *Turks*, carried on a secret correspondence with them, at the same time that he held another equally dangerous with the marquis *de Lesdiguieres*, the design of which was to seize the kingdom of *Naples*, and to render himself independent. The second conducted those dark projects that were to have ended in the destruction of the city and republic of *Venice*, if they had not been discovered and prevented. The third seemed to meditate the conquest of *Savoy*, and actually made himself master of the strong fortress of *Verceil*, by which the duke was constrained to enter into an accommodation upon terms that were far from being agreeable to him. This, however, raised his character with the court of *Madrid*, who disavowed the conduct of the other two, and recalled the marquis of *Bedmar* immediately[u]. In the *East Indies* the war continued between the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, subjects of the same crown, of which we have treated in another place; and of which all we have here to

1617.

[t] LE VASSOR, GREGOIRE LETI, Histoire du Duc d'Ossone, GONSALES DE CESPIDES, MARIANA. [u] Historia della Republica Veneta di BATT NANI.

say

ſay is, that Don *Juan de Ronquillo* having, on the 15th of *April*, gained a ſignal advantage at ſea, the news of his victory were no ſooner received in *Spain*, than it was celebrated with great demonſtrations of joy, the duke of *Lerma* pretending, upon this foundation, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould effectually ſecure the *Moluccas*; in which, however, himſelf and his ſucceſſors were exceedingly diſappointed; neither did the rejoicings that were now made contribute to ſupport, as he was in hopes they would, his credit with the king, or reſtore him to the general good opinion of the grandees and of the people.

His catholic majeſty renounces his claim to the ſucceſſion of Auſtria, in favour of Ferdinand.

As ſoon as it was known at the court of *Madrid* that the duke of *Savoy* was inclined to peace, it was very quickly concluded, even upon ſuch terms as were approved, if not dictated, by the court of *France*; and expreſs orders were ſent to the marquis *de Villa Franca* to carry this treaty punctually into execution; which he obeyed, though with all the ſolemnity of a *Spaniard*, obliging the duke to take always the firſt ſtep in the ſetting priſoners at liberty, in diſbanding troops, and in the reſtitution of places; but *Charles* gave himſelf no pain about that, when he found the marquis was to be depended upon, and that he performed things honourably, though he would perform nothing but in his own way [w]. The diſputes with the *Venetians* were alſo compoſed: and the eldeſt branch of the *German* line of the houſe of *Auſtria* being on the point of failing in the emperor *Matthias*, his catholic majeſty, out of regard, and in order to ſupport the grandeur of the family, conſented to a general renunciation of all his rights to the ſucceſſion of any part of the dominions belonging to that branch; and though ſome ſay, that, in conſideration of this reſignation, it was agreed, that the king ſhould have a full and ample ceſſion made to him of the whole country of *Alſace*, yet it does not appear that any ſuch grant was ever made, or at leaſt it is very certain that he never received any benefit from it: we may therefore juſtly aſſert, that his conduct in this reſpect was equally prudent and diſintereſted; for, if he had inſiſted upon theſe poſſeſſions, they would have added nothing to his power, and would have leſſened that of the archduke very much. But we muſt now paſs to the domeſtic concerns of his catholic majeſty, and relate as ſuccinctly as we can the fall of the duke of *Lerma*, who had hitherto governed his vaſt dominions with unreſtrained au-

[w] Gonsales de Ceſpides, Le Vassor.

thority,

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thority, the king seeming to have no other will than that of complying with his minister.

The measures taken by the duke of Lerma, *to secure his administration, prove ineffectual.*

It is generally agreed, that consummate prudence, rather than any sublimity of genius, was the characteristic of the duke of *Lerma*. It was this that rendered his administration peaceable and stable, and yet it is owing to this that he fell at last into disgrace. He discerned clearly, that the abilities of the duke of *Uzeda* his son were below the level of his own, but he had the manners and the polish of a court; he therefore intended that he should succeed him as the king's favourite, and he instructed him so well, and managed his design with such address, that it succeeded beyond his wish. His aim was, that his son should manage the court; but, for the cabinet, he made choice of his sister's son, the count *de Lemos*, a man of true parts, and every way fit for the great employment for which he was intended. But as he was himself in no hurry to retire, he placed the count *de Lemos* in the bed-chamber of the prince, that he might contemplate the rising sun, and rise with it. In this too he succeeded, for the count *de Lemos* gained the affections of his young master in a supreme degree. The duke's foresight went still farther; he cast his eyes upon *Lewis Aliaga*, a monk, of whose probity he had a great opinion, whom he made the king's confessor. The consequence of all this care and skill was, that his son and the priest conspired against him, and became his bitterest enemies: the duke of *Uzeda* could not pardon the contempt his father had shewn of his talents; the priest thought he had more to expect from a minister of his own making, than from the minister who had made him. The count *de Lemos* might have secured himself at least, if he would have joined in this scene of ingratitude, but he disdained it: he loved, he revered his uncle, and therefore removing him was the first step towards the fall of that great minister. The king signified to the count, that he should not pass his evenings at the prince's bed-side; and, his commands not being very punctually obeyed, he was forbid his presence, and removed from his employment*.

He is disgraced, and, for his own security, obtains a bat from the pope.

The duke *de Uzeda* and the confessor, as is usual in courts, cloathing their private views with the specious pretence of concern for the public, carried all the popular complaints against the due of *Lerma* into the king's closet; in consequence of which, a committee, or, as they call it in *Spain*, a junta, was appointed to consider of the state of the nation; and they made a long and laboured report, in

* Gonsales de Cespides.

the

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he very first paragraph of which they told the king, that *Spain* was on the point of falling to the ground, and ascribed all these misfortunes to the duke of *Lerma* and his administration; and yet a very able and a very impartial judge assures us, that there never was a favourite more mild and moderate than this duke; and that, while he held the reins of government, the public resembled his private conduct; it had not in it any thing striking or surprising, but it was without war, without taxes, and without oppression. The king, however, upon this report, by a short letter, dismissed 1618.
the duke from his employments, and ordered him to retire; which he did on the 4th of *October* [y], which was the feast of his patron St. *Francis*, and which, from the superstitious practice of those times, he had regarded as fortunate and propitious. He made some struggles to remain, that were unworthy of so great a man; but his prudence in procuring a hat from the pope a little before his disgrace, though he did not receive it till afterwards, was very commendable, since it covered him from those pursuits which the malice of his enemies, who had gone so far, would otherwise have carried farther [z]. On the 7th of *December*, the same year, died his brother the cardinal archbishop of *Toledo* suddenly, and, as some think, of the grief conceived at his brother's disgrace, which he had laboured all that was in his power to prevent [a]. The king determined immediately to give important preferment to the infant Don *Ferdinand*; but as that prince was very young, this design met with great opposition at the court of *Rome*, and it was not without a long and troublesome negotiation that it was at length brought to bear [b]. The duke *de Uzeda*, who succeeded his father, advised the king to shew himself to his subjects; and proposed, in hopes it would render his administration popular, that he should make a tour into *Portugal*, as the most effectual means of quieting the discontents of that nation, which were both general and great, but occasioned chiefly by the degeneracy of their nobility, who consumed in folly and luxury the vast revenues derived to them from the virtue and industry of their ancestors, which this visit of the king's was much more likely to increase than to cure.

[y] Anecdotes du Ministere du Comte Duc d'Olivarez, Historia della Republica Veneta di Batt Nani, Vittorio Siri, Memorie recondite. [z] Gonsales de Cespides, Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts, Le Vassor. [a] Anecdotes du Ministere du Comte Duc d'Olivarez, Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts. [b] Gonsales de Cespides.

In

The rise, fortune, and fall, of Don Rodrigo Calderona, *favourite to the duke of* Lerma.

In a short time after the disgrace of the duke of *Lerma*, his favourite Don *Rodrigo Calderona*, count of *Oliva*, was seized and imprisoned. The fortune as well as the fate of this man was very extraordinary. He was the son of a poor soldier and of a *Flemish* woman, neither of whom would ever have been heard of but for this son of theirs, who was a youth of pregnant parts; the duke, then marquis of *Denia*, took him under his protection, and afterwards into his favour. In the beginning of his fortunes, the young man was ashamed of his birth, and would have disowned his father; but he quickly effaced this fault, by receiving him into his house, and treating him there with the utmost respect and veneration. It has been remarked, as peculiar to the duke of *Lerma*, that he advanced his favourite as high as if he had been the favourite of a king: for he not only enabled him to raise an estate of an hundred thousand crowns a year, and procured him titles and honours, but he even allowed him to hope for a viceroyalty. These favours could not fail of exciting envy, which the haughtiness and impetuosity of his temper quickly swelled into malice, according to the prediction of his father, who frequently told him, that, his bark having so little ballast, if he continued to croud sail at that rate, it would be overset by the first storm. The death of the queen and of prince *Philip Emanuel* of *Savoy*, with many other enormous offences, were charged upon him as the instrument of his master; but, after sifting for two years these accusations, they were found to have nothing in them. However, he was continued in prison, and, as we shall see hereafter, became the victim of that resentment which the abuse of his master's kindness had excited. It is supposed that this prosecution was drawn out into so great a length, partly to prevent his escape, and partly to keep up the odium that had been raised against the duke his master, and hinder his being restored to the king's favour [c].

His majesty makes a tour into Portugal, *and a public entry into* Lisbon.

On the 22d of *April* the king Don *Philip* set out from *Madrid*, with the prince his son and the infanta Donna *Maria*, for *Portugal*, and, from the hour he entered that kingdom, saw nothing but splendor, joy, and obsequiousness. On the feast of St. *Peter* he made his public entry into the city of *Lisbon*, where the river was covered with vessels of all sorts, decorated with the most glaring and costly magnificence. There were no less than 32 arches of triumph in the streets; and such an amazing display of gold and jewels, that the king was obliged to prolong this shew for two days,

[c] Don Juan Vitrian, Amelot de la Houssaie.

that

that he might have time to behold all. He paid the *Portuguese* by his courteous and affable behaviour, and by saying, that he never thought himself so great a king before. He caused an assembly of the states to be held, in which the nobility swore to his son as heir apparent, and himself likewise swore to maintain their privileges, and to govern according to law. He remained at *Lisbon* for some months; and when he left *Portugal*, to return into *Spain*, he seemed to do it with reluctance. Yet the nation in general was not satisfied with his behaviour, for he did not appear so much in public as they desired, neither did he give so explicit an answer to their demands as they expected. The first was in reality owing to the principal motive of his coming thither, which was, a declining state of health; and the other to the influence of his new ministers, who were much afraid that the *Portuguese* would insinuate themselves into his affections; and were not at all pleased, that, in representing their grievances, they more than once insinuated to the king, that they did not in the least impute them to his majesty, but to those who had his ear, and who abused that confidence which he placed in them; circumstances that contributed not a little to heighten that distemper which the king had upon him, and which in fact was a deep melancholy, occasioned by the memorial which had ruined the duke of *Lerma*, and which had opened the king's eyes with respect to the miseries of his subjects, and to his own incapacity of relieving them [d].

Embarrassed state of affairs, by which the Spanish ministry is much perplexed

THE affairs of *Europe*, which had been tolerably serene during this reign, began now to be overcast. The affairs of the empire were fallen into great confusion; the *Bohemians* had thrown off the yoke, and elected *Frederick* prince palatine for their king [e]; even the *Austrians* wavered in their fidelity, and *Ferdinand* found himself besieged without and within *Vienna*. In short, the assistance of *Spain*, which had always been expedient, was now necessary, to the *German* branch ~~of the *German*~~ of the family; and that which had been an uneasy burden became a heavy load; and, what rendered it the heavier, it was impossible to be laid down. In *Italy* the duke of *Feria*, who was sent to replace the marquis of *Villa Franca* in the government of *Milan*, found a league upon the carpet for circumscribing the power of the *Spaniards*; and, to defeat this, he set on foot such intrigues in *Switzerland*, as rendered his nation more odious and 1619.

[d] GONSALES DE CEPIDES, FARIA Y SOUSA. [e] WILSON's History of King James I.

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more insupportable to the *Italians* than ever [f]. The designs also of the duke of *Ossuna* became so apparent, and the nature of his connections so generally known, that the only question at *Madrid* was, not whether he should be removed (for in that all the ministers agreed), but whether he would submit to be removed, or how another governor should be introduced, in case he was not disposed to give him place [g]. The *Turks* also had a powerful fleet at sea, which heightened the perplexity of this scene not a little. The honour of the crown of *Spain* required her having a fleet at sea likewise; but prince *Philibert* of *Savoy*, who commanded it, following his instructions very punctually, fought it with great earnestness, and, with equal dexterity, avoided fighting when he had found it [h].

All with spirit, and find their efforts attended with considerable success.

As the *Spanish* ministers found the concerns of the monarchy in such a situation, that, without exerting themselves, they must necessarily fall into confusion, a spirit of vigour appeared, very unusual in their councils. Under colour of assisting the archduke *Albert*, great supplies were sent into *Germany*, and a numerous body of veteran troops under the marquis *Spinola*, who acted however in the name of that prince, and not of the king of *Spain*; which timely succours enabled *Ferdinand* to get the better of his competitor, and to over-run his dominions [i]. In order to assist him still further, the old treaty of marriage was revived with the king of *England*, and mighty advantages proposed to recommend the match of the infanta Donna *Maria* with *Charles* prince of *Wales*; an alliance which king *James* had no one reason to wish, by which *Spain* alone could have been a gainer, and in which they were notwithstanding, from first to last, but very insincere [k]. The duke of *Feria* was encouraged and applauded, which induced him to spirit up the popish inhabitants of the *Valteline* to revolt from the *Grisons*, and, which
1620. was much worse, to massacre the protestants. This being performed, the *Spaniards*, as protectors of the catholic religion, erected several forts in that country, not so much to serve the interest of their new allies as their own. The situation of this narrow track rendered it of infinite importance, as it facilitated the correspondence between the two branches

[f] Historia della Republica de Veneta, di Batt Nani, Gesales de Cespides. [g] Greg. Leti Histoire du Duc d'Ossone. [h] Franc. Castagnini della Vita del Principe Filiberto di Savoia. [i] Wilson's History of K. James I. [k] Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels.

of

of the house of *Austria*, shut the *Swiss* out of *Italy*; kept the *Venetians* in awe, and perfected the plan laid down by the count *de Fuentes* for holding the *Italian* princes and states in a dependence that differed very little from subjection [l]. Cardinal *Francis Borgia*, being appointed viceroy of *Naples*, was introduced with silence and secrecy into the castle, which is one of the three fortresses that commands the capital, and by the thunder of the cannon from thence the morning after, the duke of *Ossuna* had the first notice that his successor was arrived. He was a man of courage and abilities, as well as boundless ambition; but this stroke so surprised him, that, tho' he made some overtures, he was afraid to venture upon open resistance; and therefore resigned, though with a bad grace, what it was not in his power to keep [m]. The cardinal infant Don *Ferdinand*, the consent of the pope being at last obtained, took this year possession of the see of *Toledo* by proxy, the primacy of *Spain* being committed to a child of ten years old; which, whatever pleasure it might give the king as a father, could not be well reconciled to that character, of which alone he seemed ambitious, of being esteemed the most pious prince of his time [n].

Death of Philip III. *and circumstances attending it.*

WHATEVER satisfaction might result to the ministers from the success of the last year, they were far from reviving, as it was hoped they might, the spirits of the king. He grew worse in the winter, and, at the coming on of the spring, he became so weak, that he clearly perceived he could not last long. He now expressed a great concern for that indolence and inapplication which had been the disgrace of his reign, which his father had predicted, and to which in truth he had contributed by an austere education, and which this very prince had copied in regard to his own son. He disapproved the seizing the *Valteline*, and gave orders upon his death-bed that it should be restored. In imitation of his father, he left in writing some notes and observations for the use of his son; but he left him, what made a stronger impression, his example of never being his own master, into which he was already fallen, and in which he persisted to his life's end. The king was given over by his physicians near thirty days before he died, which occasioned a variety of intrigues. Some of his ministers, either repenting of what was past, or through fear of what was to come, desired him to recall the duke of *Lerma*; to which he readily

[l] Hist. della Republica de Veneta, di BATT NANI. [m] GREG. LETI Histoire du Duc d'Ossone. [n] GONSALEZ DE CESPIDES.

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consented. Upon this, the count *de Olivares*, who was the prince's favourite, put his master upon a very extraordinary and a very hazardous action; for he engaged him to send an order to the duke of *Lerma*, requiring him to return to his own house as soon as it came to his hands, and where-ever it might find him. This, tho' he might have declined it, the duke obeyed, saying, with his usual prudence, that *he was glad to be honoured with the first order of his master, that he might give his subjects an early lesson of submission to all his commands* °. *Philip* III. expired in his palace at *Madrid* on the last day of *March*, in the forty-third year of his age, and in the twenty-third of his reign. He expressed much less firmness in his last moments than his father had done; which was so much the more strange, as his life was incomparably more innocent, since an indolent love of quiet was his great and almost only fault. He had by his queen, the archduchess *Margaret* of *Austria*, seven children, four sons and three daughters. Of these, *Philip*, who succeeded him, the infant Don *Carlos*, the cardinal infant *Ferdinand*, the queen of *France*, the infanta Donna *Maria*, who was afterwards queen of *Hungary*, survived him; but, notwithstanding this numerous posterity, he is said to have had no better prospect with regard to his family than in reference to his dominions, the thoughts of which embittered his last moments, and occasioned some complaints, which it is needless to repeat P.

His son Philip IV. *succeeds, and is intirely governed by count* Olivarez.

PHILIP the fourth, like his father, remained the subject of his favourite, after he became the sovereign of his people. This favourite, as we observed before, was Don *Gaspar de Guzman*, count *de Olivares*, a man of great parts and boundless ambition. He followed, though as we have seen it was not necessary, the orders sent by the prince, with another signed, the moment he became king, to the duke of *Lerma*, whom it overtook upon the road, and served only to convince him, that, in his first resolution, he had acted with prudence. The king discovered at first some sparks of spirit and genius, that were not long supported, and which, if they were afterwards remembered, served only to persuade his subjects, that indolence, and not incapacity, was his principal failing. The count, by a dexterous management, raised a great outcry against the late ministry, and, under colour of

° Anecdotes du Ministere de Conte Duc DE OLIVARES.
P Historia della Republica Veneta, di BATT NANI. FARIA Y SOUSA, LE VASOR, Don JUAN VITRIAN, AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAIE.

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inquiring into it more ſtrictly, the duke *de Uzeda* was removed, and his friend the confeſſor remanded to tell his beads in his own monaſtery. In this there was not much amiſs, the world in general approving theſe ſacrifices; but it was not ſo with another victim. Don *Rodrigo Calderone*, after being acquitted of all the great charges brought againſt him, was condemned for having knowlege of the death of two *Spaniſh* gentlemen, not over-clearly proved. He ſuffered on the ſcaffold; but he ſuffered with ſo much conſtancy, and yet with ſo much humility and reſignation, that he attracted univerſal compaſſion. Great changes followed in the cabinet and the court. About the perſon of the prince the count ſcarce ſuffered any that were not his own relations; and, except his nephew Don *Lewis de Haro*, none of them were diſtinguiſhed by their ſhining abilities. The miniſter had a great genius, and he did not care to be controuled [q].

A new ſcheme of politics introduced, which has long and laſting bad effects.

In regard to foreign affairs, things were conducted in a manner, not very conducive to the honour of the new king. The late monarch, by a clauſe added to his will, had commanded the prince his ſon to reſtore the *Valteline*. In compliance with this, a treaty was concluded at *Madrid* with Monſieur *de la Baſſompiere*, in which all the proper ſtipulations were made for the reſtitution of that country, and orders for that purpoſe were to be ſent to the duke of *Feria*, who knew how to execute, or rather not to execute, them, ſo as to keep the country; pretending a good will to reſtore it, if the catholic inhabitants might be preſerved in the free enjoyment of their religion. But by this time the new ſyſtem of the count *de Olivares* began to diſplay itſelf; for having brought into public odium, and even under a kind of proſecution, the late miniſtry, for their puſillanimity in the management of affairs, it was become requiſite at leaſt, if not neceſſary, that new methods ſhould be entered upon. Theſe conſiſted in the concluding a ſtrict league with the emperor, 1621.
that, by his aſſiſtance, while *France* was torn with religious wars, and *England* amuſed with the falſe hopes of a marriage, the war in the *Low Countries* might be revived upon the concluſion of the truce, and both there and in *Italy* the authority of the crown of *Spain* rendered not only reſpected, but in a manner abſolute [r]. A great deſign, and not ill laid out, if all things had happened according to the apprehenſion of

[q] Hiſtoria de Don Phelipe IV. Rey de las Eſpanas, por Don Gonsalez de Cespides y Meneses. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. Geddes's Miſcellaneous Tracts. [r] Batt Nani.

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its author; but Providence disposing otherwise of events, his schemes were not attended with that success he expected. On the contrary, they produced a spirit of jealousy, which, in process of time, brought the *Spanish* monarchy to the brink of ruin.

Resolution taken to renew the war with the states, and to bridle Italy.

The count *de Olivares*, who, under the veil of extraordinary modesty, concealed a self-sufficiency, that equalled, in his own opinion, the talents of *Ximenes*, would not seem to do any thing out of his own province; and therefore put his uncle Don *Balthazar de Zuniga*, who had been the king's governor, at the head of foreign affairs. He was in reality the very opposite of his nephew; for he had that genius to which the other pretended, but with all the modesty which the duke only affected. With all this merit, however, he suffered himself to be carried away with the count's notions, and concurred with him, against the sense of all the rest of the council, to renew the war with the *Dutch*, notwithstanding they had shewn a great disposition to prolong the truce, or even to convert it into a solid peace [s]. This strange measure, in direct opposition to the representations made by the archduke *Albert*, and most of the council, was far from being acceptable to the people. But they were better pleased, at least at the beginning, with the count's causing a new court to be set up, for squeezing those who had been in the management of the finances during the former reign, by which a great sum was brought into the treasury, and by the count's declaring, that, for the future, the public revenue should be applied only to public uses, and no gratifications or pensions granted upon any terms [t]. In *Italy*, the people of the *Valteline* were still protected in their revolt, and the marquis *Spinola*, with the *Spanish* troops under his command, assisted the emperor against the protestants, while the negotiation of the infanta's marriage remained still on the carpet. By this doubleness in its behaviour, the *Spanish* court, by degrees, wore out the patience, and at length excited a resentment in all the great powers of *Europe* [u].

1622.

Unaccountable journey of Charles prince of Wales to

In order to repay the obligations they were under, or at least to acknowlege them, the *German* branch of the house of *Austria* did every thing that could be desired by the crown of *Spain*: the emperor, in particular, granted to king *Philip* the investiture of *Milan*, *Final*, *Piombino*, and other lesser fiefs in *Italy*; which heightened the jealousies of the

[s] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. [t] Batt Nani. [u] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. Batt Nani.

princes

princes and republics to such a degree, in conjunction with the conduct of the duke of *Feria*, then governor of *Milan*, that, under the protection of the crown of *France*, they formed a confederacy for the recovery and preservation of their freedom [w]. The war went on in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, and consequently the treaty of amusement with *England*, notwithstanding the infanta had declared clearly to the count *de Olivares*, that, if it was concluded, she would retire into a monastery, and the king himself had sworn that he would never give the princess his sister to a heretic [x]. However, appearances were carried so far, that the *English* embassador extraordinary, the earl of *Bristol*, and the *Spanish* embassador, count *Gondemar*, seem to have been both deceived; so that, upon their assurances, *Charles* prince of *Wales*, attended by the marquis of *Buckingham*, arrived at *Madrid* on *Friday* the seventh of *March*, very unexpectedly, and their presence, in such a situation of things, must have been very unwelcome. To cover this as far as it was possible, all imaginable honours were paid him. The king, in all public places, gave him the right hand; all criminals not condemned, and all prisoners for debt, were set at liberty, the king paying their creditors, in honour of this visit. The intentions of the court were so well dissembled, though his royal highness saw his mistress but seldom, some say but once, that, after seven months stay in that court, he departed, under such a persuasion of their being in earnest, that, having left full powers with the lord embassador *Bristol*, he deposited a private act of revocation, to be delivered to him when the bull from *Rome* should come, which, if he had been apprised of the true sentiments of the court, was altogether needless. However, the two favourites quarrelled to such a degree, that *Buckingham* told *Olivares*, he would serve the king of *Spain* in *England* at the risk of all that was dear to him, but for himself, he should always find him his greatest enemy; to which the count answered, without the least emotion, that he hoped he would keep his promise; and that, how far soever he went in the execution of his threats, he would forgive him with all his heart [y]. The pope too, that he might shew an equal strain of sincerity, after giving all imaginable proofs of his approbation of the match, directed a brief to the count *de Olivares*, in which he thanked him for his steady

the court of Madrid. 1623.

[w] Le Vassor, Batt Nani. [x] Batt Nani, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. [y] Wilson's History of James I. Sir Richard Wynn's Account of the Journey of Prince Charles's Servants into Spain, in the Year 1623.

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attachment to the catholic cause, so clearly manifested by his defeating a measure so inconsistent with it as this marriage would have been. The whole transaction, when it came to be thoroughly understood, added *England* to the number of those great powers which studied to find out means for effectually humbling the pride, and lessening the authority and influence, of the house of *Austria*. Such were the first effects of this minister's refined politics!

The marquis Spinola *reduces* Breda, *on an order conceived in half a line.*

THE court of *Madrid* had reason to be well satisfied with the promotion of cardinal *Barberini* to the papal throne, under the title of *Urban* VIII.; but though he espoused their interests heartily, and was allowed to have managed them with great dexterity, they proved nevertheless ineffectual. The *French* ministry, for various reasons, but more especially on the score of giving some assistance to the *Hugonots*, had conceived a very high dislike for the conduct of *Spain*, which they discovered by pressing the pope, who held the *Valteline* in a kind of sequestration, to render the forts, according to the treaty of *Madrid*; and this being long protracted, the marquis *de Coeuvres*, with the forces of the league, made a great progress in the dispatch of it, by a shorter method than that of negotiation [z]. The pope likewise interfered, to prevent the king of *England*, *Charles* the first, from marrying the *French* princess *Henrietta Maria*; and in this he likewise failed, tho' his nuncio at *Paris* went so far as to declare his master would not grant a dispensation. But *Richlieu*, who was rising to the head of the ministry, told him, that this would break no squares with the *English*; they would conclude it without [a]. It was easily discerned from this, that those crowns were embarked in the same designs. In the *Low Countries*, the war was carried on, but at a vast expence, tho', at the time the truce was broken, the great argument for that measure was, that peace or war in those parts would not create a difference of 50,000 crowns a month. We may form some idea of the character of *Philip* and his minister from what happened upon the marquis *Spinola*'s remonstrating against the orders that were sent him concerning a siege, which, for many reasons that he assigned, he judged in a great measure impracticable. The king's answer was in these words, *Marques, fumais Breda*, Yo EL REY; that is, *Marquis, take Breda*, I THE KING [b]. The *Dutch* this year made themselves masters of the capital of *Brazil*; but Don *Lewis de Andrada* had, on the other side,

[z] LE VASSOR, BATT NANI. [a] P. DANIEL. [b] Hist. Gen. d'Espagne.

some

ſome ſucceſs againſt them at ſea, as well as againſt the *Moors*. The archduke *Charles*, brother to the emperor, whom the king invited into *Spain*, with an intention, as was believed, to beſtow upon him the government of *Portugal*, was taken ſick ſoon after his arrival at *Madrid*, and died in three weeks; and this year alſo deceaſed the famous duke of *Oſſuna*, formerly viceroy of *Naples* [c]. 1624.

THE deep policy of count *Olivares* had hitherto done no remarkable ſervice to the crown of *Spain*, but, on the contrary, provoked all her neighbours; ſo that, without the ceremony of a general alliance, they concerted to attack her this year on all ſides; the republic of *Venice*, and the duke of *Savoy*, in conjunction with the crown of *France*, were to proſecute the recovery of the *Valteline*; and the two latter agreed farther to conquer the city and ſtate of *Genoa*; the ſtates were to make great efforts by land and ſea; count *Manſfield* was to be furniſhed with an army ſufficient to keep the emperor employed, and the *Engliſh* were to invade *Spain* by ſea. *The Spaniſh dominions ſuddenly attacked on all ſides by the* Engliſh, French, *and* Dutch.

Theſe ſchemes were not only conſtructed, but executed; however, the *Conde de Olivares* loſt no credit by that; and though this was a year in which the ſtrength of the monarchy was put to very ſevere trials, it acquired fame that more than balanced ſome little loſs. The *Venetians* would not concur in the expedition againſt *Genoa*; the *French* and *Savoyards* attempted it with great force, and with ſome degree of ſucceſs at firſt; but the *Spaniards* ſupported their allies with men, money, and a fleet; and the duke of *Feria*, invading *Piedmont*, quickly conſtrained the enemy to abandon all the conqueſts they had made. The *Engliſh* fleet and army came to *Cadiz*, which they might have taken with great eaſe, if they had gone about it with vigour; but their general, the lord viſcount *Wimbledon*, ſpent ſo much time in fortifying at the *Puntal*, that Don *Ferdinand Girome* tranſported in his ſight a reinforcement to *Cadiz*, which ſaved the place. Notwithſtanding this, they might certainly have taken the whole plate-fleet, if they had continued where they were; but ſeveral advice-boats being diſpatched from the coaſt of *Spain*, with orders to ſail to *Corunna*, one of them fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, who thereupon directed their courſe thither, and the very next day that fleet, having miſſed all thoſe boats, arrived ſafely in the port of *Cadiz* [d]. This appeared an event of ſuch conſequence to the king, who would 1625.

[c] BATT NANI, EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, La Vie du Duc d'Oſſune, Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES. [d] Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts

have

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have gone in perſon to the relief of that place, if *Olivares* had not prevented him, that he ordered anniverſary rejoicings, on the 20th of *November*, to perpetuate the memory of this mark of the divine favour *. The quarrel of *Buckingham* with *Olivares*, as it brought this miſchief on *Spain*, ſo the jealouſy between that favourite and cardinal *Richlieu* diſappointed the meaſures that had been concerted for the recovery of the *Palatinate*; and, to crown all, the marquis *Spinola* took *Breda*, and Don *Frederic de Toledo* had great ſucceſs againſt the *Dutch* in *Brazil*. This year died the cardinal duke of *Lerma* at *Valladolid*.

Olivares gains an advantage over Richlieu in making the peace.

THE neceſſity of oppoſing ſo many enemies at once by ſea and land, and in ſo many different parts of the world, had conſtrained his catholic majeſty to raiſe, which had not been done in his reign, ſome extraordinary taxes upon the people; and this excited ſome diſcontent. The count *de Olivares* propoſed that the king ſhould make a tour into *Catalonia*; which journey had other political reaſons. In the laſt campaign he had been in a manner compelled to abandon the *Valteline*; and finding the war on that ſide very troubleſome, he reſolved, if poſſible, to put an end to it by a peace. He acted in this matter with great addreſs, and cauſed the *Spaniſh* miniſter at *Paris* to inſinuate to cardinal *Richlieu*, that, in a general treaty, the princes and ſtates in *Italy* would be able to preſcribe laws to the two crowns, which it was equally unfit and diſhonourable that they ſhould receive; but that, if they treated ſecretly, they might adjuſt all things to their own intereſts. His propoſitions were liſtened to, and an embaſſador ſent into *Spain*, under pretence of complimenting the queen lately delivered of an infanta, by whom a treaty for the reſtitution of the *Valteline* was concluded at *Moncon*, and ratified at *Barcelona*, entirely in favour of the *Spaniards*, and in which the *French* not only treated without the privity, but even ſacrificed the intereſts, of their allies, which diſobliged the *Venetians* extremely, and irritated the duke of *Savoy* to the laſt degree. Upon this the duke of
1626. *Feria* was recalled from the government of the *Milaneſe*, which was committed to Don *Gonçales de Cordova*, and all the proper meaſures were taken to repair the naval force of *Spain*, and to afford what ſuccours were neceſſary to the emperor. Beſides, to ſtrengthen the intereſts of the *German* line, the infanta Donna *Maria*, on whoſe account the war with *England* had happened, was married to *Ferdinand*, afterwards ad-

* Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES. EMANUEL DE FERIA Y SOUSA.

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rial throne; which, if possible, drew the
ſtill faſter [f].

corrupted by proſperity; *Olivares* the views of thoſe who were ſtiled succeeded ſince in a nego- ror had in a manner ren- and purſued ſchemes become quite ſo, roved, and no the crown too much , ſoon after e of *Great*, and an obligation to ucy had been checked out the *Valteline* was by ; ſo that the end of the *Italy*, was defeated, which he reſs of *Casal* in the *Montferrat*, princes who could not maintain it, itſelf to his view. It is true it be- e of *Mantua*, who was under the protec- but as it was foreſeen that a diſpute muſt this ſucceſſion, as the branch of the houſe of a was ſettled in *France*, where they had the title of , was neareſt in blood, and the houſe of *Guaſtalla*, of the ſame family, pretended preference, as being , he thought it very practicable, whenever the duke to ſeize all, till the emperor ſhould ſettle the rights of ſuſtending princes, and then to keep *Casal* as a reward ring the reſt. Into this project, by making it his in- they drew the old duke of *Savoy*, and troubled not ves about *France*, ſuppoſing that the inteſtine broils kingdom, to which they lent ſome aſſiſtance, would in a ſtate of diſtraction till their projects were brought . In all this they were ſoothed by aſſurances from , governor of *Milan*, that all might be eaſily brought if he was well ſupplied with money. But *Vincent* of *Mantua*, commiſerating the ſtate of his country, his death-bed ſent for the young duke of *Rhetel*, eldeſt to the duke of *Nevers*, in order to marry him to his , that he might have a title equally clear to *Montferrat* *Mantua*; which marriage, commanded by his laſt words,

The war of Mantua reſolved upon by Olivares contrary to the ſentiments of other miniſters.

1627.

[f] Frederic Leonard, tom. iv. Corps Diplomatique, tom. v. p. ii. p. 487.

was

was solemnized in his palace, while he was yet warm. The duke of *Nevers* endeavoured to open a peaceable entry to his just rights, by testifying the most obsequious submission to the crown of *Spain*; notwithstanding which, by the ascendancy that *Olivares* had over his master and his councils, the war of *Mantua* was resolved upon; from which resolution we are to date the declension, if not the ruin, of *Spain* [g].

Fortune declares against Spain *almost everywhere at once.*

As the *Spaniards* in general are politicians, the resolution of kindling a new war in *Italy* excited great discontent; but the count, who had procured to himself the title of duke de *St. Lucar*, which, by resignation, he meant to bestow upon a bastard son of his, was so persuaded that success must attend his measures, that he gave no great attention to these murmurs, which were not at all lessened by the crying down copper-money, on the hopes of a large supply of silver from the *West Indies*. In *Italy*, the war being begun, *Cordova* and the duke of *Savoy* endeavoured to divide the *Montferrat* between them; but the former, failing in surprising, was forced to besiege *Casal*, which was obstinately defended. On the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* demanding assistance to shut the *French* out of *Italy*, the *Spaniards* were forced to weaken an army that was before scarce equal to the siege. The correspondence also held with the duke of *Rohan* and the protestants in *France*, not having been able to save *Rochelle*; and cardinal *Richlieu*, after the surrender of that place, having prevailed upon the king his master to go in person with a numerous army to the assistance of the duke of *Mantua*; raised the spirits of the *Italians* to such a degree, that *Cordova* was neither able to take *Casal*, nor to keep the duke of *Savoy* in that degree of subjection which was expected by
1628. the court of *Madrid*. Add to all this, that the *Dutch* admiral, *Peter Adrianson*, beat a *Spanish* fleet in *America*, of which they burnt part, and brought a great booty home. On the 8th of *September*, *Peter Heyn* took the galleons in the neighbourhood of the *Havannah*, and acquired thereby for his masters, the *West India* company, eight millions of florins in silver at least, which, as it proved of very great advantage to the affairs of the republic, so, in many other respects, besides the immediate loss of such a treasure, it was highly detrimental to the concerns of *Spain* [h].

[g] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. Histoire du Ministere du Comte Duc d'Olivares, avec des Reflexions Politiques. Batt Nani. [h] Hist. Gen. d'Espagne. Anecdotes du Duc Comte d'Olivares. Histoire d'Hollande, par M. de la Neuville.

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THE arrival of the *French* king with his forces on the frontiers of *Piedmont*, and forcing the pass of *Suza*, forced the duke of *Savoy* to a treaty, and obliged the governor of *Milan* to raise the siege of *Casal*; but the disorders of *France* obliging the king to return, revived the *Spanish* hopes, and gave them time to bring a body of *Germans* into *Italy*. They likewise sent the famous marquis *Spinola* to restore their affairs on that side, and furnished him so plentifully with money, that the inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, still in obedience to his catholic majesty, looked upon themselves as abandoned, and actually sent an agent to *Madrid*, to make strong remonstrances for assistance, since otherwise it was impossible for them to defend themselves [i]. These disappointments gave the conde duke some disturbance, heightened the popular distaste against him, and might have had worse effects, if the queen had not been delivered, on the 27th of *October*, of the prince Don *Balthazar*, to the infinite joy both of the court and nation, and to the great benefit of the house of *Austria*. The conde duke, for so he was pleased to be called, as affecting a kind of singular behaviour in every thing, might have taken opportunity, from this incident, to have made some propositions of peace; but, instead of doing that, he entered into a new treaty with the duke of *Rohan*, promising him mighty things, if he would revive the troubles in that kingdom; but this had not the desired effect; and the *German* soldiers perishing in great numbers in *Italy*, together with the dispositions made by the *Swedes* to succour the protestants in *Germany*, who were driven to the last extremity, kindled the flame of a general war, which, by a kind of unanimity little known to politicians, all *Europe* ascribed to the ambition and obstinacy of *Olivares* [k].

The birth of prince Don Balthazar happened very luckily for the minister.

1629.

ALL hopes of succeeding in the project for bridling *Italy* were now devolved upon the marquis *Spinola*, who had orders to besiege and to reduce *Casal* almost in the same terms with those he was commanded to take *Breda*, and this notwithstanding it was one of the best fortifications in *Italy*, with a numerous garrison, composed mostly of *French* troops, commanded by marshal *Thoiras*, and well supplied with provisions. It was supposed that the *French*, by their intestine distractions, would be with-held from any new irruption, and that the correspondencies held in *Mantua*, and

Cardinal Richlieu penetrates through Savoy, and changes the face of affairs in Italy.

[i] BATT NANI. Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES. CESPIDES. [k] Histoire Gen. d'Espagne. Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES.

even

even in the family of the new duke, would ſuddenly produce great effects. There is no doubt but *Spinola* did all in his power to execute his commiſſion, but was foiled notwithſtanding by a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance. The duke *de Richlieu*, veſted with the title of generaliſſimo, and followed by a gallant army, penetrated into *Piedmont*, and was very near ſeizing the duke of *Savoy* and his ſon, which, with other diſgraces and diſappointments, affected the mind of the duke to ſuch a degree, that he died of diſcontent [l]. *Mantua* was indeed ſurpriſed, the duke and his family ex-
1630. pelled, and the city and palace plundered, which only ſerved to increaſe that hatred againſt the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, that was but too ſtrong already; for the marquis *Spinola* dying of reſentment of the reproofs he received from *Spain*, and *Ferdinand* taking upon him to make a peace at *Ratiſbon* with the *French*, *Cazal* was ſaved out of their hands, and the outlines of a peace drawn, which did no honour to the councils at *Madrid* [m]. The infanta Donna *Maria*, queen of *Hungary*, was this year ſent into *Germany*; but the promiſes made by *Philip* IV. to his ſubjects in the *Low Countries*, that he would come to redreſs all their grievances in perſon, proved a mere deluſion, and excited that diſtruſt, which afterwards was heightened into an abſolute contempt of the declarations that came from *Spain* [n].

The treaty of Queraſque, and great reſpect paid to the cardinal both at home and abroad.

In order to prevent the reſtoration of peace, or at leaſt a tranquillity, in *Italy*, *Olivares* ſent *Feria* again into *Milan*, depending on the temper and abilities of the man, who was naturally an enemy to quiet. He laboured to ſeduce the duke of *Mantua* from his allies by magnificent promiſes, to bring *Victor* duke of *Savoy* into a cloſer dependance upon *Spain* than ever his father had been, to create jealouſy in the *Venetians*, and new commotions in the *Valteline*; but without effect. The treaty of *Queraſque* ſettled the peace of *Italy* for the preſent, and not only procured the beſt part of his dominions, with the emperor's inveſtiture for the duke of *Mantua*, but, contrary to the expectations, as well as to the intereſt of the *Spaniards*, the ſtrong fortreſs of *Pignerol*, by purchaſe from the duke of *Savoy*, in the hands of the *French*, and an army of *Griſons* and *Switzers* under the command of the duke of *Rohan*, now reconciled to *France*, for the defence of the *Valteline*; ſo that all the ſchemes of *Olivares*, and all

[l] Le Vassor, Batt Nani. Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par M. Le Clerc. [m] Batt Nani, Le Vassor. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. [n] Le Clerc.

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the intrigues of *Feria*, were totally defeated [o]. In *Germany*, the power of the emperor, on which *Spain* had so much depended, was in a great measure broken, and new complaints and demands brought from all quarters to *Madrid*. To satisfy, as far as possible, the desires of the people, the infant Don *Carlos* was sent viceroy to *Portugal*, the cardinal infant appointed to the government of the *Low Countries*, and the marquis *de Santa Croce* sent thither to command the forces [p]. At sea Don *Antonio de Oequendo*, with a strong fleet, equipped with great difficulty, and on board which multitudes had perished by a contagious sickness before it sailed, proceeded to the coast of *Brazil*, where attacking a *Dutch* squadron, commanded by admiral *Pater*, of sixteen sail, of which ten fled without fighting, because they had the good luck to sink one ship, and to blow up another, which carried the flag with the admiral on board, medals were struck in honour of the victory, with the king's head on one side, and *Sampson* rending the lion on the reverse [q]. But this success was quickly qualified by the loss of no less than sixty vessels in the *Low Countries*, and fourteen others burnt and destroyed, with the loss of many thousand men, and a prodigious quantity of military and naval stores [r]. This year, though they were very little able to bear the expence, the *Spaniards* received the queen mother of *France*, and her son the duke of *Orleans*, into their protection, fully persuaded that this would contribute to the ruin of cardinal *Richlieu*, whom his master thereupon created duke and peer of *France*; and the senate of *Venice*, by an unanimous vote, received him into the number of their nobility, to the no small mortification of *Olivares*, who considered him very justly as his implacable enemy [s]. 1631.

New methods practised for reviving the old scheme of universal influence.

King *Philip* concluded this year a treaty with the emperor, to enable him to defend himself the better against the *Swedes*; and, for the security of the *Italian* provinces, entered into negotiations with the duke of *Savoy* and the *Genoese*. Don *Gonçales de Cordova* was sent to command the auxiliaries in the *Palatinate*, and the infant Don *Carlos* declared generalissimo by sea, for the relief of *Tangier*, which was besieged by the *Moors*. Don *Antonio de Oequendo* had some degree of success against the *Dutch* in *Brazil*; but, on

[o] Histoire Gen. d'Espagne, Batt Nani. [p] Le Clerc, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. [q] Hist. Metallique des Pays Bas, par Gerard Van Loon, tom. ii. p. 192. [r] Hist. de Hollande, par Monsieur de la Neuville. [s] Batt Nani, Cespides.

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the side of the *Low Countries*, both the states and the *French*
1632. were very successful [t]. In the mean time the infant Don *Carlos*, brother to the king, died at *Madrid*; the prince *Balthazar* was acknowleged heir apparent of the *Spanish* monarchy, and the cardinal infant began to prepare for his journey into the *Low Countries*, where he was to succeed the infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia* in the government of those provinces [u]. A new tax, though laid upon persons in easy circumstances, added to the general distaste which prevailed against *Olivares*, already so unfortunate as to have every thing that happened amiss attributed to him, and particularly the death of the infant, a prince of a restless and active spirit, whom it was given out the conde duke had removed by poison, in order to secure himself from such aspersions [w].

Cardinal infant arrived at Milan, *in his way to the* Low Countries.

THE supreme council was revived in the kingdom of *Portugal*, the security of which was thought to be promoted by the duke of *Braganza*'s marriage with the daughter of the duke of *Medina Sidonia* at *Madrid* [x]. The infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, daughter to *Philip* II. died, on the first of *December*, at *Brussels*. The cardinal infant, being come to *Milan*, found his progress stopped in the route he intended to have taken; to open which the duke of *Feria* marched with an army of 12,000 men, who performed indeed what he was sent for, and relieved the city of *Constance*; but it was so late in the year, that the cardinal found himself obliged to continue where he was; and it may be he did this the more willingly, as it gave him an opportunity of promoting the intrigues in *Italy*, which began to be under some apprehensions from the *Swedes*. At sea and in *Brazil* the *Dutch* had various advantages; and, in the *Low Countries*, affairs were daily falling from bad to worse; for the forces and the
1633. treasures of *Spain* were employed in such a degree for the service of the emperor, or rather in support of the common interests of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*, that they were not in a condition to look after their own concerns [y]. Into this they were at first led by a fond hope, that when the emperor should, by their assistance, have triumphed over the protestants, and all other opponents in *Germany*, he would concur with them in the reduction of the *Low Countries* to

[t] LE CLERC, P. DANIEL, CESPIDES. [u] Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES. Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE. [w] Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [x] Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES. [y] LE VASSOR. Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE. BATT NANI.

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the state they were in at the death of the emperor *Charles* the fifth.

After endeavours had been used in vain to bring the duke of *Savoy* back to his former connections, persuasions, with better success, were tried with his two brothers; insomuch that prince *Thomas*, having sent his wife and children into *Spain*, retired himself to *Brussels*, while cardinal *Maurice* at *Rome* declared openly for the emperor and the king of *Spain* [a]. On the other hand, the republic of *Genoa*, resenting highly the decision, which, in his brother's name, the cardinal infant Don *Ferdinand* had made in respect to the disputes between them and the duke of *Savoy*, put themselves under the protection of *France*, and acted with a vigour and dignity becoming a free state. In the mean time, his catholic majesty's minister at the imperial court, count *de Ognate*, by the instructions of *Olivares*, first accused, before the privy-council, the famous general *Wallenstein*, and afterwards proposed his assassination; which being effected, gained great applause to a measure that would otherwise have been universally condemned [a]. The duke of *Feria* being dead at *Munich*, the marquis *de Leganez* took the command of the army till the arrival of the cardinal infant, who, in conjunction with the king of *Hungary*, his brother-in-law, engaged and defeated the *Swedes*, and their confederates. The marquis *de Aytona*, who governed the *Low Countries*, till the cardinal's arrival, with great spirit, had, under colour of a conspiracy, arrested some of the principal nobility, and forced others to fly; while the king Don *Philip* and the conde duke, having first very roughly interrogated the duke of *Aremberg*, who had been sent as deputy from the nobles to the court, as to the same conspiracy, because he would not accuse himself and his friends, caused him to be arrested in their presence, and sent to a close prison [b]. In this situation the cardinal infant took possession of the government, where, notwithstanding these bold steps, the town of *Dunkirk* refused to admit a garrison that he sent thither. *Gaston* duke of *Orleans*, after making several treaties with the crown of *Spain*, for the invasion of his native country, and the disturbance of his brother's government, which were indifferently performed on both sides, finding himself become inconsiderable in the eyes of strangers, and being sold, as he commonly was, by one

The republic of Genoa detaches herself from the Spaniards in favour of the French.

[a] Histoire General d'Espagne. Le Clerc. [a] Batt Nani. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. Le Vassor.
[b] Cespedes, Batt Nani. Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur de la Neuville.

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his favourites, returned privately into *France*, and thereby saved the *Spaniards* a great expence, which had never answered their purpose[c]. The conde duke, however, forming new designs, assembled a great naval force, of which having given the command to the marquis of *Santa Croce*, the *Genoese*, as he accepted it without their leave, ordered his name to be struck out of the list of their nobility[d].

1634.

The crown of France *declares war against the cardinal infant Don* Ferdinand.

ALL these enterprizes of the crowns of *France* and *Spain* against each other, as they were in reality the fruits of that animosity which reigned between *Richlieu* and *Olivares*, were carried on without a war declared. But the cardinal infant, governor of the *Low Countries*, having surprised *Treves*, and made the elector prisoner, sent him to *Vienna*, to answer to the emperor for having admitted a *French* garrison; upon which *Lewis* XIII. having demanded him from the cardinal infant, rejecting his excuses, declared war in form. This declaration was followed by an army, which having defeated that of the *Spaniards*, commanded by prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, threatened great things, but, through the interposition of a variety of accidents, performed little[e]. On the side of *Italy* things were in greater confusion; the duke of *Rohan*, having received considerable reinforcements, secured the *Valteline* for the *French*, who, entering through *Piedmont* with an army commanded by the duke of *Crequi*, invaded the *Milanese*. There they were joined by the duke of *Parma*, and brought with them the duke of *Savoy*, whose inclinations, however, were thought to be on the other side; and therefore, though this irruption promised fair, yet the event was not equal to those promises. This was chiefly owing to the conduct of the *Venetians*, who maintained that neutrality which their interest dictated, with a firmness and dignity worthy of that prudence for which they have been always famous[f]. The *Spanish* fleet, upon which *Olivares* much relied, as being composed of many large ships, with seven thousand *Spanish* troops on board, sailed at length for the coast of *Provence*, under the command of the duke of *Ferandina* and the marquis of *Santa Croce*; but, in their passage, met with a storm, by which they were dissipated, and seven gallies lost, with all that were on board them. Being, after much loss of time, once again brought into order, they attacked the islands of *Hieres*, and reduced them, for which

1635.

[c] Le Vassor, Le Clerc. [d] Batt Nani. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivarez. [e] Le Vassor. [f] Batt Nani.

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the marquis of *Santa Croce* was rewarded with the viceroyalty of *Catalonia* [g].

In *Italy* the *Italian* princes had this year good reason to repent their having entered so far into the jealousies of the two crowns, as to make their own country the seat of war; for the duchies of *Parma* and *Modena* were grievously spoiled, as well as the *Milanese* ruined, by the irruption of the *Spaniards* into the *Milanese*, though, after a battle, the marquis of *Leganez* drove them out, and then with his cavalry ravaged *Piedmont*, so that destruction was spread on every side, without any great advantage to either party [h]. In the *Low Countries*, prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, with the assistance of the emperor's generals, pushed the war with effect; and, having taken some places in *Picardy*, struck such terror into the inhabitants of *Paris*, that the cardinal once advised the king his master to retire to *Orleans*; but, prince *Thomas* being in no condition to maintain his conquests, they were, when the *French* had recovered their spirits, very speedily retaken [i]. The *Spanish* fleets, attempting to put into the harbours of *Genoa*, were refused licence, upon certain suspicions, which heightened the hatred they had conceived against that republic. The conde duke, to display his power, and to 1636.
shew his influence over his master, caused his relation, the duke *de Medina de la Torres*, to be declared viceroy of *Naples* for eight months; that while he held this dignity, he might espouse the princess of *Stigliano*; after which, the count *de Monterey* resuming that government, the duke had the viceroyalty of *Sicily* bestowed upon him [k]. In the winter both sides seemed inclined to peace, and the city of *Cologne* was appointed for the conferences; but when passports were required for the plenipotentiaries of the protestants of the empire, and of the states general of the *United Provinces*, they were refused by the emperor and the king of *Spain*, the former affirming, that he looked upon those princes as his vassals, and the latter avowing, that he considered the *Dutch* in no better light than that of rebels [l].

Spain *would be thought to desire peace, and yet arrogantly refuses passports for a treaty.*

Experience having taught the duke of *Parma* with how little advantage princes of his rank embark in the quarrels of great monarchs, finding himself blocked up in one of his capitals, and his dominions surrounded by the *Spaniards*, he made his peace by the surrender of *Sabionetta*, and put an hundred thousand crowns into his pocket, under pretence of

The Grisons are prevailed upon to drive out the duke of Rohan,

[g] Anecd. du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Cespides. [h] Batt Nani. [i] Le Vassor, Le Clerc. [k] Anecdotes, &c. [l] Cesp. & al. sup. citat.

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and resume the Valteline.

repairing his fortifications. By a proper use of soft persuasions, accompanied with a dextrous distribution of money, the *Grisons* were prevailed upon to expel the duke of *Rohan*, and resume their sovereignty of the *Valteline*, under the protection of a perpetual league with *Spain*. But, to balance these successes, the *French* recovered the islands of *Hieres*, and made some progress in the *Low Countries*, under favour of which the prince of *Orange* recovered *Breda* in nine weeks, in reducing which the marquis *Spinola* had spent nine months [m]. The conde duke, hoping to set all right, in-

1637. vaded *Languedoc* with a numerous army, commanded by the duke of *Cardona* and count *Corbelon*, who besieged *Leucat*; but duke *Schomberg*, who was governor of that province, with a small army, and that composed chiefly of militia, forced their trenches in the night, and obliged them to abandon the siege with the loss of all their cannon [n]. This year died the emperor *Ferdinand* the second, *Victor* duke of *Savoy*, and *Charles* duke of *Mantua* [o]. The famous imperial general *Picolomini*, by the consent of his master, entered into the service of *Spain*, and the duke of *Medina de la Torre*, by the influence of his protector *Olivarez*, was removed from the viceroyalty of *Sicily* to that of *Naples* [p].

Unexpected good fortune renders the conde duke more insolent than ever.

THE situation of things in *Italy* was certainly favourable to *Spain*, and her ministers and generals lost no opportunity of improving them. The marquis *de Leganez* took several places in *Savoy*, where the marshal *de Crequi* was killed, and all the endeavours of the cardinal *de la Valette*, to restore the affairs of that country, baffled; while, on the other hand, the princess dowager of *Mantua* was persuaded to change sides, and to commit the protection of herself, her son, and her dominions, to the emperor and the crown of *Spain* [q]. In *Germany* the affairs of the house of *Austria* went prosperously; in the *Low Countries* they were unusually successful, the cardinal infant Don *Ferdinand* routing the young count *William* of *Nassau* with great loss, and making a capture of seventy barks laden with naval and military stores; to revenge which, his father the prince of *Orange* having besieged *Gueldres*, the cardinal forced him in his intrenchments, and gained a complete victory [r]. The prince of *Conde*, with the duke *de la Valette*, having laid siege to *Fontarabia*, an army was speedily assembled for its relief, un-

[m] Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE, Le VASSOR, CESPEDES. [n] Histoire de Languedoc. [o] BATT NANI, LE CLERC. [p] Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES. [q] BATT NANI, &c. [r] Auct. sup. citat.

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der the command of the amirante of *Caſtile*, who, with great ſpirit and bravery, attacked the *French* in their lines, beat, and forced them to raiſe the ſiege with conſiderable loſs, and with equal ſhame and confuſion [s]. There happened alſo a fight at ſea, in which both ſides claimed the victory, though neither with any great reaſon. But, what was eſteemed of more conſequence, there happened this year an inſurrection in *Portugal*, in which ſome proclaimed the duke of *Braganza* king, of which that prince was ſo far from making any advantage, that he withdrew himſelf far enough out of their reach, as if he had been afraid of having the crown forced upon him [t]. Such an unuſual turn of good fortune could not but be extremely welcome to the *Spaniſh* nation; and it would have been much more ſo, if the king 1638.
had not perſuaded himſelf that it was ſo intirely due to the councils of the conde duke, as to heap upon him all the rewards which the generality of his ſubjects thought due to other men's endeavours. In accepting theſe, the miniſter himſelf was much to blame, as well as in treating with the contempt he did not only the far greater part of the grandees, but alſo the people of certain provinces, which were once kingdoms, whoſe privileges he conſidered as fetters on the royal authority. He made no difficulty of avowing, that the great object of his wiſhes was to emancipate the crown from theſe chains, from a perſuaſion, that, till the king was abſolute at home, he could not dictate as the conde duke deſired he ſhould to the other powers of *Europe* [u]; a notion he avowed, though he could not effect; and which *Richlieu* concealed, when he had actually atchieved it.

THE two princes of *Savoy*, ſupported by the emperor's authority, and the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, puſhed things very far in *Piedmont*, under colour of their having a title to the regency of their nephew; and at length prince *Thomas*, who was a gallant man, and a great general, ſurpriſed the city of *Turin*, the ducheſs dowager eſcaping half-naked into the citadel. But the prince becoming jealous of the marquis of *Leganez*, and fearing he would put a *Spaniſh* garriſon into the place, did not preſs that fortreſs ſo much as he might have done, and at length prevailed upon him to conſent to a truce for ſome months, which gave great advantage to the *French*; while, on the other hand, *Olivares*, who ne-

He perſiſts in his reſolution of having Cazal, *and ſends orders accordingly to M.* de Leganez.

[s] Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES. [t] Supplement to Faria y Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal, by Captain JOHN STEVENS. [u] La Storia del Conte D'OLIV. Anecdotes, &c.

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ver departed from a point he had proposed, sharply reproved the marquis for not reducing *Cazal*; telling him, that he regarded nothing as done in *Italy* while that was left undone [w]. At length the count *de Harcourt*, advancing with a very small force into *Piedmont*, renewed the war with advantage. In the *Low Countries*, *Picolomini* forced the lines of *Thionville*, and obliged the *French* to decamp. An armada from *Spain*, commanded by *Oequendo*, consisting of upwards of threescore sail, passed through the *English* chanel, towards the coast of *Flanders*; but were attacked in their passage by the *Dutch* admiral *Van Tromp*, notwithstanding their having all the protection they could expect from the *English*. This fleet had a very large sum of money on board, which, with the largest ships, arrived safe in *Dunkirk*, but many others being taken, sunk, and destroyed, the *Dutch* 1639. with good reason celebrated this as a great victory [x]. The duke of *Modena* being now in *Spain*, his catholic majesty bestowed upon him the order of the *Golden Fleece*, and gave him the title of *Highness*, with which he was extremely pleased. The marquis of *Leganez* was likewise raised to the much envied honour of grandee of *Spain*, as well in regard of his services, as because he was descended from the then favoured house of *Guzman*, and his posterity in our times inherited the duchy of St. *Lucar* [y].

That enterprize unaccountably defeated, and the Spanish *army beaten.*

THE war in *Italy*, which had so long occupied the attention of the conde duke, was at length, in his opinion, on the point of terminating to the advantage of *Spain* by the reduction of *Cazal*, in which the *French* had but a thin garrison; and the *Spaniards*, having concluded a treaty with the dowager princess of *Mantua*, derived from thence some intelligence in the place, which had no succours to expect, as the *French* had no troops in the field. The governor, M. *de la Tour*, an old and experienced officer, prepared to make the best defence possible; and the method he took suggested hopes to the *Spaniards*, that he would scarce make any defence at all. His forces being weak, he made no sallies; and the *Spaniards* being left at liberty to fortify their camp without disturbance, did it much at their leisure, and with a view chiefly of cutting off all provisions from the place, but without attending much to their line of circum-

[w] BATT NANI, Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES.
[x] Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE, Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. ii. p. 244, 245. [y] Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'OLIVARES, CESPIDES.

vallation,

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allation, perſuaded on that ſide they had nothing to fear. The count *de Harcourt*, however, who commanded in *Savoy*, having exact intelligence of the ſituation things were in, collected all the forces he could, though their number was not ſmall. With theſe he advanced towards *Cazal*, brought the firſt news of his own march, and attacked the *Spaniards* ſo vigorouſly, that, after the loſs of three thouſand men upon the ſpot, they quitted their lines, and for the moſt part diſbanded, leaving their tents, baggage, and artillery, to the conquerors [z]. At his return into *Savoy*, the count, with an army ſmaller than would be now thought requiſite for its garriſon, inveſted *Turin*, which was bravely defended by prince *Thomas*: yet, notwithſtanding ſeveral attempts made by the marquis of *Leganez* for its relief, but without ſucceſs, it was ſurrendered towards the cloſe of *September* [a]. Soon after this, prince *Thomas* reconciled himſelf to the *French* by a treaty, negotiated with great ſecreſy by the famous cardinal *Mazarine*. In the *Palatinate* the *Spaniſh* troops had ſome advantages; but in the *Low Countries* they loſt the important city of *Arras*, notwithſtanding the cardinal infant made a generous attempt to relieve it, which very much raiſed his reputation, though it was not in his power to ſave the place. On the ſide of *Spain* itſelf, the *French* had taken *Salſes*, and ſome other places in *Rouſſillon*, which the *Spaniards* eaſily recovered; but the conſequences of this were fatal to them, beyond all the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the courſe of the war [b]; a thing that muſt appear ſtrange to the reader, and which therefore we ſhall immediately explain. 1640.

Olivares forms a deſign of depriving the Catalans of their privileges.

We have before obſerved, that the conde duke was by no means pleaſed with the diſtinct privileges of certain provinces, and meditated the reduction of all *Spain*, under what he ſtiled one form of government, which was generally ſuſpected to differ little, if at all, from a deſpotic monarchy. It is no wonder, therefore, that, to a miniſter with theſe notions, the *Catalans* ſhould be in a particular manner odious, ſince they were the freeſt of all his catholic majeſty's ſubjects. He had, the very laſt time the king was at *Barcelona*, prevailed upon him to leave that city while the ſtates were ſitting in it, abruptly, and induced him from that time to treat whatever applications they made by their deputies very roughly [c]. The *Catalans* indeed, inſtead of ſtooping to him, had behaved on their ſide very cavalierly,

[z] Le Vassor, Cespides. [a] Batt Nani. [b] Le Clerc, & al. [c] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivar-s.

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refusing not only to make any application, in order to recover his favour, but refusing to have any correspondence with him whatever, and, in all their remonstrances, told the king plainly, that they looked upon *Olivares* as their declared enemy, and for that reason unworthy of his majesty's confidence. This without doubt heightened his resentments, of which they would have felt the effects, if they had not been protected by the situation of their country, covered on every side by almost inaccessible mountains, except where it is bounded by the sea; and, besides, so contiguous to *France*, that the inhabitants might be easily supported from thence, if they should ever be driven to demand the protection of that crown. But the expedition into *Roussillon* had removed these difficulties, and had carried an army into that country, to which the *Catalans* contributed a corps of their own troops, who quitted it before the end of the campaign, being persuaded that they were sacrificed by the king's forces, whose duty it was to have supported them [d].

The Catalans revolt universally, and murder their viceroy.

AFTER the reduction of *Salses*, the army had orders to take their winter quarters in *Catalonia*, in direct breach of their privileges; and, as if this had not been enough, they were allowed to live there with such licence as would scarce have been excuseable in an enemy's country. Murders were common, rapes more frequent, robberies practised daily with impunity, complaints made to their officers produced no relief, and remonstrances at court were received with a coldness that differed little from contempt [e]. This produced a universal discontent, which was blown into a flame by the inconsiderate conduct of the count *de St. Coloma*, who was then viceroy. He, under pretence of wanting money to pay the troops, seized a large sum belonging to the city of *Barcelona*, and, upon one of their magistrates going to expostulate with him, sent him to prison, from whence the people in general, taking arms, quickly delivered him. The viceroy, whose courage was just as great as his prudence, fled immediately to the arsenal, where not thinking himself safe, notwithstanding all the assurances the magistrates could give, he ordered a gally, which he had long kept upon the coast, in case of falling into such an extremity, to anchor as near the arsenal as possible; yet, though the passage was not very long, he fell into the hands of the populace, who, in the first transport of their fury, murdered him, and then,

[d] Histoire du Ministere du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Cespid.
[e] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

despairing

despairing of pardon, made themselves masters of *Barcelona*. In a few days the revolt became general, the *Spanish* soldiers were every-where driven out, and glad to escape with their lives. Some attempts were made by the interposition of the old duchess of *Cadona* and the pope's nuncio to pacify the people, with promise of a general pardon; but these had no effect, an army was quickly raised of thirty thousand men, under the command of the marquis *de los Velez* himself, a *Catalan*, but hated by his countrymen, as a creature of the minister's [f].

The marquis de los Velez sent to extinguish the revolt, and inflames it by severity.

At the time he put himself at the head of this army, the marquis received a private order from *Olivares* to proceed with the utmost severity, as well as with the greatest expedition. He did not fail in either; which, however, had no other effect, than to make those desperate who were already exasperated. He advanced directly to *Barcelona*, taking with little resistance several places in his way, which he destroyed without mercy [g]. The *Catalans* were in the utmost consternation, and, if mercy had been then promised, would certainly have submitted; for though they had offered themselves to *France*, yet, as it required some time to settle the terms, they had received very slender supplies under the command of Mr. *St. Paul* from thence. Yet even these encouraged them to defend themselves with spirit, since they had to do with men from whom victory alone could procure them safety. The marquis made three attacks on the fort *Montjuic*, which commands the city, and was, though with great difficulty, repulsed, chiefly by the courage and conduct of the *French* officers; for the *Catalans*, having been purposely kept from the use of arms for many years, discovered but little of their antient bravery, which, however, interest and discipline quickly restored, and, before the end of the winter, the enemy were obliged to abandon a great part of their conquests [h]. This was very mortifying to *Olivares*, who, with some difficulty, had prevented the king from marching against them in person, from an apprehension that the king might have received informations no ways suitable to his interests. The sense he had of this, and of the immediate necessity of subduing this people before they entered into a settled connection with foreigners, added to the natural rigour and violence of his own temper, put him upon those measures which produced still greater calamities; and, while he was

[f] Cespides, Batt Nani, Le Vassor. [g] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. [h] Vide auct. supra citat.

intent

intent upon extinguishing one flame, lighted another that never could be brought under. Great part of the army then in *Catalonia* was composed of *Portuguese*: the conde duke resolved to draw his reinforcements from the same country, for, hating the *Portuguese* as much as he did the *Catalans*, he weakly imagined that he might make them reciprocally the instruments of his resentment, or at least was desirous of bringing the principal nobility of *Portugal* to serve in an army at a distance from their own country, that, at the same time that they were incapable of doing hurt themselves, they might serve as hostages for the obedience of those they left at home. He was misled in this by that constant submission which he saw paid to his orders in the court, and he vainly fancied that he was to be implicitly obeyed where-ever his orders reached: himself and his master felt the contrary[1].

Revolution of Portugal, *thro' the obstinate rigour of the conde duke's conduct.*

We are, in the succeeding section, to explain the motives and management of the revolution in *Portugal*, and therefore we shall content ourselves with observing here some other instances of the pains taken by the conde duke to facilitate the ascent of the duke of *Braganza* to the throne, while he was so infatuated to believe that he should allure that prince to *Madrid*, where, if he had once arrived, he had never been permitted to return to *Portugal*. In order to take away all grounds of suspicion, *Olivares* had declared the duke general of the forces in *Portugal*, and had weakened most of the *Spanish* garrisons, that he might seem to repose all upon his loyalty; and yet, if he had visited any one fort upon the *Tagus*, he had been surprised, and sent prisoner into *Spain*. At the same time that he dissembled with the duke, he drove the rest of the nobility into despair, requiring of them what it was not in their power to perform, and threatening the severest chastisements if they refused to obey. The instruments upon which he relied were two natives of *Portugal*, mean in their birth, infamous in their characters, insolent to the last degree in their behaviour; one of these residing at *Madrid* with the title of secretary of state; and the other, who had the minister's secret, resided as secretary to the vice-queen at *Lisbon*. The person honoured with this empty title was the infanta Donna *Margaret* of *Savoy*, duchess dowager of *Mantua*, and grand-daughter to *Philip* the second; a princess very capable of governing that kingdom, but whom, notwithstanding her birth, *Olivares* treated with contempt, and suffered to be still worse treated by the engine of his intrigues, her secretary. The nobility in general, seeing them-

[1] Anecdotes du Comte Duc D'Olivares, Cespides.

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ſelves condemned to exile and ſlavery, believed it impoſſible to eſcape the puniſhment of rebels, but by raiſing a rebellion: the weakneſs of the *Spaniſh* government perſuaded them this was eaſy; the behaviour of the *Catalans* encouraged them; they wanted only a proper head, and the duke of *Braganza*, who had a fair title to the crown, was continually in their ſight. They made him an offer of it, and, by the advice of his ducheſs, he accepted it. The deſign was managed with prudence, vigour, and ſecreſy, yet the vice-queen had ſome intelligence, or rather ſome ſuſpicion, of it; ſhe gave advice to the conde duke, but her advices were neglected and deſpiſed. The confederates gained ſome lights in their turn, and this obliged them to act ſooner than they intended, but with ſo much unanimity and courage, that *Liſbon* was ſurpriſed, Don *Juan* the fourth proclaimed, the vice queen made priſoner, the fleet ſeized, the fortreſſes reduced, the *Spaniards* driven out, and a new government ſettled, in leſs than a month's time [k] (B).

In

[k] Stevens's Supplement to Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal.

(B) The grand ſource of that long train of grievances, which in the end produced the revolution of *Portugal*, was the diſpoſition of the miniſter, who had conceived an averſion to the people, becauſe they ſet up their privileges againſt his abſolute orders, and, after having been courted by *Philip* the ſecond, and flattered by *Philip* the third, did not conſider it as an honour to be trampled on by the favourite of *Philip* the fourth (6). He thought it very practicable to break the ſpirits of theſe people, in order to fit them for that change he meditated, which was converting their kingdom into a province of *Caſtile*. He was encouraged in theſe notions by two of the moſt infamous men of that nation, into whoſe hands, and for this reaſon, he put the affairs of their country. The firſt was *Diego Suarez*, who reſided at *Madrid*, and acted as ſecretary for the affairs of *Portugal*; he was a cunning, ſubtle, and artful fellow, who had amaſſed an immenſe fortune by his great intereſt with the miniſter, and the ill uſe he made of it. He was rapacious, vindictive, and inſolent, in a ſupreme degree. The other was his brother and ſon-in-law, his name was *Michael Vaſconcellos*, and the place he held that of ſecretary to the vice-queen at *Liſbon*, but in reality he had the ſole direction of all things, correſponding with and receiving directions imme-

(6) *Stevens's Supplement to Emanuel de Faria y Souſa's Hiſtory, Hiſtoria de Don Phelipe* IV. *Rey de las Eſpanas, por Don Gonçalo de Ceſpides y Meneſes.*

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The death of the cardinal infant, governor of the Low Countries *and archbishop of* Toledo. 1641.

In *Italy* the affairs of *Spain* went backwards; the count *de Harcourt* and Monsieur *de Turenne* performed great things in *Savoy*, though they had but a small army. The marquis *de Leganez* did what he could, but that was little, being stinted in supplies, and suspected by his friends. The prince of *Monaco*, whom the *Spaniards* had long treated as their slave, revolted, and put the place into the hands of the *French*[l]. In *Spain* itself, where they had the war on both sides, the minister determined to push *Catalonia*, where the marquis *de los Velez* reduced *Tarragona*, and did all that could be expected towards taking *Barcelona*; but the terror, distress, and confusion, of the *Catalans*, having obliged them to submit to cardinal *Richlieu*'s terms, the *French* sent marshal *de la Mothe Houdancourt*, with more puissant supplies, and made also some diversions in their favour, so that by the end of the year the marquis was less able to complete the reduction of the province than he had been at the beginning. The projects of *Olivares* were always out of the common road. When he gave the king notice of the revolution in *Portugal*, he wished him joy of the duke of *Braganza*'s large forfeiture, as if it had been as easy to reduce *Portugal* as it had been to raise a rebellion there[m]. Yet during this year he attempted little or nothing, only he appointed the duke of *Medina Sidonia* to command on the frontiers, whose sister

[l] Batt Nani. [m] Stevens's Supplement, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares.

diately from the minister (7). He was very dextrous and adroit in the affairs committed to his management; he interfered in the disputes between the nobility, and, by browbeating some, and countenancing others, increased and inflamed them. He understood the dangerous science of inventing taxes, and had an army of mercenary creatures at his devotion to levy them: he had spies in all families of any distinction, and was never at a loss for expedients to answer any of the conde duke's purposes (8). In short, he daily inflicted wounds on the bosom of his country, and made a merit to his patron of that dejection and poverty which were the result of his own arts. These men had served him so long and so effectually, that the conde duke thought the *Portuguese* so exhausted, that he had nothing to apprehend from them; but experience taught him, that men dare to hope all things, when they have nothing to fear (9).

(7) *Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares, p.* 301. (8) *Vertot, Revolution de Portugal.* (9) *Stevens's Supplement to Emanuel de Faria y Sousa's History.*

the

the new king had married, which occasioned many speculations; but in truth he depended on a conspiracy which was very near succeeding. This being discovered, he threw some imputations upon the duke, and sent for him to court, where he justified himself so well as to escape punishment, though some have thought, that if the people of *Andalusia* had been as well disposed as himself, he would have attempted, with the assistance of the *French* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, to have established an independent sovereignty in that fair and fruitful province. But the most fatal event was in the *Low Countries*, where the cardinal infant recovered *Aire*, a place of great importance, with many circumstances of honour. Yet he did not live to take possession of the town; for, falling ill of a fever in the camp, and his distemper being mistaken by his physicians, upon his removal to *Brussels* it appeared to be the small-pox, of which he died on the 9th of *November*, in the thirty-second year of his age[n]. His character appears, from a medal struck in *Holland*, in the clearest light, the inscriptions of which were to this purpose; that, the *Spanish* sun being set, they promised to themselves a fair day[o]. He was succeeded for the present by Don *Francisco de Melo*; and though, in hopes of some disturbance, *Lewis* the thirteenth appeared in person on the frontiers, yet nothing of that kind happened, and Don *Francisco* took possession of *Aire* on the seventh of *December* following[p].

Amazing instances of infatuation both in the king and in the conde duke.

THIS series of ill fortune, which ought to have opened the eyes of the catholic king and his ministers, seemed to infatuate both. The great secret by which *Olivares* had governed his master was being the companion, or at least the confident, of his pleasures; and, while he affected to deceive the world with a specious appearance of religion and piety, he was not only immersed in vice himself, but encouraged and promoted it in his prince, to the scandal of his subjects, and the prejudice of his affairs. At this time, of all others the most improper, *Olivares* produced a bastard of his, hitherto called *Julian*, of whom he had taken so little care, that, not able to subsist in *Spain*, he had passed over to the *Indies*, where, in very mean stations, he had scarce got bread, on whom he now bestowed the name of Don *Henrico de Guzman*, and, bringing him with great pomp and splendor to court, either flattered or forced the constable of *Castile* to give him his daughter, in consideration of which 1642.

[n] LE CLERC, CESPIDES. [o] Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. ii. p. 255. [p] LE VASSOR, BATT NANI.

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he was to devolve upon him his duchy of *St. Lucar* q. In the beginning of his administration, by some accident or other, he presented to the king a memorial, in relation to an affair, upon which his majesty had already received one from Don *Balthasar de Zuniga*; upon comparing them, they contradicted each other flatly. The king ordered a person of great quality to inquire thoroughly into this business, in consequence of which Don *Balthasar*'s memorial appeared to be the truth, and that of *Olivares* the reverse of it. The king, upon this, was very angry; but the count regained his favour, by procuring for him the fair actress *Calderona*. By this woman he had a son, of whom no great notice was taken; but now, to obscure the folly of the conde duke, this youth, scarce in the 14th year of his age, was produced, with the title of Don *Juan* of *Austria*, and declared generalissimo of the army against *Portugal*, while the heir apparent to the crown, Don *Balthasar*, was left under the tuition, or rather in the custody, of the countess of *Olivares*, at which the queen was chagrined, the people enraged, and the world in general astonished r.

That minister's schemes everywhere, and in every kind, broken and defeated.

In *Italy* the fear of *Spain* was wore away, and the profound respect that had been paid to her began to follow it. Things would even have proceeded farther, if the growing power of *France* had not engaged the prudent politician, for which that country was always famous, to prop that structure which they might easily have pulled down. King *Philip* was resolved to go in person against the *Catalans*; the conde duke dissuaded, but was not able to prevent it; however, the king went no farther than *Saragossa*, and that with such numerous attendance, and with so great an expence, that, instead of hastening, it retarded the campaign s. The conde duke attended, and provided all possible amusements and diversions in the course of the journey, which, however, proved none of the most pleasant. Cardinal *Richlieu* had brought the king his master from *Paris* with a numerous army under the command of the marshal *la Mellierai*; but whether with an intent to pass into *Italy*, or the frontiers of *Spain*, was not known. At length the storm burst upon *Roussillon*, where the army attacked *Coliva*, in order to open a passage to the siege of *Perpignan*. *Olivares* understanding that it was ill provided, ordered it to be relieved by a body of three thousand horse. Persons, who were well

q Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. r Cespides, Batt Nani. s Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Cespides.

versed

verſed in military affairs, aſſured him the thing was impracticable; he heard them, and repeated his orders. The forwardneſs always ſhewn to fulfil the deſires of a powerful favourite, engaged many officers, and ſome perſons of diſtinction, to offer themſelves as volunteers, though they knew the expedition was exceedingly hazardous, as they were to march amongſt high mountains, and to traverſe a part of *Catalonia*, then in open rebellion. They did, however, all that was to be done; they attempted it, and, being entangled in an impaſſable country, from which the peaſants had conveyed every thing that was eatable, with enemies on every ſide, without having the power either of fighting or flying, they were obliged to deliver up their arms, their colours, and horſes, and to render themſelves priſoners of war, to prevent being ſtarved [t]. *Coliva* taken, *Perpignan* was inveſted, in which the governor, the marquis *Flores d'Avila*, made a long, a gallant, and prudent defence; but it was to little purpoſe, for though the miniſter ſpared not either for treaſure or trouble, he was not able to aſſemble an army till the place was loſt [u]. Theſe ſtrokes of ill fortune were doubled by his preventing any advantage from being made of great and unexpected ſucceſs. The *French*, who had not then ſo great armies as they have had ſince, in order to ſtrengthen that which went with the king had left only two ſmall corps of troops on the frontiers, towards the *Low Countries*, the one commanded by the count *de Harcourt*, and the other by the count *de Guiche*. Don *Franciſco de Mello*, a very prudent man, and a good officer, had aſſembled an army of twenty-five thouſand men, with which he recovered ſeveral places; and then, dividing it, pretended to make two inroads into *France*, but, ſuddenly uniting his troops again, fell upon the count *de Guiche* ſo unexpectedly, that, having routed him totally, he opened a clear paſſage to *Paris*; but, receiving poſitive orders from *Olivarez* not to hazard his army in any undertaking of danger or difficulty, the opportunity was loſt [w]. The reaſon of this order was, that *Olivares* had concluded a new treaty with *Gaſton* duke of *Orleans*, and was in the ſecret of a deep contrivance againſt the cardinal's life. Thoſe who were embarked in it were the king's favourites, who carried their point ſo far, that the cardinal was diſgraced, and was forced in a manner to fly, though in a dying condition [x]. In this critical conjuncture came

[t] Batt Nani. [u] Hiſtoire du Miniſtere du Comte Duc d'Olivares, avec des Reflections politiques, Cespides. [w] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. [x] Le Vassor.

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the news of *Guiche*'s defeat, and the danger of *Paris*; which so alarmed the king, that he followed the cardinal, who in the mean time had discovered his brother's treaty of *Spain*. Upon this, *de Thou* and *Cinquemars* were arrested, the duke of *Orleans* forbidden the king's presence, and the cardinal taken into higher favour than ever [y]. These advices, following that of the loss of *Perpignan*, disconcerted *Olivares* so much, that, embracing the king's knees, and falling at his feet, he besought his leave to retire, to give him some command where he might have an opportunity of losing his life, with other incoherent speeches, which scarce, with the strongest assurances, and fairest promises, *Philip* could pacify, who, when he learned the reason of these transports, joined in deploring their common misfortune, and the lamentable disaster of being undone by their own arts; for if either the money spent in the secret treaty had been employed against the *Catalans*, or Don *Francisco de Mello* had not been restrained, this campaign had ended much otherwise than it did [z].

Disgraced, by the queen, the emperor, the grandees, and people, declaring at once.

1643. At the king's return to *Madrid*, it was discerned that his affection was not so strong as formerly to *Olivares*, either wearied with ill fortune, alarmed with what he had seen and heard in his progress, or touched with the thinness of his court, from which almost all the grandees retired, and the silence of the people when he appeared in public. The queen, perceiving this alteration, declared her sentiments first, ascribing all the mischiefs that had happened to the refined and romantic politics of *Olivares*, to whom she likewise imputed some private discontents of her own. The ice being broke, the marquis *de Grana* presented the king with a letter from the emperor his master, who charged the conde duke with abasing the glory of the house of *Austria* by his ill conduct and intrigues. When the king began to stagger, the queen presented the infanta Donna *Margaret* of *Savoy*, whom she had sent for privately from the place where *Olivares* had banished her; and, as if this had not been enough, the king's nurse, who had felt the minister's displeasure, was likewise brought to court, who, falling at *Philip*'s feet as he passed from one apartment to another, with tears streaming from her eyes, in her plain and artless language represented the miseries of his subjects in so pathetic a manner, that the king was very much moved. He took advan-

[y] P. Daniel, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Le Vassor. [z] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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ıge, therefore, of a hunting-match, and, before his depart-
re, ſent a billet to the miniſter, by which he directed him to
:tire to *Loches* [a]. The conde duke obeyed, and was forced
) diſguiſe himſelf, to avoid the inſolence of the populace, or
erhaps ſomething worſe. He ſeemed to bear his diſgrace
eadily, and ſome have thought he might have ſurmounted
; for the king, being new in buſineſs, and having to do
ith miniſters as new as himſelf, was quickly diſguſted, and
emed to wiſh for his old miniſter again. But the conde
ıke, ever able and ever unfortunate, drew up an apology for
mſelf, full of wit and ſpirit, and maſterly reaſoning, as in
uth his politics look beſt upon paper, in which ſome
axims were acknowleged which ſhould have been concealed,
me things avowed that could not have been proved, and
ırious perſons treated in ſuch a manner, that ſo loud and ge-
ral a clamour was excited, as not only obliged the king to
y aſide his former deſign, but induced him likewiſe to ba-
ſh him to *Toro* [b]. The *Catalans*, having received marſhal
la Mothe, in the quality of viceroy of *France*, gained
me advantages; the *Portugueſe* were ſucceſsful by ſea; and
on *Franciſco de Melo* was beat at *Rocroi* by the duke of
ıguien, then but a boy, ſtiled afterwards the great *Conde*,
the 5th day of *Lewis* XIV.'s reign; ſo that, notwith-
ınding the return of the grandees to court, and the offers
ceived of men and money from various provinces, his ca-
olic majeſty remained ſtill uneaſy and perplexed, ſenſible of
e great burden that lay upon his ſhoulders, and at a loſs
on whom to depoſit a load which he was every day
ore and more convinced was altogether inſupportable [c].

THE diſaſters of the next year did not by any means con- *Public affairs at home and abroad grow rather worſe on all ſides than better.*
bute to reconcile the king to buſineſs. In *Italy*, where
e houſe of *Auſtria* had been lately predominant, they were
cluded from having ſo much as a ſhare in the negotiations
reconciling the duke of *Parma* to the pope, the treaty
ing concluded by the guaranty and under the mediation of
ance, and the military operations in *Savoy* went as unto
rdly as theſe negotiations [d]. In *Germany* the imperialiſts
re every-where beaten, and loſt ſeveral very conſiderable

[a] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES, La Storia del Conte
ica d'Olivares, Hiſtoire du Miniſtere du Comte Duc d'Olivares,
e des Reflexions politiques. [b] CESPIDES. [c] QUINCY,
ſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. ii. & ſuiv. Hiſt. de
nde, p. 27. STEVENS's Supplement to Souſa's Hiſtory of
rtugal. [d] BATT NANI. [e] Hiſtoire de la vie
du regne de Louis XIV. par M. BRUZEN DE LA MARTI-
E.

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places. In the *Low Countries* the *French* became masters of *Gravelin*, and the *Dutch* of *Sas van Ghent* [e]. In *Catalonia* the *Spanish* army prospered, and, after succouring *Tarragona* and *Lerida*, was reduced. But, on the side of *Portugal*, the marquis of *Torrecusa* was routed at *Badajoz* by the duke of
1644. *Albuquerque*, with great loss; and the *Spanish* fleet was likewise beat in sight of *Carthagena* by the marshal *de Brezé* [f]. Yet what afflicted the *Spaniards* more than all these losses, was the death of the queen, on the sixth of *October*, in the flower of her age, and when she was become infinitely beloved by the people. She had gained intirely the confidence of the king her husband, who, after her decease, committed the management of public affairs to Don *Lewis Haro de Guzman*, nephew to the conde duke *de Olivares*, and yet no way attached to him, and who, after his elevation, pursued quite different measures [g]. He is generally allowed to have had less abilities, but withal was less assuming, of a pacific temper, whose affability, if it did not render him more respected, at least made him more beloved.

The torrent of ill-fortune continues to bear down all before it.

THE war still continuing on all sides, served to increase the miseries of the nation, and the perplexity of the king and his ministers. On the side of the *Milanese* something might have been done against *Savoy*, where the *French* were embarrassed with a very troublesome treaty; but the marquis *de Serra*, who commanded for the *Spaniards*, wanted men, money, and allies; for the *Italian* princes, seeing the two crowns wasting their wealth and strength, without any prejudice to them, scarce assisted either party, or took any great pains in adjusting disputes [h]. However, prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, who had now declared for *France*, laboured hard in procuring a force that might be able to make a figure the next year; and it may be would have done this with more vivacity, if the *French* had not sent an officer of note to command under him. In *Germany*, the house of *Austria* met with many disadvantages; in the *Low Countries*, they had the
1645. duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Orange* at once to deal with: the former took *Mardyke*, and some other places; the latter besieged *Hulst*, which was well defended; and, while he remained before it, the *Spaniards* recovered most of the places that had been taken by the *French* [i]. On the side of

[e] Hist. de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE. BATTI NANI. [f] STEVENS's Supplement to Sousa's History of Portugal. LA MARTINIERE. [g] Hist. Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [h] BATTI NANI. [i] LE CLERC. Hist. de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE. LA MARTINIERE.

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Portugal, the marquis *de Leganez* commanded the *Spaniſh* army, but did nothing of importance the whole campaign. In *Catalonia*, the count *de Harcourt* came to *Barcelona*, and was received as viceroy from the *French* king; the marquis *du Pleſſis Praſlin* took *Roſes*, and, being made marſhal of *France*, was ſent to aſſiſt prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* [k]. The *Spaniſh* army was commanded by Don *Andreo Cantelmo*, who was very inactive during the ſummer; for it ſeems the *Spaniſh* miniſtry depended upon a conſpiracy formed in *Barcelona*, where an inſurrection was to have been favoured by the appearance of their fleet, and to have been ſupported by the ſudden march of the army. It was diſcovered juſt at the point of execution, which coſt the lives of ſome of the lay conſpirators, and the perpetual impriſonment of the eccleſiaſtics, that were concerned in it [l]. The count *de Harcourt* attacked Don *Andreas* on the banks of the *Tegro*, and, having defeated him, took *Balaguer*. The conde duke *de Olivares*, worn out by his infirmities, or rather devoured by his deſpair, died in the place of his baniſhment, at a juncture when, in the opinion of many, if reſtored to his power, things might have gone better; which notion proceeded, it may be, from a certainty that things could not go worſe [m].

Civil diſſenſions in France give the Spaniards leave to breathe and hope;

WHEN things were in ſo ſtrange a ſituation, we may excuſe the *Spaniſh* miniſters for recurring to the old practice of attempting to facilitate by intrigues what they were not able to accompliſh by force. The then pope *Innocent* X. was inclined to their intereſts: they had ſome partiſans in *Holland*, and in *France* they touched every ſtring. They laboured to excite diviſions in the *French* councils; they propoſed a ſeparate peace to the *United Provinces*; nay, they went ſo far as to offer their mediation to the queen of *France*, profeſſing that his catholic majeſty would be content to make her the ſupreme judge between her brother and her ſon; but it was in vain; ſo that the war continued on every ſide [n]. As cardinal *Mazarine* was deſirous of making a figure in *Italy*, prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, and the marſhal *du Pleſſis Praſlin*, beſieged *Orbitello*, and, to aſſiſt in taking it, the *French* fleet ſailed under the command of the duke *de Brezé*. The place was in a bad condition; it could only be relieved from *Naples*; and a body of troops advanced from thence, but it was ſo ſmall a body that they could do nothing. In the mean time the *Spaniſh* fleet, commanded by admiral *Pimentel*, ap- 1646

[k] STEVENS's Supplement. MARTINIERE. [l] BATT NANI.
[m] Anecdotes du Comte Duc DE OLIVARES. MARTINIERE.
[n] BATT NANI. LE CLERC.

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peared; the *French* engaged and beat them, but, towards the end of the action, the duke of *Brezé* had his head carried away by a cannon-ball. His vice-admiral, for some political reasons, returned as soon as possible to *France* [o]. This happened on the 14th of *June*; and admiral *Pimentel*, taking advantage of his absence, landed a body of troops, which, being joined to those of *Naples*, forced prince *Thomas* to raise the siege; upon which he fell into disgrace with the court of *France*: and another fleet of theirs, arriving on the coast of *Elba*, took several places [p]. In the *Low Countries*, the *French* and *Dutch* took several fortresses, tho' the *Spanish* army was commanded by prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, *Picolomini*, and other great officers, who, for want of troops, were able to do little, except discovering their abilities, by obliging the enemy to pay dear for what they obtained. On the side of *Portugal* there happened nothing of consequence; and yet the campaign did not pass without bloodshed on both parts [q]. In *Catalonia* things took another turn; the marquis *de Leganez* commanded for his catholic majesty, with an army not numerous enough to act offensively. The viceroy monsieur *de Harcourt* besieged *Lerida*, which had no great garrison, and was not in a very good condition. The governor had the address to make the besiegers believe that his state was worse than it really was; and, under persuasion that famine would oblige him to surrender, they did not press the siege so vigorously as they might have done. The marquis *de Leganez*, who knew exactly how things stood, caused a great convoy to be provided, and, when it was near ready, advanced towards *Lerida*, as if he meant to relieve the place. After lying some time within sight of the *French* army, he decamped, as if he had abandoned his design, and having retired to the same distance from *Lerida* that the place was at on the other side, through which the convoy was to proceed, he marched directly back again, and appearing very unexpectedly on one side of the *French* camp, in order of battle, while the count *de Harcourt* prepared with some hurry to receive him, the convoy, with a strong reinforcement, entered safely on the other side; upon which he was obliged to raise the siege, which chagrined him so much that he quitted the command. This small piece of good fortune was far from consoling the court of *Madrid* for the loss of the prince Don *Balthazar*, who died on the ninth of *October*, to the

[o] Martiniere. [p] Idem. [q] Stevens's Supplement to Sousa's History of Portugal.

great

great grief of the *Spaniſh* nation, who flattered themſelves with a change of fortune under his reign [r].

AFFAIRS in *Italy* had a melancholy aſpect at the beginning of the year, when the duke of *Modena*, with the title of generaliſſimo, and having two good *French* officers under him, inveſted *Cremona*; but, miſunderſtandings ariſing amongſt theſe chiefs, the enterpriſe failed, and the duke returned into his own dominions [s]. The unexpected and unexampled revolution at *Naples*, ſtiled commonly the rebellion of *Maſſaniello*, threw all things once more into confuſion; more eſpecially after the duke of *Guiſe* had entered that city, and taught ſedition to wear the appearance of a regular government [t]. Don *Juan* of *Auſtria*, declared general by ſea, came and blocked up the place with a fleet; notwithſtanding which the inhabitants remained in arms, and, if *France* had ſuccoured the duke of *Guiſe*, *Naples* might have been gained for her, or at leaſt had been loſt to *Spain*. In the *Low Countries*, the *Dutch* ſtateſmen were prevailed upon, in the beginning of the year, to ſign a proviſional treaty with *Spain*, till that of peace could be intirely adjuſted. The archduke *Leopold William* was declared governor of the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, with the ſame extenſive powers that the archduke *Albert* and the cardinal infant had enjoyed. He brought with him a reinforcement of troops from the emperor, conducted the war with prudence and valour, and with ſome degree alſo of ſucceſs, which was principally owing to his being earlier in the field than the *French*; a circumſtance not very common with the *Spaniſh* armies [u]. The campaign on the ſide of *Portugal* afforded no event worth mentioning, only a baſe deſign that ſome of the *Spaniſh* miniſters entered into, for aſſaſſinating the king Don *Juan*, was diſcovered and puniſhed [w]. In *Catalonia* the marquis of *Aitona* commanded for his catholic majeſty, and the young prince of *Conde*, already famous for many victories, ſucceeded the count *de Harcourt* as viceroy of *Catalonia*. He reſolved to diſtinguiſh his entrance on the adminiſtration, by reducing *Lerida*, in which his predeceſſor had failed. He found the lines of the count *de Harcourt* ſo little injured, that they were repaired, and the place inveſted in two days; after which, in a fit of gaiety, he cauſed the trenches to be opened with a concert of violins. The old governor Don *Antonio Brito*, a *Portugueſe* by birth, and well ſupplied with every thing,

Sign a peace with the ſtates-general, and gain ſome advantages in Catalonia.

1647.

[r] Hiſt. Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [s] BATT NANI. [t] GABRIEL TONTALI il Maſſaniello. MARTINIERE. [u] LE CLERC. [w] STEVENS's Supplement.

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had a garrison of 3000 men. His conduct was the very reverse of what it had been before, harrassing the enemy with continual sallies, and disputing with obstinacy every inch of ground. The *French* ascribed this to his being sensible that they made their attack in the right place, and that he would be obliged to surrender as soon as they were masters of the outworks. In the midst of these expectations, the engineers found their trenches stopped by a rock: it was impossible to go on, it was too late to begin again, the army was diminished, the heats were coming on, the *Spanish* general advanced to its relief, and the prince of *Conde* was obliged to raise the siege [x]. The rest of the campaign was spent in marches and countermarches; so that there happened nothing of importance, his catholic majesty having expressly commanded the marquis *de Aitona* not to risk any thing against the prince, of whose good fortune he is said to have been afraid. The *French* fleet, however, had some success at sea, the *Spaniards* having the best part of their naval force on the coasts of the kingdom of *Naples* [y].

A conspiracy discovered, intended to bring about a marriage between the infanta and the prince of Brazil.

After having wasted for so many years both troops and treasure, the two crowns found themselves almost equally exhausted in *Italy*. The marquis *de Carracena*, who commanded for the catholic king in the *Milanese*, had, however, the superiority this spring, and seemed disposed to make a right use of it, by attacking the *French* troops under the marquis *de Navailles*, who were but very unhappily posted. As he executed this resolution slowly, the marshal *du Plessis Praslin* had time to join him, and the duke of *Modena* then arriving in their camp, they resolved to attack the marquis, though he was strongly intrenched under the cannon of *Cremona*, in which they were successful; but forming the siege of that city in the midst of summer, it held out to *October*, and their army being by that time ruined, they were forced to raise it [z]. In *Naples*, the duke of *Guise* was taken prisoner, and an end put to that rebellion by Don *Juan* of *Austria* [a]. In the *Low Countries*, the archduke had the satisfaction of seeing the peace signed between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, on the 30th day of *January*, in spite of the opposition of the young prince of *Orange*, and against the will of the *French* [b], who, having withdrawn the prince of *Conde* from *Catalonia*, sent him to open the campaign on

1648.

[x] Martiniere Hist. Gen. d'Espagne, [y] Cespides.
[z] Batt Nami. [a] Martiniere. [b] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. p. i. p. 429. Le Clerc.

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this ſide, in which, at the beginning, he had no great ſucceſs, the archduke taking *Courtray* by a ſhort ſiege, and *Lens* by aſſault; immediately after which the prince attacked and defeated the *Spaniſh* army, with the loſs of 8000 men, notwithſtanding the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and the archduke's giving all poſſible teſtimonies of courage and conduct. There happened [c] alſo in the courſe of this campaign ſome little misfortunes on this ſide, which the archduke ſtudied to repair. In *Spain* the people were afflicted both with a plague and famine. There was but little done on the ſide of *Portugal*, and that not to the advantage of king *Philip*. Marſhal *Schomberg*, who replaced the prince of *Conde* in *Catalonia*, attacked *Tortoſa*, and took it by ſtorm. It was very indifferently provided, and worſe fortified; but it was very gallantly defended, the biſhop and the beſt part of his clergy being killed in the breach. The *Spaniſh* army being reinforced ſoon after, hindered any greater progreſs being made. The king, being preſſed by his ſubjects to a ſecond marriage, reſolved to eſpouſe the archducheſs *Mary Anne*, daughter to the emperor by the infanta Donna *Maria*, and conſequently his own niece [c]. Before we cloſe the hiſtory of this year, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the true reaſon which induced the king to reſolve upon a ſecond marriage. As the intrigues, ſupported by money from the miniſters, maintained a *Spaniſh* party at *Liſbon*, ſo there wanted not a *Portugueſe* faction amongſt the nobility of *Spain*, who, in their own ſentiments at leaſt, acted intirely from public ſpirit. Of theſe the chief was the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, brother to the queen of *Portugal*, who had ſpoke ſo advantageouſly of his nephew Don *Theodoſius de Bragança*, prince of *Brazil*, that ſome, who were very deſirous of ſeeing *Portugal* once more united to the territories of *Caſtile*, had begun to figure to themſelves that the thing was not at all impoſſible, if a marriage could be brought about between this amiable prince and the infanta *Maria Tereſa*, now the preſumptive heir of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. As this was a project that never could be rendered ſo much as communicable, much leſs acceptable, to *Philip* IV. they were driven into conſultations and practices, criminal in appearance at leaſt, if not in their nature, and, as ſuch, are ſeldom long concealed, the king and his miniſters obtained ſuch informations, that the principal perſons embarked in this deſign were ſeized. The duke *de Medina Sidonia* is ſaid to have preſerved his life by diſcovering all who were engaged with him. The duke *de Hijar*, of

[c] Stevens's Supplement.

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the house of *Silva*, and, by his mother's side, of the royal family of *Arragon*, was put to the question ordinary and extraordinary, which he bore with patience and with silence, but perished nevertheless by a long and severe imprisonment. The marquis *de Ayamonte*, Don *Carlos de Padilla*, and some other persons of distinction, paid with their heads for this irregular instance of their zeal for the tranquillity and welfare of their country, and taught the king how much it imported him to have issue male, to prevent his dominions from falling into some other house; the fear of which continued to embitter the remaining part of his life, even when the contingency seemed to be no longer probable [d].

The king marries the archduchess Mary Anne *of* Austria, *daughter to the emperor.*

THE peace of *Munster*, which, after so many years of war, had restored quiet to the empire, served only to augment the chagrin of the court of *Madrid*, where the terms on which *France* would have concluded peace, were rejected, and all the share that *Spain* took, after so long a negotiation in that transaction, was insisting upon her protest. The principal motive to this conduct was that confusion to which *France* has been ever liable under a minority, and where, at this time, the malecontents were able to cover their designs with the specious pretence that the queen regent was a *Spaniard*, and the cardinal minister an *Italian*. But these strangers had the interest of *France* so much at heart, that the *Spaniards* chose rather to treat with the parliament of *Paris*, by which they exceedingly embarrassed the court, where, notwithstanding all their victories, they found it extremely difficult to form and maintain an army; and, when this was done, they were again embarrassed to find a general. The archduke *Leopold William* gave out that it was in his power to make considerable conquests in *France*; and, to render this probable, he ravaged it; which, in truth, was all that he had in his power. However, he recovered *Ipres* and *St. Venant* by the 10th of *May*; but at last the *French* army appeared under the count *de Harcourt*, who invested *Cambray*, and having intercepted a letter from the archduke to the governor, promising relief by a day fixed, he caused it to be published, as the shortest way to prevent it; notwithstanding which, the archduke presented himself before the place,
1649. performed what he had promised, and forced the *French* to raise the siege; after which they took *Conde*, but were forced to abandon it again almost as soon as it was taken [e]. In *Italy*, the *Spaniards* compelled the duke of *Modena* to change

[d] Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. ii. p. 339, & suiv. [e] BATT NANI.

sides;

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ſides; for *France* could do nothing in *Catalonia*. Don *Juan de Guaras*, who commanded the troops of his catholic majeſty, took ſeveral places in the neighbourhood of *Barcelona*, and would probably alſo have become maſter of that capital, if marſhal *de Marſin* had not brought into it a *French* garriſon, which prevented any commotion, and thereby ſaved the place, till *France* ſhould be in a condition to do more. On the 3d of *September*, prince *Edward* of *Portugal*, brother to the king, ended his days miſerably in the caſtle of *Milan*, where he was kept priſoner by the *Spaniards*, for no other crime than that of his birth, unleſs we ſhould add his having qualities equal, and a ſpirit even ſuperior, to it. In the month of *October* arrived the new queen of *Spain*, to whom the king had been married by proxy. The contagious diſtemper, with which the kingdom had been afflicted, ceaſed in the winter [g].

THE diſſenſions that raged in *France* afforded king *Philip* and his miniſters all the advantages they could deſire in all the countries where the war was carried on. In *Italy*, Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* took *Piombino* by aſſault, and afterwards beſieged *Porto Longone*, into which, in ſpite of all the oppoſition given him by the *Spaniſh* fleet, the chevalier *de St. Paul* threw ſupplies; which, however, did not hinder the place from being reduced [h]. On the ſide of *Portugal* there paſſed as uſual but little of importance; and, as ſome ſay, time has diſcovered that Don *Juan* had a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the *Spaniſh* miniſters, which occaſioned that inactivity, favourable to him in ſome reſpects, upon the whole perhaps neceſſary, but which at the time was far from being acceptable to his ſubjects. The reception of prince *Maurice* and prince *Rupert* in *Portugal* induced king *Philip* not only to acknowlege, but to make court to, the new government in *England*, in order to engage them to ſend an *Engliſh* fleet againſt the *Portugueſe*; which they did; and, in proceſs of time, *Philip* was ſeverely chaſtiſed by that very power which he now flattered. In *Catalonia*, affairs took a ſtrange turn: the *French* general *Marſin* was but weak, and therefore could not hinder the retaking of ſome places of no importance; but, being a creature of the prince of *Conde*'s, he no ſooner heard of his impriſonment than he began to promote what was not in his power to prevent [i]. The *Catalans*, finding themſelves puſhed by their old maſters, and betrayed by their new ones, entered into a variety of intrigues, as their in-

Affairs take a very unexpected turn in Catalonia *in favour of the* Spaniards.

1650.

[g] STEVENS's Supplement. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [h] BATT NANI. [i] STEVENS's Supplem.

tereſts,

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tereſts, their inclinations, or their neceſſities, directed. By theſe means the *Spaniards* recovered *Flix* upon the *Segro*, *Tortoſa*, and ſome other places, and very probably had recovered the whole province, if, in this critical conjuncture, the kingdom of *Valentia* had not revolted, which obliged the *Spaniſh* miniſters to turn their eyes on that ſide, where, not without difficulty, things were appeaſed [k]. The duke *de Mercœur*, arriving at *Barcelona* with the title of viceroy, ſecured that city, after having cauſed *Marſin* to be arreſted, and ſent priſoner to *Perpignan*; notwithſtanding which, the *Spaniards*, being maſters of the whole plain of *Urgel*, moſt of the *Catalan* chiefs, who had been faithful to the *French*, thought it prudent to retire into *Rouſſillon*; by which, as it was extremely natural, their party was exceedingly diſcouraged [l].

The viſcount de Turenne *enters into their ſervice, and is beat by marſhal* du Pleſſis Praſlin.

We deferred ſpeaking of the affairs on the ſide of *Flanders*, becauſe they require ſomewhat more room. The archduke *Leopold William* ſaw, with ſome ſurpriſe, an intire change in the affairs of *France*, his old friends cloſing with the court, and the duke of *Orleans* concurring in the meaſure of arreſting the princes of *Conde* and *Conti*, and the duke of *Longueville*. This did not at all trouble him, ſince the new malecontents threw themſelves immediately into the arms of *Spain*; and, in conſequence of a new treaty, concluded between madame de *Longueville* and the archduke, the famous viſcount *de Turenne* (for he was already famous) joined the archduke as ſoon as he took the field, and, after reducing *Aubenton* and *Irſon*, took *Capelet* on the 15th of *June*; notwithſtanding which, the archduke was obliged by the marſhal *du Pleſſis Praſlin* to raiſe the ſiege of *Guiſe*, on the firſt of *July*. His army, however, being reinforced, took *Capelle* on the 3d of *Auguſt*; after which the viſcount *de Turenne* ſent a ſtrong detachment to deliver the princes out of the caſtle of *Vincennes*, which was prevented by transferring them to *Marcouſſi*. The archduke, however, made himſelf maſter of *Monçon*, after a vigorous defence; and, under colour of having full powers from *Spain*, ſet on foot a new treaty, as dangerous to the court as his victories. At length the marſhal *du Pleſſis Praſlin* having retaken *Rethel*, the archduke and the viſcount *Turenne* gave him battle on the 15th of *December*, and were beat with great loſs: in this engagement *Turenne* very narrowly eſcaped being killed or taken, which put an end to the campaign, but not to the intrigues on this ſide [m].

[k] Batt Nani. [l] Martiniere. [m] Le Clerc.

As

As the confusions in *France* were at the greatest height, their finances exhausted, the persons of the king and his mother scarce in safety, and their minister on the point of seeking shelter in *Germany*, we cannot have a more convincing proof of the weakness of *Spain* than arises from the small advantages she was able to make from circumstances so much in her favour. We cannot charge this with justice either on the ministers or the generals she employed; for they were certainly able men, and indefatigable in their endeavours; but the length of the war, the great distance of the different scenes of action, and, above all, the prodigious sums that were given from time to time to the *French* malecontents, were such as could not be supplied without impoverishing the people, who were at the same time consumed by pestilence and famine. On the whole, therefore, king *Philip* and his ministers knew not how to act, even in places where they were sure of meeting with little or no resistance. In *Italy*, to save expences, and to prevent jealousies, they withdrew their forces out of *Piedmont*, and contented themselves with securing the *Milanese*. On the side of *Portugal* they were able to do nothing; on the contrary, their forces were so weak, that they might have suffered extremely, if they had not had two things in their favour; first, that their frontiers were so ruined that the enemy had nothing either to tempt or to subsist them; and next, that the *Portuguese* were in a worse state than themselves. In *Catalonia*, they exerted themselves under the command of the marquis *de Mortara*, and with success in the spring: in the autumn, the count *de Marsin*, who was again at the head of the *French* troops, marched away with the whole army to join the prince of *Conde* in *Guienne*, leaving the *Catalans* to defend themselves as well as they could [n]. Upon this, Don *Juan* of *Austria*, recalled from *Italy*, on purpose to command on that side, formed the siege of *Barcelona*. In the *Low Countries*, through which cardinal *Mazarine* passed in his way to *Cologne*, the archduke, with the assistance of his great minister the count *de Fuensaldagna*, proposed some great exploits; which, however, in spite of all their efforts, produced only the conquest of *Furnes*, *St. Winoc*, and some other little places, which opened a passage to the reduction of *Dunkirk*, the siege of which the advance of the season would not permit them to undertake. To all their other cares the *Spanish* ministry had now added a new scene of war in the very heart of *France*,

New discontents in France, *upon which the prince of* Conde *joins with* Spain. 1651.

[n] Histoire Generale d'Espagne. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. Batt Nani.

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in consequence of a treaty made between his catholic majesty and the prince of *Conde*, to whose assistance a squadron of seventeen large vessels, filled with troops, stores, and money, was sent from *St. Sebastian* to *Bourdeaux*. King *Philip*, however, had the consolation of seeing his young queen brought to bed, on the 12th of *July*, of the infanta Donna *Maria Margaretta*, who became afterwards the consort of the emperor *Leopold*, and the grandmother of the reigning empress queen [o].

Vast advantages that accrued to that nation from those intrigues and discontents.

It is generally allowed, that Don *Lewis de Haro* was much inferior, as a politician, to his uncle the conde duke; but it is certain that he managed his intrigues with greater success, and drew much higher advantages from the troubles he fomented in *France*. In *Italy*, some impression was made by the marquis *de Carracena* upon *Piedmont*; and *Cazal*, which *Olivares* could never get into his hands, was surrendered, the town through treachery, the citadel from famine, to the *Spaniards*, who restored it immediately to the duke of *Mantua*, upon his promise to preserve it by a garrison of his own troops only [p]. On the side of *Bourdeaux*, the prince of *Conde* received all the succours that were in their power to give, and when he traversed the kingdom, to throw himself into *Paris*, they furnished the expence, and received him with open arms, when resentment, and the want of any other resource, compelled him to seek shelter in their armies. They had, to say the truth, great reason; for *Gravelines* had surrendered to the archduke, after sixty-nine days siege; other places of less consequence were taken with less trouble; but, even in the midst of their confusion, the *French* did all that was in their power to save *Dunkirk*, in which there was a good garrison, commanded by the count *d'Estrades* [q]. The duke *de Vendosme* was sent with a good fleet to relieve it; but the *English* met with them in their passage, and, except three ships that escaped to *Flushing*, took them all, under colour of reprisals. This was the only service king *Philip* received from the parliament, in return for the extraordinary step he had taken in their favour, or, which is more probable, because it was believed to be rather the interest of *England* to have *Dunkirk* in the hands of *Spain* than of *France*. However that might be, the place was surrendered on the 16th of *September*, after a siege of thirty-nine days [r]. The prince of *Conde*, having joined the *Spanish* army, took,

1652.

[o] Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [p] Martiniere. [q] Batt Nani. [r] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

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tho' it was late in the season, *Rethel* and *St. Menehoude*; but the design he had of giving their forces winter-quarters in *France* was prevented by *Turenne*. The campaign, however, was very fortunate, and the recovery of so many and so important places did no small honour to the archduke [s].

THE *Spaniards* did little this year against the *Portuguese*; and the king of *Portugal*, according to his old maxim, persisted in putting his kingdom into a good state of defence, in every respect, rather than run any unnecessary hazards for the present [t]. In *Catalonia*, Don *Juan* of *Austria* besieged *Barcelona* with a small army, and kept it blocked up by a squadron of gallies at sea. The *French* marshal *la Mothe* penetrated through his quarters with a reinforcement of between six and seven hundred men, which raised the spirits of the besieged for the present, but increased the scarcity of provisions. The *French* fleet attempted its relief without success; and at length, after a siege of fifteen months, *Barcelona* surrendered, on the 11th of *October*, the *French* garrison having good terms given them, and the inhabitants, who really compelled the surrender, had a general pardon, and their privileges secured. The whole country, except *Roses*, followed the fate of the capital [u]. His catholic majesty held an assembly of the military orders, and afterwards of the states of the kingdom, at *Madrid*, in which some necessary resolutions were taken, and some good laws were made [w]. His ministers also took care to circulate in *France* their manifestoes, in his catholic majesty's name, setting forth his earnest desire of peace, his abhorrence of contributing in any manner to the disturbance of his neighbours, and the purity of his intention of supporting the princes of *France* against the open violences and secret artifices of an *Italian* politician, who, to maintain his own greatness, and to promote his private views, trampled upon the laws of *France*, and kept her involved in war with her neighbours [x].

Barcelona surrendered to Don Juan of Austria, and the greatest part of Catalonia recovered.

THE marquis *de Carracena* had some advantages in the beginning of the year, which, however, did not hinder him from consenting to a short cessation of arms; a circumstance that was highly advantageous to the *French*, who sent the marquis *du Plessis Bellierе*, with a small corps of troops, to secure *Piedmont*, and to harrass the *Spaniards*. The marquis *de Carracena*, with superior forces, brought him to a battle on the banks of the *Roquette*, where both sides claimed the victory;

1653. *The Spaniards lose the advantage of making a diversion from Bourdeaux.*

[s] MARTINIERE. [t] STEVENS's Suppl. [u] BATTI NANI. [w] Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [x] MARTINIERE.

victory; but the marquis being wounded, and able to make no progress during the rest of the year, we may venture to affirm his claim was not extremely well founded [y]. In *Guienne*, the prince of *Conde*'s faction began to crumble to nothing; and tho' the *Spaniards* had a garrison in *Bourg*, the *French* sent a squadron to *Bourdeaux*, by which the place was blocked up at sea. The marshal *Marsin*, who commanded for the prince in those parts, was able to do nothing of consequence; and at length the duke of *Vendosme* appearing with a superior naval force, the *Spaniards* were constrained to retire. *Bourg*, in which they had a garrison, was taken, and the people of *Bourdeaux* made their peace upon the best terms they could [z]. In the *Low Countries*, this campaign was by no means so favourable as that of the preceding year. The prince of *Conde* did indeed make himself master of *Rocroy*, and some other places; but monsieur *de Turenne* prevented him from doing any thing of consequence; and the count *de Fuensaldagna* having hindered him from fighting, because he thought the risque too great, produced a difference between them that could never be composed; more especially after the archduke *Leopold* arrived in the army, where, by the express directions of the court of *Madrid*, he was constrained to treat the prince as his equal, and be content at last to act upon the defensive, the young king *Lewis* XIV. coming in person to encourage his troops, and bringing with him such supplies as rendered them superior in every respect [a]; which the vicinity of his dominions, in comparison of those of *Spain*, made the thing extremely easy.

Don Juan *raises the siege of* Gironne, *and marshal* Hocquincourt *relieves* Roses.

THERE passed little of consequence between the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, and, in the few skirmishes that did happen, the advantage was, generally speaking, on the side of the latter. In *Catalonia*, the *Spaniards*, having for some time blocked up *Roses*, proposed to besiege it; but their army being very weak, the *French*, who were also far from being numerous, compelled them to retire. This success engaged the marshal *de Hocquincourt* to penetrate through *Roussillon* into *Catalonia*, where he laid siege to *Gironne* on the 27th of *July*. He remained before it two months, when the place, being reduced to the last extremity, was relieved by Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who forced one of the quarters of the *French* camp, and compelled the marshal to retire into *Roussillon*

[y] QUINCY Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [z] MARTINIERE. [a] Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne, Marechal General des Armées du Roy, par M. DE RAMSAY.

with

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with great precipitation; but, notwithstanding this advantage, Don *Juan* was forced to do the very same thing before *Roses*, partly through the rigour of the season, and partly through the eagerness of the *French* marshal to recover his reputation, and to keep such of the *Catalans* as were still inclined to *France* from falling into absolute despair[b]. In both the vigilance and vigour he shewed on this occasion answered perfectly his intent.

THE court of *Madrid*, at the request of the prince of *Conde*, had released from his imprisonment the duke of *Guise*, who gave them so much trouble at *Naples*, and he made them very magnificent promises in return[c]. He went into *France*, and, during these troublesome times, behaved himself so much to the satisfaction of the court, that he was promised the command of a fleet for the execution of a certain secret expedition of his own contriving. This provoked the *Spanish* ministers, but the duke was out of their reach; and this, it is thought, made them treat another prince more severely that was in it. *Charles* duke of *Lorrain* had a strong affection for the house of *Austria*, which induced the *French* to deprive him of his dominions. He retained, however, a considerable corps of troops, with whom he served the crown of *Spain*, but in so capricious a manner, and with such an apparent jealousy of the prince of *Conde*, that his catholic majesty's orders were transmitted to the *Low Countries* to put him under arrest. He was enterprising, and yet suspicious and cautious; however, ways and means were found to deceive him, and to separate his troops; after which he was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Brussels*, transferred from thence to *Dunkirk*, afterwards conveyed to *Spain*, and confined in the castle of *Toledo*, till, upon the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, he was set at liberty[d]. The archduke, who would take no share in this business, was obliged to lend his name to a manifesto published in vindication of it. Prince *Francis* of *Lorrain* took the command of his brother's troops, and continued in his catholic majesty's service. The archduke accompanied, or rather directed, by the prince of *Conde*, very early this year, and unexpectedly, besieged *Arras*, while the *French* besieged *Stenai*. However, monsieur *Turenne* forced the *Spanish* camp before *Arras*, and obliged the archduke and the prince to raise the siege on the 25th of *August*; notwithstanding which, the *Spaniards* reduced several places this year, and still kept up a very troublesome party in *France*[e]. All the respect, how-

Charles duke of Lorrain arrested in the Low Countries, and sent prisoner into Spain. 1654.

[b] BATT NANI. [c] CESPIDES. [d] Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vi. p. ii. p. 264. [e] MARTINIERE.

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ever, that could be paid to the prince of *Conde* was far from giving him content: he complained that the *Spaniſh* troops were not complete; that the ſums aſſigned for their pay were too little, and thoſe not punctually iſſued; that they had not the neceſſary trains of artillery; that ammunition was frequently wanted, and moſt of their fortreſſes poorly garriſoned, and out of repair. They anſwered with fair promiſes; but, as theſe were not kept, the prince began to grow weary of his ſituation, more eſpecially when he found that *Cromwell* was negotiating with *France*, from whence he foreſaw that the *Spaniards* would feel many inconveniences, and be gradually leſs able to ſupport him and his deſigns, which induced him to think of making his peace at home; of which the *Spaniards* having ſome intimation, it augmented their jealouſy, and contributed not a little to embarraſs and perplex their affairs [f].

Affairs in Spain in a very declining condition, which diſpoſes the court to peace.

THE *Portugueſe* this year took and plundered the town of *Oliva*, and broke the agreement that had ſubſiſted for ſome time with the *Spaniſh* generals, of not diſturbing the country-people on either ſide; which induced, or rather compelled, the latter to make incurſions likewiſe; notwithſtanding which there happened little of moment. Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* was not able to do any great matter on the ſide of *Rouſſillon*, where the prince of *Conti* commanded. But the attempt made by the duke of *Guiſe* with a fleet to reduce *Naples*, proved altogether ineffectual, and expoſed both him and cardinal *Mazarine* to ridicule [g]. His catholic majeſty cauſed his daughter the infanta to be acknowleged the heireſs of all his dominions, and finiſhed the fine chapel at the *Eſcurial* at a vaſt expence, notwithſtanding the affairs of his government ſuffered every-where for want of money, moſt of his revenues being anticipated, and his ſubjects every-where in a manner exhauſted; ſo that peace became every day more neceſſary, and at the ſame time ſeemed to be farther off than ever [h]. Endeavours were uſed to ſet on foot a negotiation, by the pope's mediation, which was very coldly received in *France*.

Many reaſons conſpire to make the archduke deſirous of

IN *Italy*, as there was little done the laſt year, the marquis *de Carracena* had taken the neceſſary precautions to be in a condition to act with greater vigour at the entrance of this. He had intelligence of the duke of *Modena*'s having entered into a treaty with *France*, and of his concluding a marriage for his eldeſt ſon with the niece of cardinal *Mazarine*; upon

[f] CESPIDES. Hiſtory of Portugal.

[g] STEVENS's Continuation of Souſa's

[h] BATT NANI, MARTINIERE,

which

which he demanded one of the best places in his dominions, by way of security for his conduct, and advanced with all the forces he could draw together towards *Reggio*, where the duke then was; but the duke quickly found him other employment, by putting himself at the head of his forces, and marching directly towards *Pavia*, before which place arrived at the same time prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, with the *French* troops, and the marquis *de Villa*, with those of *Piedmont*. The place was invested on the first of *August*; but the governor count *Trotti*, having a good garrison, made so gallant a defence, that he gave the marquis *de Carracena* time to expect reinforcements from *Naples* and from *Germany*, and, with their help, he obliged the allies to raise the siege. The duke of *Modena*, however, retired to *Cazal*; and so low was the credit of the *Spaniards* fallen in *Italy*, that, notwithstanding this advantage, the duke of *Mantua* declared for the *French*, and actually went to *Paris* to settle the terms upon which he was to enjoy the protection of that court [i]. In the *Low Countries*, the archduke and the prince of *Conde* flattered themselves with great hopes; but when they came to take the field, they found themselves much disappointed; for monsieur *Turenne* besieged and took *Landrecy*, and afterwards *Quenoi*. The *French* king was himself in the field; and the superiority of his arms so great, that, notwithstanding all the opposition the archduke and the prince could give, without running the hazard of a battle, *Conde* and *St. Guelan* were added to his conquests [k]. In the winter, the archduke received still greater mortifications. The court of *Spain* had concluded a new treaty with their prisoner the duke of *Lorrain* at *Toledo*, which was transmitted to the archduke, and both he and the prince of *Conde* flattered themselves, that, a new oath of fidelity being exacted from these troops, they might be safely employed in an enterprise which they had concerted. Duke *Francis*, however, having sent his second son, who was a child, to *Breda*, escaped with the eldest into the territories of *France*, and all the *Lorrain* troops, that had not deserted before, followed him thither, where they took an oath of fidelity to the *French* king, till their sovereign should be set at liberty [l]. At this very time, that is, in the beginning of *November*, it was known that the protector *Cromwell*, in spite of all that could be offered by ministers both from *Madrid* and *Brussels*, had concluded a

quitting the Low Countries. 1655.

[i] Martiniere, Cespides. [k] Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. de Ramsay. Martiniere. [l] Battnani, Martiniere, Cespides.

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treaty with *France*; with which unacceptable news the archduke acquainted the people of the *Low Countries* by a manifesto, and at the same time issued commissions to privateers [m]. These mortifications, added to those which he daily received from the count *de Fuensaldagna*, who had in reality the confidence of the *Spanish* court, engaged the archduke to press his catholic majesty so warmly for his leave to quit the *Low Countries*, where he was able to do so little for his majesty's service, and still less for his own reputation, that at length he obtained it, and an assurance that a successor should be sent him in the spring [n]; a measure by no means acceptable to the nobility or people in the *Spanish* provinces, where the archduke was generally and deservedly beloved.

His catholic majesty resolves to make some changes in the persons who hold commands.

THE war with *Portugal* furnished this year no incident of importance, except we may account so the proceeding of the *Portuguese* governor of *Salvaterra*, whom the *Spaniards* would have corrupted by the agency of Don *Alonso de Sande*, a *Castilian* officer, with whom he lived in great friendship, the *Portuguese* having carried on the negotiation till he had obtained a letter under the hand of Don *Lewis de Haro*, consenting to admit the person with whom he treated, and thirty men, at a postern; which he performed, and caused every man's brains to be beat out as soon as he was within. As for the unfortunate Don *Alonso*, he tied him to the mouth of a cannon filled with gunpowder, and shattered him all to pieces; an action so barbarous, that it tarnished the reputation he would otherwise have acquired from his fidelity [o]. Don *Juan* of *Austria* was early in the field on the side of *Roussillon*, where he took some small places, and would have made greater progress, if the prince of *Conti* had not been the cardinal's nephew, who took care to furnish him with a numerous army, and sent likewise the duke of *Vendosme* upon the coast with a strong fleet. With his assistance he took *Quiers* and *Castillon*, after a siege of twenty days. He then prepared to penetrate into *Catalonia*; but Don *Juan*, though much inferior in strength, had so well secured the passes, that he found it impracticable; however, the town of *Solsona* revolted, and received a *French* garrison. The siege of *Palamos* was next resolved on; but Don *Juan* threw in such a reinforcement, as would have made the reduction a work

[m] Corps Univ. Diplomatique, tom. vi. P. ii. p. 121. Martiniere, Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Batt Nasi.
[n] Cespedes. [o] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's Hist. of Portugal.

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of time; and this put the prince of *Conti* so much out of humour, that he quitted the command to the count *de Merinville*[p]. Don *Juan*, desirous of punishing *Solsona* for its revolt, besieged it soon after the prince's departure; but the count *de Merinville* surprised one of his quarters, and relieved the place. Don *Juan*, however, took *Berga*, and, after a long campaign, forced the *French* to retire into *Languedoc*, where they took up their winter-quarters. After their departure he reduced *Solsona*, and gave its inhabitants cause to remember their having been so ready to receive a *French* garrison[q]. There happened also this year a naval engagement, of which neither side had much reason to boast. Some *French* historians claim the victory; but, from what happened through the whole campaign, it is easy to see that their title was none of the best. His catholic majesty resolved to make some changes in his governors and general officers the next year; his son Don *Juan* of *Austria* he appointed governor of the *Low Countries*, with a plenitude of power never granted to any of his predecessors[r]. He made choice of the marquis *de Carracena* to serve under him, in hopes he might prove more successful there than hitherto he had been in *Italy*. The count *de Fuensaldagna*, with whom the ministry were well satisfied, had the government of the *Milanese*, for Don *Juan* did not affect a servant who had held his former master in leading-strings. The *Spanish* privateers gave already a great deal of disturbance; the treaty with the duke of *Lorrain*, signed on the 9th of *November*, proved of no use, as has been already shewn. However, a medal was struck by order of the court of *Madrid*, with the bust of the king and his titles on one side, and a drawn sword and branch of olive on the other, with this inscription, *Prepared for either*[s]. It was thought, however, that this medal rather spoke a wish than a fact.

Mortification of count Fuensaldagna at the loss of Valenza in the Milanese.

The count *de Fuensaldagna* found the affairs of the *Milanese* in no very promising situation. The army was weak, the revenue anticipated, the inhabitants of the capital extremely displeased with the accidental burning of the ducal palace, and all the papers of state contained therein. He set himself to repair every thing, and he made a great progress in what he undertook; for though without doubt he was very assuming, yet he was a great man in the cabinet and in

[p] Batt Nani. [q] Le Clerc, Basnage, Neuville. [r] Cespides. [s] Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, par Gerard Van Loon, tom. ii. p. 396.

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the field, and very few ministers were so assiduous [t]. The duke of *Modena* had made a tour to *Paris*, in order to be present at his son's marriage; and, as this procured him some advantages, it turned likewise to the account of *Spain*; for the duke of *Mantua*, jealous of the honours paid him,
1656. gradually reconciled himself to his old friends [u]. Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* being dead on the verge of fourscore, the duke of *Mercœur*, at the request of the duke of *Modena*, was appointed to command in *Italy*, and, with a flourishing army, besieged *Valenza*, a strong place in the *Milanese*. It was defended by Don *Augustino de Signado*, and defended with equal capacity and courage. The count *de Fuensaldagna* did all in his power to relieve it, and was once very near carrying his point; but at length the place was reduced to such extremity, that the governor demanded to capitulate. The two dukes answered, that, according to the rules of war, he had no terms to expect; but that, out of pure regard to his courage and conduct, they were ready to grant him what terms he pleased; and thus, to the great regret of the *Spaniards*, *Valenza* was lost, after seventy-three days open trenches. This was looked upon as one of the best conducted enterprizes during the whole war; and though no blame could with any foundation be laid upon the count *de Fuensaldagna*, it proved notwithstanding a great mortification to him, more especially as it happened at his entrance on the government, and as he very well knew they had formed at *Madrid* great expectations of seeing their affairs in *Italy* restored by a person of his known courage and capacity [w].

Success of Don Juan *of* Austria *and the prince of* Conde *in the* Low Countries.

The situation of affairs in the *Low Countries* requiring the presence of Don *Juan*, he resolved to pass by sea into *Italy*, and from thence by land into the *Netherlands*. We cannot desire a clearer proof of the great change in the circumstances of *Spain*, than this short voyage will afford us. Instead of the numerous squadrons of the *Doria*'s or *Mendoza*'s, which attended every motion of *Charles* the fifth and *Philip* the second, Don *Juan* put to sea with only four gallies. These were soon attacked by privateers of such force, that three of them were quickly taken, and the fourth, with the prince on board, had been taken likewise, if Don *Juan* had not promised the slaves their liberty, and one hundred ducats apiece, if they landed him safe. Thus encouraged,

[t] Batt Nani. [u] Cespides. [w] Martiniere, Quincy.

they

they exerted themſelves in ſuch a manner, that with great difficulty they merited their reward [x]. The prince no ſooner debarked than he continued his route to *Milan*, where, notwithſtanding the higheſt honours were paid him, he ſtaid but a few days, and ſpent the beſt part of his time in conferring with the count *de Fuenſaldagna*, whoſe informations he received very thankfully, and heard his advice with much attention. As ſoon as he arrived in the *Low Countries*, the archduke *Leopold William* went to wait upon him, and, having met him at ſome miles diſtance, in a moſt triumphant manner carried him to *Bruſſels*, where he was received with univerſal applauſe; ſoon after which the archduke ſet out for *Cologne*, Don *Juan* accompanying him as far as he came to meet him [y]. Theſe ceremonies were not without a meaning, for it was known that the prince of *Conde* pretended to the precedency; but the archduke, who was both the ſon and the brother of an emperor, having given Don *Juan* the right hand, the prince made no difficulty of following his example. However, theſe forms took up ſo much time, that the *French* were in the field before them; and the viſcount *Turenne*, having left the cardinal with the court at *la Fere*, though his army was not very numerous, had inveſted *Valenciennes*, a large and well-fortified place, in the midſt of the *Spaniſh* fortreſſes. It was defended by Don *Franciſco de Meneſes*, who had the precaution to lay the adjacent meadows under water; ſo that the *French* were conſtrained to lay a bridge, or rather to conſtruct a dike, over them, to unite their quarters, the viſcount *de Turenne* commanding on one ſide, and marſhal *de la Ferté* on the other. About the beginning of *July* Don *Juan*, the prince of *Conde*, and the marquis *de Carracena*, advanced to its relief, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the quarter of the *Lorrainers*, which it was expected they would have attacked; but, having cauſed bridges to be thrown over the *Scheld*, they paſſed it in the night between the 15th and 16th, and attacked the quarter of the marſhal *la Ferté* ſo briſkly, that in a quarter of an hour the line was forced, and the marſhal taken priſoner [z]. At the very inſtant of this attack, the governor opened the ſluices, which carried a barge laden with ſtones with ſuch rapidity againſt the *French* dike, that it forced a paſſage; ſo

[x] PARIVAL, Siecle de Fer, tom. i. p. 135. [y] AITZEMA, Zaaken van ſtaat en oorl, iii. deel, fo. 1314. PARIVAL, tom. ii. p. 234. [z] DE REINCOURT, Hiſt. de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 274—276. Hiſtoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY, QUINCY.

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that Monsieur *Turenne*, finding it impossible to succour his collegue, retired with his baggage and part of his artillery under the cannon of *Quenoi*. The princes would have pursued him, and in all probability would have rendered their victory complete, if unluckily the gate of *Valenciennes* on that side had not been walled up, and, before it could be opened, the viscount was out of their reach [a]. As it was, a marshal of *France* taken, with four thousand foot, with as many killed, and all the artillery and baggage falling likewise into their hands, gave a new lustre to the *Spanish* arms. This was not a little augmented by the taking of *Conde*, after a siege of twenty five days, in which there was a garison of four thousand men, who were indeed suffered to march out, but upon the hard condition of not serving against *Spain* for four years. These successes were somewhat qualified by their being obliged to raise the siege of *St. Guilhan*, in hopes of preventing Monsieur *Turenne* from recovering *la Capelle*, in which they likewise failed [b]. However, the events of this campaign were apparently in their favour, and this revived the spirits of the *Flemings*, and in some measure abated the chagrin of the prince of *Conde*.

The propositions of peace made by M. de Lionne *are rejected by the court of* Spain.

If the former campaigns had been at all more vigorous, we might have imputed the little progress made in this on the side of *Portugal* to the declining health of the king Don *Juan*, who died in *November*; but in truth they were all the effects of his wise policy, who, having a broken state to repair, and wars in different parts of the world to maintain, thought it best to save expences on that side where the weakness of his enemy was as great as his own. In *Catalonia* the marquis *de Montana*, who commanded after the departure of Don *Juan*, had but a very small army, with which he took several little places; and the duke *de Candale*, grandson to the great duke of *Epernon*, who commanded the *French*, neither attempted any thing himself, nor gave the *Spanish* general much disturbance. Pope *Urban* the seventh having solicited the *French* bishops to interpose with their king, in order to facilitate a peace, *Lewis* afforded them but a rough, not to say a rude answer. Upon reflection, however, cardinal *Mazarine* thought it expedient to let the world see that *France* did not intend, or at least would not avow the intention, of making a war without end; therefore, at the beginning of the campaign, Mr. *de Lionne* was dispatched to *Madrid* with full powers, comprised in about six lines, to conclude a

[a] Aitzema, Zaaken van staat en oorl, iii. deel, fol. 1314.
[b] Quincy, Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, Martiniere.

peace;

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peace; and, to prevent any doubt about the king's signature, a gentleman, who had been in the service of the count *de Fuensaldagna*, in whose presence the *French* king delivered those powers, and told him what they were, accompanied him [c]. This minister plenipotentiary had several conferences with Don *Lewis de Haro*, but they ended in nothing. An account of this negotiation was published, as is generally supposed, by *Lionne*, in order to justify his court; and in this it is affirmed, that the point upon which they differed was the restitution of his places and governments to the prince of *Conde*, to which it is said his catholic majesty inclined to add the sovereignty of some places on the frontiers, in consideration of the services which, as the *Spanish* ministers phrased it, he had been compelled to render their master: whereas *Lewis*, though he was content the prince should return, would by no means allow that he should return in triumph. It has been however thought, and indeed it is more probable, that the true reason why this negotiation ended so abruptly was, the proposition, or at least the intimation, of a marriage between the young king and the infanta, to which *Philip* was exceedingly averse, as foreseeing the consequences, and being desirous to marry her to a prince of his own family [d]. The *Spaniards* were made thoroughly sensible this year of the consequences of a war with *England*; for, besides the news of the attempt upon *St. Domingo*, and the conquest of *Jamaica* in the *West Indies*, they had the misfortune of seeing the admirals *Blake* and *Mountague* sink three and take two rich galleons upon their own coast, in which prizes they found three millions of pieces of eight, besides which the *Spaniards* lost a greater sum in those that were sunk [e]. A misfortune so much the more intolerable, as they knew not what provocation had brought this war upon them, and consequently knew as little how to extricate themselves from it, or to revenge the mischiefs they sustained.

Affairs go very indifferently for the Spaniard in Italy

THE duke of *Mantua*, though he had contributed exceedingly the year before to the taking of *Valenza*, was prevailed upon by his wife to go to *Milan*, where he was quickly reconciled to the interests of *Spain*; and, having discovered this by acting openly, the duke of *Modena* and the prince of *Conti* began to commit hostilities in his dominions. As they

[c] STEVENS's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal, Histoire de la Paix des Pyrenees, Cologne, 1667. pag. 15. QUINCY, tom. i. p. 217. [d] Memoires de LIONNE, CESPIDES. [e] Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, Memoires, Historiques & Chronologiques.

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and the Low Countries.

had visibly a superiority, they proceeded to invest *Alexandria della Paglia*, a strong place, and well defended. The count *de Fuensaldagna* assembled all the forces he was able, and marched with them to the relief of the place; in order to which he attacked the enemy in their lines, but without effect. However, having taken a strong intrenched camp very near them, and the governor continuing to make frequent sallies, they were obliged at last to raise the siege on the 18th of *August*, after having lain before the place thirty-three days[f]. The count, however, was not strong enough to prevent the allies from taking quarters in the dominions of the duke of *Mantua*. On the side of *Flanders*, through the industry and activity of the prince of *Conde*, the army was very early in the field, so that *St. Guilain* was invested, and reduced by the 22d of *March*. Marshal *Turenne*, to repair this affront, having deceived the *Spanish* generals, began to invest *Cambray*, in which there were not above three hundred men; and had certainly taken it in a few days, if the prince of *Conde* had not marched thither with incredible diligence, at the head of 4500 horse and dragoons, and, under the cover of a thick fog, penetrating the *French* line, got into the place; upon which Monsieur *Turenne* drew off his troops to cover the siege of *Montmedi* by marshal *la Ferté*, which was taken on the 6th of *August*. In the mean time Don *Juan* of *Austria* and the prince of *Conde* attempted to surprise *Calais*, and actually gained possession of the lower town; but the upper was so well defended, that they were forced to retire. *Turenne* afterwards took *St. Venant*, and came time enough to oblige the *Spaniards*, who had laid siege to *Ardres*, to raise it; but they were so lucky as to surprise his rear-guard, and, with it, the military chest. This did not hinder him from besieging and taking *Mardyke*, which surrendered on the 3d of *October*. The garrison, being made prisoners of war, were sent over to *England*, and the place delivered to general *Morgan*, who commanded the auxiliaries sent by the protector, which had served in the *French* army all this campaign[g]. The emperor *Ferdinand* dying in the spring, the archduke *Leopold*, formerly governor of the *Low Countries*, might have succeeded him, if he had not declined it in favour of his nephew of the same name, who, notwithstanding, through the opposition excited by

1657.

[f] Histoire du Prince de Conde, REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. QUINCY, Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY. [g] Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, PARIVAL, Siecle de Fer, tom. ii. p. 381.

the

the *French*, was not elected till the following year. Don *Juan* laboured assiduously to improve a misunderstanding between the states general and the crown of *France* into an open rupture; but the former, apprehending the consequences, and knowing the inability of the *Spaniards* to perform their promises, adjusted it upon the best terms they could [h].

Events in Portugal, Catalonia, and at sea, where the English burn the galleons in harbour.

As the *Portuguese* suspected their enemies might be encouraged by the death of their king, and the minority of the prince his son, they determined to begin the campaign early, and with vigour; but, miscarrying in their attempt to surprise a *Spanish* fort, they drew upon themselves the mischief they sought to avoid; for the duke *de St. Germain*, an *Italian* nobleman of great merit, who commanded the *Spanish* army, being sent for to *Madrid*, received instructions to exert himself to the utmost, and was at the same time promised great supplies and considerable reinforcements, which were accordingly sent him. Towards the close of *April* he took the field, and soon after invested *Olivenza*, the strongest place in *Portugal* except *Elvas*. The count *de St. Lorenzo*, with the army of *Portugal*, made several attempts to relieve it, but without success; so that after a long defence it surrendered on the 30th of *May*, for which the governor Don *Manuel de Saldanha* was banished. The inhabitants, to shew their antipathy to the *Spaniards*, though permitted by the capitulation to stay, quitted the place to a man. The duke next invested the town and castle of *Moron*, which he likewise took; so that this was the most active and successful campaign since the beginning of the war [i]. The marquis *de St. Abreo*, who commanded in *Catalonia* in the absence of the duke of *Candale*, forced the *Spanish* troops, who were employed in the blockade of *Urgel*, to retire; and, as their forces were very weak, and such great efforts made on the side of *Portugal*, there was nothing more done. But the most fatal event of the whole year was the burning the *Spanish* galleons by the *English* fleet under the command of admiral *Blake*, in the island of *Teneriff*, by which many millions were lost, as well as a great number of good ships, which the *Spaniards* could very ill spare [k]. These misfortunes, however, seemed to be all buried in oblivion at *Ma-*

[h] Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, Quincy, Le Clerc, Basnage, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. Voltaire. [i] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal. [k] Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. Voltaire.

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drid, on the queen's being delivered on the 28th of *November* of a prince, who was baptized by the name of *Philip Prosper*, to the general satisfaction of the king and his subjects [l].

The affairs of Spain, *instead of mending, grow worse in* Italy.

THE count *de Fuensaldagna* had spent the whole winter in contriving to block up *Valenza*, with a full intention to besiege it as soon as the season would permit; but, before that time came, he met with a new mortification by the duke of *Mantua*'s declaring himself neuter, in consequence of a negotiation that had been carried on under the mediation of the republic of *Venice*. The duke *de Navailles* served under the duke of *Modena* this year, the differences between the two princes having lessened very much the success of the last campaign. Before the count was in any condition to execute his project against *Valenza*, the two dukes marched directly towards him, while the *Spanish* forces under the command of the marquis *de Villa* took the fortress of *Trin*, in their march to join the army of the allies, which, arriving in sight of *Milan*, might have created some disturbance, if the count *de Fuensaldagna* had not thrown himself into it with the best part of his forces, which kept the people quiet, and frustrated the enemy's designs. The duke of *Modena*, notwithstanding, besieged and took *Mortara*, the capital of the fertile district of *Lomellino*; and in all probability would have carried his success farther, if a distemper, which seized him at this siege, had not removed him out of this world [m].

1658.

In the Low Countries *they go still much worse, the* English *acting as auxiliaries to the* French.

IN the *Low Countries* the *French* formed a very bold design for surprising *Ostend*; but it was managed with so little secrecy, that the *Spaniards* turned it to their advantage, insomuch that they took marshal *d'Aumont*, and all the troops that were to have executed it [n]. The viscount *Turenne*, notwithstanding this misfortune, resolved to undertake the siege of *Dunkirk*, or rather was forced upon it, the *French* court being constrained to it, in order to oblige *Cromwell*. It was a difficult, or rather a desperate enterprize, which could never have succeeded, if the *Spaniards* had taken the smallest precautions for its preservation; but they had conceived an opinion that cardinal *Mazarine* had fixed his heart on becoming master of *Cambray*, and therefore bent all their at-

[l] CESPIDES, Hist. Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [m] BATTI NANI, Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. P. ii. p. 225. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. REINCOURT, MONTGLAT, Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [n] Histoire du du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY, MONTGLAT, tom. iv. p. 171.

tention

tention to the ſecurity of that place, notwithſtanding his *Britannic* majeſty, then in exile, gave them repeated notices that *Dunkirk* would be beſieged. The marquis *de Leyde*, who was governor of that place, was at *Bruſſels*, ſoliciting for ſuccours, when the *French* appeared before it, and not without difficulty found means to get into it without the ſuccours for which he had applied. Don *Juan* of *Auſtria*, having made this capital miſtake in delaying, made another more fatal by haſtening to its relief; for, marching with all the troops he could aſſemble, but without artillery, to the *Downs*, he propoſed to wait there for a favourable opportunity of forcing the enemy's lines. Monſieur *Turenne*, penetrating his deſign, took the ſhorteſt methoſt to prevent it, by attacking him immediately: notwithſtanding that Don *Juan*, the prince of *Conde*, the dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, did all that was poſſible to encourage their troops, the army, ſenſible of the diſadvantage under which they fought, were quickly and intirely defeated. This happened on the fourteenth, and *Dunkirk* was taken on the twenty-third, of *June*. Monſieur *Turenne*, purſuing his conqueſts, took *Bergues Saint Vinox* on the 2d of *July*, *Furnes* on the third, *Dixmude* on the 7th, *Oudenarde* on the 9th of *September*, *Menin* on the 17th, defeated the prince *de Ligne* on the 19th, and took *Ipres* on the 24th. In the mean time the marſhal *de Ferté* took *Gravelines*; ſo that in the courſe of a war which laſted 28 years, the *Spaniards* had never experienced ſo many diſgraces in any one campaign [o].

On the ſide of *Portugal* both parties ſeemed determined to make the utmoſt efforts in their power. The queen dowager, a woman of great vigilance and ſpirit, had aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand men, under the command of Don *Juan Mendez de Vaſconcellos*, an old officer of great reputation, and ſent him with expreſs orders to reduce *Badajoz*. He amuſed himſelf, however, with attacking the fort of *St. Chriſtopher's*, which, after all, he was not able to take; and at laſt, riſing from before it, paſſed the river, and beſieged *Badajoz*. The duke *de St. Germain*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* troops, ſent advice of this to *Madrid*, and withal informed the court, that the place was in ſo poor a condition, that it could not hold out long, and that it was *Don* Lewis de Haro *takes the command on the ſide of* Portugal, *and loſes the battle of* Elvas.

[o] Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Madame Motteville, Montglat, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Reincourt, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

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utterly out of his power to relieve it. This raiſed ſuch murmurs amongſt the people, that Don *Lewis de Haro*, collecting all the horſe and foot that could be drawn out of both *Caſtiles*, marched with fifteen thouſand men to *Merida*, where the duke *de St. Germain*, having forced a paſſage through the enemy's line, joined him with one thouſand horſe, and then marched directly towards the place; but, upon their approach, *Vaſconcellos* raiſed the ſiege, and retired. Don *Lewis de Haro*, flushed with this ſucceſs, and finding himſelf at the head of near 20,000 men, reſolved to conclude the campaign with reducing *Elvas*. The place was ſtrong, and defended by Don *Sancho Manuel*, a ſtubborn man, who would have held out to extremity. The *Spaniards*, however, inveſted it, and puſhed the ſiege with great vigour; but the queen dowager having reinforced her troops, and given the command to the count *de Caſtagneda*, he advanced immediately to its relief. In point of regular troops, his army was inferior to that of the *Spaniards*; but more numerous, comprehending the militia. The duke *de St. Germain* drew out his forces, and gave him battle; in which part of his cavalry being defeated, and he, advancing in perſon to cover his foot, received a ſhot in the head, and fell from his horſe; which ſo diſcouraged his forces, that they preſently broke, and were purſued with great fury by the *Portugueſe*. The battle of *Elvas* was fought on the 23d of *July*: Don *Lewis de Haro* was ſpectator at a diſtance of this defeat, which coſt the *Spaniards* about 2000 men, and returned immediately to *Madrid*. Don *Rodrigo Moxico*, who was next in command to the duke *de St. Germain*, fortified a poſt in the rear, and by that means rallied the troops, and made a good retreat; and the general, who was thought to be mortally wounded, thro' the ſkill and care of his ſurgeons, recovered P.

The campaign in Catalonia, *and the domeſtic affairs of the court of* Spain.

THE diſpoſitions of the court of *Spain* for carrying on the war againſt *Portugal*, was the true reaſon why the alterations on the ſide of *Catalonia* were ſlow and languiſhing. The marquis *de St. Aunais*, who commanded for the *French* in *Rouſſillon*, was ſenſible of this; and, being deſirous of doing ſomething that might make an eclat before the arrival of the duke *de Mercœur*, who was to replace the duke *de Candale*, he undertook the ſiege of *Campredon*, a place of ſome importance, between *Gironne* and *Puicerda*. The marquis *de Mortara*, who was unwilling to ſhew the weakneſs of *Spain*, by bringing his troops into the field, did not let

P STEVENS's Continuation of Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal.

ſlip

ſlip this opportunity of diſplaying his military ſkill, which really deſerved a command of more importance. He drew his forces together ſo ſecretly and ſo ſuddenly, that the *French* ſaw them before they had the leaſt intelligence, and ſcarce ſaw before they felt them; in ſhort, he forced their lines in three places, and not only obliged them to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation, but ſo effectually ruined their army, that the marquis *de Mortara* kept the field all the reſt of the campaign, while the duke *de Mercœur* was obliged to be on the defenſive[q]. As to the domeſtic affairs of *Spain*, the king held a general aſſembly of the ſtates of *Caſtile* and *Léon*, in which ſome good regulations were made, certain ſupplies granted, and all commerce with *Portugal* prohibited. Another event happened this year, which gave equal joy to the king and his ſubjects, and contributed not a little towards reſtoring the general peace of Chriſtendom; this was the birth of the infant Don *Ferdinand Thomas*, on the 21ſt of *December*, ſo that the king had now the pleaſure of ſeeing two princes capable of the ſucceſſion, though neither of them enjoyed it. It was this that chiefly contributed to remove that formidable objection which hitherto had defeated all negotiations for a general peace, though nothing could be more neceſſary to the ſeveral powers engaged in war, and was to none ſo neceſſary as to the crown of *Spain*[r].

Count Fuenſaldagna alters the diſpoſitions of the courts of Madrid and Turin.

In *Italy*, though the count *de Fuenſaldagna* had not been very ſucceſsful as a general, yet this was far from leſſening his credit at the court of *Spain*, where he was conſidered as the ableſt miniſter they had, in which he had no more than juſtice done him. He ſaw clearly the ſituation he was in; and though, as governor of the *Milaneſe*, he maintained to the utmoſt the forms and the magnificence introduced by his predeceſſors, and ſuſtained the dignity of the crown with a ſteadineſs cenſured only by thoſe who were ſtrangers to his motives; yet he repreſented things plainly at *Madrid*, and gave the miniſters to underſtand, that affairs in *Italy* were irretrievable by any thing but a peace; that the duchy of *Milan* was on the very point of being loſt; that its natural ſtrength was utterly exhauſted; that to draw ſupplies from the two *Sicilies* was to hazard them; that the emperor was tied by his capitulation from affording them any ſuccours; that promiſes from *Spain* were uſeleſs, or rather miſchievous; and that *France* was negotiating a league offenſive and defenſive with the republic of *Venice*, the concluſion of which

[q] Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 244. MONTGLAT, tom. iv. p. 195. [r] CESPIDES, Hiſt. gen. d'Eſpagne.

would

would be a prologue to the concluſion of their empire in *Italy*. To the ducheſs dowager and regent of *Savoy*, he uſed a language ſomewhat different; he ſuggeſted, that if the *French* conquered the duchy of *Milan*, the territories of *Savoy* would be no more than a dependent province; thoſe who were now their allies would become their maſters; and thoſe prerogatives, of which all ſovereigns are jealous, would be immediately diminiſhed, and gradually abſorbed. His arguments had their weight every-where; king *Philip* was ſo much aſtoniſhed at the danger, that he reſolved to renew the negotiation which he had rejected; and the ducheſs of *Savoy*, though ſo nearly allied in blood to *Lewis* XIV. ſaw the count's reaſoning in ſo ſtrong a light, that ſhe reſolved to give no farther aſſiſtance to the conqueſt of *Milan*. She would perhaps have made greater alterations in her meaſures, but for the views ſhe had of marrying the princeſs *Margaret* her daughter to that monarch, with which the cardinal had amuſed her long[s], and which had contributed not a little to keep her in the *French* intereſt.

Spain ſends a miniſter privately to the king and cardinal, to renew the negotiation.

THE remonſtrances of the count *Fuenſaldagna* engaged the ducheſs of *Savoy* to deal ſo explicitly with the *French* miniſters, that the cardinal was conſtrained to bring the court to *Lyons*, that the king, and the queen his mother, might have an interview with the ducheſs of *Savoy* and the princeſs *Margaret*; the news of which made ſuch an impreſſion at *Madrid*, that Don *Antonio de Pimentel* was immediately ſent to *Lyons* incognito, where, by applying himſelf to the cardinal, with ſtrong aſſurances that his catholic majeſty had no longer any repugnance to the marriage propoſed between the moſt Chriſtian king and the infanta, his propoſition was accepted, and all thoughts of marriage with *Savoy* laid aſide. A circumſtance which was alſo favourable to *Spain*, as it changed the ruling maxims of that court, and convinced the ducheſs regent and her ſon, that, by an obſtinate and blind attachment to *France*, they might help to aggrandize that crown, but without making any addition either to their own greatneſs or revenue; and that, by reducing the ſtrength of the *Spaniards*, they leſſened one of thoſe ſupports, upon which, at ſome conjuncture or other, they ſhould be forced to lean. The count *de Fuenſaldagna* remained maſter of the negotiation on the behalf of *Spain*; for, though *Pimentel* received full powers from *Madrid*, yet

[s] MONTGLAT, Hiſtoire de Mazarine, Hiſtoire de la Paix des Pyrenees, Memoires de MOTTEVILLE, Memoires de Madame MONTPENSIER, CESPIDES, BATT NANI.

he

he made a tour, in order to confer with the count *de Fuensaldagna*, from whom he received his instructions. The great difficulty was as to the prince of *Conde*, whose interests were at last given up by the count, who perhaps remembered the differences that had been between them in the *Low Countries*; but, by way of equivalent, *Portugal* was given up by *France*. At length the preliminaries were settled at *Paris*, and, in consequence of them, and of the queen's interposition, *France* consented to a suspension of arms, and to the final adjusting of the treaty between the two ministers on the frontiers. These conferences were held in an island scarce heard of before, but which from this transaction became famous; it lay in the middle of the river *Bidassoa*, and was called the *Isle of Pheasants*. There was a kind of hall of audience erected, with a chair and a table on each side, but the opposite sides of the table met. Don *Lewis de Haro* passed over a bridge from the *Spanish* side, at the same time that the cardinal *Mazarine* advanced over a bridge on the other; they entered at opposite doors, and seated themselves in the dominions of their respective masters.

Cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro, conclude the peace of the Pyrenees.

THESE conferences began on the 13th of *August*, and ended on the 7th of *November*, and were in number twenty-four. Don *Lewis*, contrary to the preliminaries, brought the affair of the prince of *Conde* again upon the carpet, and pressed it extremely; but the cardinal remained firm, and even went so far as to say, that he perceived this negotiation would end like that three years before. Don *Lewis* protested it should not, and that he would adhere to the letter of the preliminaries. He added, his catholic majesty could not break his faith, and would therefore give the prince of *Conde* a district in sovereignty, or the government of the *Low Countries*. This forced the cardinal to disclose himself; for the prince of *Conde*, foreseeing what would happen, and desirous of returning home, had already submitted, and given up all his pretensions. The cardinal offered, therefore, that the equivalent intended for the prince should be given to the crown of *France*, and that the king should bestow his office of great master of his household on his son the duke of *Enguien*, and give the prince the government of *Burgundy* and *Bresse*, which was accepted. While the conferences lasted, marshal *Gramont* was sent to *Madrid*, to demand the infanta; which he did in a very gallant manner, entering the place, not with the pomp and state of an embassador, but in the new stile of royal courier, preceded by a post-master, and a certain number of postilions, who were followed by a troop of sixty gentlemen, after whom came the

1659.

embassador

embaſſador all on the gallop, to expreſs their maſter's impatience to have the infanta. It is not to be conceived what an effect this trivial circumſtance had on the *Spaniſh* nation, and even on the king, who conſented to the marriage with the beſt grace in the world. The treaty was at length ſigned, notwithſtanding the diſturbance given to Don *Louis* by the duke of *Lorrain*, who was now ſet at liberty, and whoſe intereſts were very little conſidered, or the uneaſineſs given to the cardinal by the embaſſadors of *Portugal*, and the perplexity they were jointly under from the preſence of king *Charles* the ſecond, and of the lord embaſſador *Lockhart*, who, on the cardinal's aſking him for whom he acted, anſwered pleaſantly, that it was a point not yet ſettled in *England*, but that what he offered was on the part of thoſe who ſhould be uppermoſt. The renunciations alſo embarraſſed them not a little; but at length the cardinal relaxed in that point, and ſuffered the *Spaniards* to do almoſt what they pleaſed, foreſeeing that time and power would wear or break all theſe paper engagements. Thus ended this famous negotiation, which produced the treaty of the *Pyrenees*[t], equally blamed in *France* and in *Spain*, and, for that reaſon, it may be juſtly conſidered as the beſt and moſt equal that could be made at that juncture, and all circumſtances conſidered.

The marriage confirmed, and the peace ſworn to in the Iſland of Pheaſants. 1660.

ONE of the principal motives that determined both *Philip* the fourth and his miniſter to the marriage and peace with *France*, was, the deſire of turning the whole force of the *Spaniſh* monarchy upon *Portugal*: it was with this view that Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* was recalled in the ſpring of the preceding year. This event, though ſomewhat unexpected, was not at all diſpleaſing to him, for he was become heartily weary of the *Low Countries*, where he ſaw nothing but miſery, and heard nought but complaints. He concealed the order he had received, departed privately, and left the government to the marquis *de Carracena*. He returned thro' *France*, found the court wholly occupied with the great affair of the peace, yet fully determined on the conqueſt of *Portugal*, for which there was nothing wanting but the means. The king thought it no difficult matter to conſtrain

[t] QUINCY, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Mazarine, MONTGLAT, tom. iv. p. 216. Hiſtoire du Prince de Conde, Hiſtoire de la Paix des Pyrenees, Memoires de MOTTEVILLE, REINCOUT, Lord CLARENDON's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. part 2. p. 264.

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the houſe of *Braganza*, now abandoned by *France*; to be content with their hereditary eſtates, and which he was deſirous they ſhould enjoy. Don *Lewis de Haro* deſired to be revenged for the loſs of the battle of *Elvas*: Don *Juan* deſired they would have patience till the peace was ſo thoroughly ſettled, as that a certain number of regiments might be drawn out of *Italy* and the *Low Countries*, ſince without old troops he could not at all anſwer for the ſucceſs of the war [u]. The loſſes ſuſtained by the depredations committed at ſea by the *Engliſh*, and the expences neceſſary for the concluſion of the infanta's marriage, made this delay very convenient; ſo that they were on both ſides very inactive, and this campaign as little fertile of events as the laſt [w]. It had been agreed, that his catholic majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould have an interview in the *Iſle of Pheaſants*; previous to which their miniſters met there, to adjuſt the ceremonial, and to terminate ſome diſputes that had ariſen upon certain articles of the peace; all this took up ſome time. At length, on the 3d of *June*, the marriage was celebrated at *Fontarabia*, Don *Lewis de Haro* repreſenting the moſt Chriſtian king. On the 4th the queen mother had an interview with his catholic majeſty, whom ſhe had not ſeen in forty-five years; he brought with him the infanta and Don *Lewis de Haro*; ſhe was accompanied by her younger ſon and cardinal *Mazarine*. The queen and the infanta ſhewed great tenderneſs; the king preſerved a fixed gravity, that differed little from coldneſs. His ſiſter complained of it; and he contented himſelf with ſaying, that exterior marks of paſſion were not becoming kings. On the other hand, he was extremely civil to cardinal *Mazarine*, and, amongſt other compliments, told him, that *Europe* ſtood indebted to him for peace. The king of *France* looked in towards the end of the interview, as if it was by ſtealth; upon which *Philip* could not help ſaying to his ſiſter, with leſs gravity than he had hitherto ſhewn, that he was like to have a handſome ſon-in-law; and *Lewis* immediately retired. On *Sunday* the 6th of *June* the peace was ſworn to with great ſolemnity by both kings. The nobility of *France* were then preſented to his catholic majeſty, who ſaid to his ſiſter, upon her naming the marſhal *Turenne*, "He has made me paſs many reſtleſs "nights." The *Spaniſh* grandees, who were about fifteen in number, were in like manner preſented to the moſt Chriſ-

[u] CESPIDES. [w] STEVENS's Supplement to Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal, CLARENDON's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, CESPIDES.

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tian king. The *French* were very richly dreſſed, the *Spaniards* were perfectly plain, except that they wore jewels to a prodigious value. Both the royal families had an interview at parting; at which *Lewis*, after throwing himſelf at his father's feet, to receive his bleſſing, embraced him, when he roſe, with ſo much paſſion, that *Philip*, who had preſerved his temper wonderfully at parting with his daughter, loſt it, and burſt into tears. The ſame ſenſibility appeared with reſpect to monſieur; and the two courts left each other in terms of the moſt perfect friendſhip and affection [x].

Affairs of Spain remain perplexed even after the concluſion of this treaty.

THE prince of *Conde*, at his leaving the *Low Countries* to return into *France*, was treated with all imaginable reſpect. The marquis *de Carracena* accompanied him a league from *Bruſſels*, and all poſſible marks of eſteem were ſhewn in the places through which he paſſed. The people, however, were not much diſpleaſed with his departure; for his troops, like thoſe of the duke of *Lorrain*, had lived in a manner at free-quarter, and had oppreſſed that country which they pretended to protect; which, however, was excuſable in ſome meaſure, by their being very indifferently paid, as all the troops were in the ſervice of *Spain*. A very different conduct was obſerved with regard to his *Britannic* majeſty, whom the marquis *de Carracena* would have arreſted, if he had not withdrawn very critically into the dominions of the ſtates general. This was remembered after his return into his own dominions, as well as the heartineſs with which the court of *Madrid* had embraced the friendſhip of the parliament when they firſt took upon them the ſupreme authority. On this ſide, therefore, the *Spaniards* ſtood but indifferently; and they found likewiſe a viſible coldneſs at the court of *Vienna*, where the emperor *Leopold* was not a little chagrined at the loſs of the infanta, for whoſe ſake he had made very large offers to king *Philip* and his miniſters, which, without doubt, would have been accepted, if they had not conceived of his ability in the ſame light as they did of his intention [y].

1660.

Don Juan moderately ſucceſsful in the war

IT was the principal object of the *Spaniſh* miniſtry to preſerve the peace, which was ſo neceſſary to their affairs, which had been obtained with ſo much trouble, and which had coſt them ſo dear. This induced them to look upon the death of

[x] Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE. Hiſtoire du Cardinal MAZARIN. Memoires de Madame MONTPENSIER, MONTGLAT. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. QUINCY Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV. [y] CLARENDON's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Hiſtoire du Prince de CONDE.

cardinal

cardinal *Mazarine*, which happened in the spring, as a great misfortune, the catholic king having a great confidence in his pacific disposition. He left a picture of *Titian*'s, of prodigious value, to Don *Lewis de Haro*, and bestowed a golden table-clock on the count *de Fuensaldagna*, which served to confirm this opinion, at a time when it could be only the subject of regret [z]. The army of Don *Juan* was in reality very considerable: he had 13,000 foot and 6000 horse, *Spanish*, *German*, and *Italian* troops, commanded by the best officers that were in the *Spanish* service. He began with the siege of *Aronches*, a place important by its situation, and capable of being made much more so, if it had been properly fortified. The *Portuguese* army advanced as far as *Elvas*, though they were not strong enough to relieve it. The governor spared them the trouble, by yielding it sooner to the *Spaniards* than he needed to have done. Don *Juan*, having caused the place to be thoroughly repaired, and some further works to be added, put his troops into quarters of refreshment. The *Portuguese*, either to acquire or to maintain the character of bravery, attacked the *Spanish* cavalry, tho' they were not so numerous or so good; but they were repulsed with considerable loss, which cost the life of Don *Juan de Pacheco*, who commanded the *Spanish* horse, and was very dear to the prince. When the heats were over, Don *Juan* took the field again, and besieged *Alconchel*, but not with any great vigour, that the *Portuguese* army might have time, if they were so inclined, to come to its relief; but as the governor was not in Don *Juan*'s secret, he spoiled his scheme, by surrendering the place before it was expected. Don *Juan* caused it to be well fortified, put a *Spanish* garrison into it, and then retiring to *Badajoz*, suffered his army to take winter-quarters [a]. He perceived plainly the enemy would not fight, and was unwilling his troops should moulder away in sieges.

against the crown of Portugal. 1661.

Don *Lewis de Haro* was extremely displeased with this campaign; he had flattered himself with the conquest of *Portugal*, and there had not been so much as a battle. On the other hand, Don *Juan* acquainted the king that he stood in need of recruits and supplies; that kingdoms were not so easily conquered; that the enemy acted with great caution; and that, if any accident happened to this army, he did not see how his majesty could form such another. He had certainly reason on his side, and yet the ministers were not alto-

This no way answered the hopes or the necessities of the Spanish ministers.

[z] Hist. du Cardinal Mazarine. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, Choisy, Montglat, Cespides. [a] Stevens's Supplement.

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gether in the wrong. *France*, notwithſtanding the peace, had ſuffered count *Schomberg*, who was an excellent officer, to go to *Portugal* with ſix hundred volunteers. It was by his lights the *Portugueſe* generals directed their conduct: he adviſed them to excurſions and ſkirmiſhes, but to avoid battles, that they might gradually form their troops, while thoſe of Don *Juan* were diminiſhed. The court of *England* had embraced the intereſts of *Portugal*, negotiated a peace with *Holland*, aſſiſted them with money, tho' it is ſaid that money came from *France*, and *Charles* had entered into a treaty for marrying the princeſs *Catharine*, ſiſter to the young king of *Portugal*. The ſhort remedy for theſe miſchiefs was to conquer that country, and dethrone the king. They were certainly right in their meaſures, but they miſtook the means. They publiſhed to all *Europe* the deſign of this conqueſt, which did not at all contribute towards effecting it.

Behave in all reſpects in a manner very unſuitable to the circumſtances of the monarchy.

THEY ſent the baron *de Batteville* to *London*, to bully a prince who was already out of humour. He went ſo far as to do it in writing; and, in a memorial, propoſed to *Charles* the choice of ſeveral princeſſes, in favour of whom he promiſed, on the part of *Spain*, mighty advantages; concluding with menaces if his advice was not taken; for which he was forbid the court [b]. He then, according to the common practice of *Spaniſh* miniſters, fell to intriguing and plotting with the malecontents. This conduct of his not being diſcouraged, in time he raſhly engaged in a quarrel with the *French* miniſter, the count *d'Eſtrades*, for precedency, and gained ſome advantage over him by force, having diſtributed his money liberally amongſt the mob [c]. This was one of the moſt unlucky things that could have befallen *Spain*; for the archbiſhop of *Ambrun* demanded, in the name of his maſter, immediate ſatisfaction, if the court of *Spain* was inclined to avoid a war. The count *de Fuenſaldagna* was then at *Paris*, and did all he could to qualify matters. He was going into the *Low Countries* with the title of governor, but died on the road. A little before his death, he wrote to Don *Lewis de Haro*, that peace was neceſſary to *Spain*, and conſequently thoſe meaſures that were neceſſary to maintain peace. *Phi-*

[b] Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. part ii. p. 366. MONTGLAT, Hiſt. du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY, CHOISY, STEVENS's Supplement. [c] See the whole Relation, as drawn up by the celebrated JOHN EVELYN, Eſq; at the command of Charles II. of the manner of the encounter between the French and Spaniſh embaſſadors, at the landing of the Swediſh embaſſador, in PHILLIPS's Continuation of BAKER's Chronicle.

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lip himself was of the same mind; upon which the count *de Fuentes* was sent embassador extraordinary into *France*, to give up the precedency in the most solemn manner; to perpetuate the memory of which the *French* caused his audience to be engraved upon a medal. But, before this happened, Don *Lewis de Haro* was in his grave, and the court of *Madrid* plunged in the deepest melancholy for the death of the only surviving prince of *Spain*; which gloom was, however, in some measure dissipated, by the birth of *Carlos*, on the 5th of *December* [d].

THE war with *Portugal* was carried on this year with greater vigour than ever. None of the ministers about his catholic majesty had the same credit with Don *Lewis*, and Don *Juan*'s interest with his father was so good that he obtained from him all that he asked. He took the field in the month of *May*, and intended to have opened the campaign with the siege of *Estremoz*; but the count *de Castagneda*, now stiled the marquis of *Marialva*, encamped under its cannon with his army, which consisted of 12,000 men; and therefore, at the request of the officers who commanded under him, he declined the siege of that place, and prosecuted his march, which threw *Portugal* into the utmost consternation. Many have believed, that, if he had pursued his march to *Lisbon*, he must have carried it, the inhabitants being filled with a panic, and they had no relief to expect; but Don *Juan* was afraid to trust his army in so large a place, with another at its back. He took *Villabuim*, which was surrendered by the *French* governor by consent; and, in his way to *Jurumenha*, he came before *Borba*, a poor old place, once fortified, but then in ruins. Don *Rodrigo de Cunha* had in it a small garrison, with which he prevailed upon the inhabitants to join, and made the best defence he could; however, it was carried by storm, the garrison made prisoners of war, the town burnt, the people plundered, and, to crown all, Don *Rodrigo*, and two of his captains, were hanged in the market-place. He next besieged *Jurumenha*, a strong place, well fortified, with a garrison of 3000 men, commanded by Don *Manuel Lobato Pinto*, who defended it long enough for the *Portuguese* army to come to its relief; but they found the camp of Don *Juan* so well fortified, that they durst not attempt any thing, and consequently the place surrendered on the best terms that could be obtained. Don

Campaign in Portugal very favourable, but still not satisfactory to the ministers.

1662.

[d] Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, MONTGLAT, MARTINIERE. Hist. Generale d'Espagne. Hist. Chronologique du dernier Siecle.

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Juan came next before *Villaviciosa*; but there again he found the *Portuguese* encamped under the walls; upon which he turned, and took two large towns, full of military stores and provisions, without any resistance. *Crato*, which belonged to the knights of *Malta*, and in a worse condition, was taken sword in hand, and the governor was shot. The reduction of a few inconsiderable places more finished this campaign, which terrified the *Portuguese* extremely, though count *Schomberg* had brought their army into good order, and more especially their cavalry [e]. The *French* king having quarrelled with the pope, and carried his pretensions very high, his catholic majesty concurred with him, which occasioned many speculations. *Dunkirk* also was this year sold to the *French* for an inconsiderable sum of money, which, if it had not been for the ill conduct of *Batteville*, would very probably have been restored to the *Spanish Netherlands* [f].

Don Juan, *by dint of his superior forces, enters that kingdom, and takes the city of* Ebora.

1663. In all appearance the two crowns were perfectly reconciled, and had nothing so much at heart as giving each other, and the world, marks of it. The most christian king had refused, when requested by his *Britannic* majesty, to contribute any assistance towards the relief of the *Portuguese*. His catholic majesty, on the first application of the bishop of *Ambrun*, promised a free passage through his dominions in *Italy* to the *French* army that was to act against the pope. Both courts were alike sincere; for the care of supporting *Portugal* was committed to marshal *Turenne* by the one, and measures were taken to shut all the passages into *Italy* by the other. Don *Juan* was not so early in the field as in the former campaign; but he had a better army, and marched at the head of 21,000 men directly towards *Ebora*. The young king of *Portugal*, Don *Alonso*, at this time a perfect boy, and not at all promising in point of parts, had deposed his mother, to whom his father and himself owed their crowns, from the regency; so that there was scarce the form of civil government left. He had appointed Don *Sancho Manuel*, count *de Villaflor*, to command the army; but, by good fortune, count *Schomberg* was left to assist him. The first thing the count did was to send a new governor to *Ebora*, without withdrawing the old one. As soon as the place was invested, they quarrelled, and, in five days, the new governor gave it up. The news excited an insurrection at

[e] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal.
[f] Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. part ii. p. 432. Bussi Hist. de Louis le Grand. Montglat, Reincourt, Cespides, Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.

Lisbon

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Liſbon, and ſtruck a panic into the army. Count *Schomberg* recovered them, by ſhewing the advantages that might be taken of Don *Juan* in his retreat. Theſe advantages were taken gradually; ſo that the ſoldiers comprehended them better than the generals, who envied him, becauſe he was a ſtranger. Don *Juan* beheld their motions and encampments with amazement, and was ſo generous as to commend a general, whom the *Portugueſe* abuſed.

Is beat by the Portugueſe at the battle of Ebora, by which that city is ſpeedily recovered.

AT length they attacked him in a mountainous paſſage, where his infantry marched along the tops of ſteep hills, where it was judged impracticable to reach them. The *Engliſh* regiments in the army of *Portugal* crept up thoſe hills upon their hands and knees; the *French* officers followed them, and at length the *Portugueſe* did the ſame. The *Spaniſh* troops did not behave ſo well as they were wont to do, notwithſtanding that Don *Juan* diſmounted, and expoſed himſelf extremely. His army was routed, with the loſs of between three and four thouſand killed, and as many taken priſoners. On the ſide of the *Portugueſe* there fell about a thouſand. This battle fixed the crown upon the head of the houſe of *Braganza*; and the count *de Villaflor* recovered *Ebora* after a week's ſiege. Don *Juan*, having conducted the remains of his army to *Badajoz*, went in perſon to *Madrid*, to juſtify his conduct; but he returned again to the army, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for protecting the frontiers [g]. The king Don *Philip*, finding his health declining, and repeated fits of the gravel wearing away his ſtrength, concluded a treaty with the emperor *Leopold*, for the ſupport and maintenance of the houſe of *Auſtria*; in conſequence of which he brought a great body of *German* troops into the duchy of *Milan* and kingdom of *Naples*, and conſented likewiſe to his marrying his youngeſt daughter, whom he had declared capable of inheriting the *Low Countries*, and all the reſt of his dominions. This contract for the marriage was not conſummated till after his demiſe, and was preſented by the marquis *de Fuentes* to be ſubſcribed by *Lewis* XIV.; but, as might have been eaſily foreſeen, that ſatisfaction was refuſed. The catholic king had the farther diſpleaſure of ſeeing the imperial troops recalled, almoſt as ſoon as they arrived, the emperor being attacked by the *Turks* [h]. By theſe meaſures the miniſters ſhewed they had not changed their

[g] STEVENS's Continuation of Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal. Hiſt. du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY. DESMARETZ. [h] QUINCY Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV. Hiſt. Generale d'Eſpagne.

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sentiments in regard to *France*, at a time their circumstances were not changed.

The ministers disgusted by the want of success in two campaigns, send for the marquis de Carracena.

AFTER all the pains Don *Juan* was able to take about the ministers, and notwithstanding his interest with the king his father, the affairs of *Spain* were in so bad a situation, that it was impossible for him to procure the necessary supplies. The *Portuguese*, therefore, under the command of the marquis *Marialva*, were not only first in the field, but alone in it likewise; for, after reinforcing the garrisons, Don *Juan* had only a great corps of horse left, with about two or three thousand foot. Encouraged by these circumstances, the *Portuguese* besieged *Valentia de Alcantara*, a place strong by situation, large, rich, and well fortified. Don *Juan* sent a body of horse to disturb the besiegers, and directed the governor to defend himself to the last extremity. He obeyed these instructions till he found himself in want of powder, and then thought fit to capitulate; which perhaps he would not have done so soon, but for the bad example which Don *Juan* had given in hanging and shooting governors, who, in his opinion, defended places too long. The duke of *Ossuna*, who was a very brave man, commanded an independent body of seven thousand men, and was very desirous of distinguishing himself: this induced him to make an inroad into *Portugal*, and to besiege *Castel Rodrigo*, which was a place of strength. Don *Pedro Magellans*, who commanded on that side the troops of *Portugal*, forced him first to raise the siege, and then to fight, where, tho' he behaved himself very gallantly, his troops were soundly beaten, and himself forced to retire, leaving two thousand men upon the spot. The *Spanish* ministers, attributing all these misfortunes to Don *Juan*, sent count *Marsin* to take the command of the army; upon which Don *Juan* returned to *Madrid* [1]. They also engaged the king to confer the government of the *Low Countries* on Don *Francisco de Mauro*, count of *Castel Rodrigo*, that the marquis of *Carracena* might be at liberty to return into *Spain*, and command against *Portugal*. The emperor, having demanded succours of *France* against the *Turks*, obtained them; but upon this express condition, that his catholic majesty should send the like number of troops out of *Italy*, which was done to prevent their being brought into *Spain* to serve against the *Portuguese*; and, in revenge, the *Spanish* ministers engaged the emperor to make a very indifferent peace with the *Turks*, after the victory at *St. Goddart*. They had not the same ascendancy in the *United Provinces*,

1664.

[1] STEVENS's Continuation of Sousa's Hist. of Portugal.

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the ſtates ſhewing a viſible partiality to the *French*, through the influence of the grand penſionary *John de Witt* [k].

THE count *de Marſin*, tho' a ſtranger, had the confidence of the miniſtry, who, tho' they did not furniſh Don *Juan* with troops during the campaign, yet enabled this *French* officer to form gradually a very fine army in the winter, and with all things neceſſary. It was in truth the laſt army they had to raiſe, and comprehended all the old regiments of *Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Italians*, that were not yet worn out, and amounted in the whole to 15,000 foot and 6000 horſe. On the arrival of Don *Joſeph de Benavides*, marquis of *Carracena*, late in the preceding year, he was preſſed to go immediately to the army; but he deſired that the duke of *Aveyro*, who, tho' a grandee of *Portugal*, partly from pride, but in appearance out of regard to the oath he had taken to *Philip*, had left an eſtate of 40,000 crowns a year, and lived in *Caſtile*, ſhould aſſemble a fleet at *Seville*, in order to block up *Liſbon* by ſea, when he ſhould arrive before it with the army; for this was the language the marquis had talked in *Flanders*, and continued to talk at *Madrid*, upon a ſuppoſition that the *Portugueſe* were ſuch as he left them, and without any diſtinct knowlege of their country. At length he went to the army; upon which count *Marſin* retired, becauſe he would not ſerve under him. The firſt thing the marquis did, after reviewing his own troops, was to obtain the beſt informations poſſible as to the country of *Portugal*, the ſituation of mountains and rivers in his paſſage to *Liſbon*, and the character of the *Portugueſe* troops, and the officers who commanded them. Theſe opened to him new ſcenes, and obliged him to entertain new notions. He found the country was not to be ſo eaſily traverſed as he imagined; and he was amazed to hear that the enemy's cavalry was numerous and full of ſpirit; that their foot, by the management of foreign officers, were become hardy, patient, and wonderfully exact in obedience; but what troubled him moſt was, that, in the factions at the court of *Lisbon*, count *Schomberg* had ſo effectually ſupported the councils of the marquis *de Marialva*, that the latter had an intire confidence in him.

He arrives, and flatters the miniſtry with the hopes of conquering Portugal in one campaign. 1665.

HOWEVER, *Carracena* took the field early; but, inſtead of marching to *Lisbon*, inveſted *Villaviciosa*, which was defended by *Brito*, an old *Portugueſe* officer, very ſkilful in the art of war, and very ſtubborn. There were three ſtrong poſts without the town, which he cauſed to be occupied by

Is totally defeated in the plain of Montes Claros,

[k] MONTGLAT, BUSSI, QUINCY Hiſt. Milit. de Louis XIV. Vie de TEKELI, edit. Cologne, 1694.

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where the last army of Spain *is ruined.*

the best part of his garrison: the marquis *de Carracena*, desirous of carrying them at once, caused them to be attacked by all the grenadiers in his army, who were every-where repulsed with great loss; but the governor immediately withdrew his troops, and abandoned them all, that he might be in a better condition to defend the place. When the siege had continued long enough to weaken the assailants, the *Portuguese* army appeared; upon which the marquis raised the siege, and marched to give the enemy battle. It was fought in the plain of *Montes Claros* with the greatest obstinacy on both sides, and lasted eight hours: in the end the *Portuguese* gained a complete victory, killed four thousand on the spot, took Don *Diego Corrier*, general of the *Spanish* horse, many officers of note, and more than four thousand men, prisoners. When *Philip* IV. received the news of this defeat, he had only strength to say, *It is the will of* GOD; then dropped the letter, and fell himself in a swoon [l]. The ministers lost their spirits, the populace upbraided them openly with betraying Don *Juan* of *Austria*, and sacrificing the glory of *Castile* to their private interests. The remains of the *Spanish* army being thrown into garrisons, the *Portuguese* very wisely declined making sieges, and put their troops into quarters of refreshment; for their victory had been pretty dearly bought, they having three thousand men killed, and, amongst them, a large proportion of their best officers [m]; but when the campaign was finished in a manner at land, it began again as it were at sea; for the duke of *Aveyro*, having at length completed his squadron at *Cadiz*, cruised along the coasts of *Portugal*, and committed some depredations, which were severely revenged by count *Schomberg*'s irruption into *Andalusia*, which was executed with so much vigour, and at the same time with so great conduct, that the *Portuguese* returned with an immense booty, before the *Spaniards* recovered from their first surprise.

Death of Don Philip IV. *and a succinct character of that monarch, and*

THE situation of affairs in *Spain* was at this time extremely critical; the ministers had not much the confidence of their master, and were in absolute disgrace with the people, who, in those days, spoke their minds as freely with respect to public affairs, as any nation in *Europe*. Don *Juan* of *Austria* was at *Consuegra* in discontent; and tho' the marquis *de Carracena* kept up his spirits, and persuaded them that if

[l] STEVENS's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal. Histoire Generale d'Espagne. Memoires of Madame de MOTTEVILLE, QUINCY Histoire Milit. de Louis XIV. [m] STEVENS, ubi supra.

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they would recruit and reinforce his army, he would ſtill do all he had promiſed, it had no manner of effect; on the contrary, the court in general was inclined to a peace, and yet they were ſlow in making any attempts towards it. Out of this lethargy they were awaked by a new misfortune; for, on the 12th of *September*, the king was ſeized with a dyſentery ſo violently, that, in two hours, he was in great danger of death. His phyſicians adminiſtered what relief they could; ſo that the next day he was in a condition to make his will, and, tho' weak, appeared ſomewhat better, but in a few days relapſed, and, having received the ſacraments of the church, breathed his laſt, in his palace at *Madrid*, on the 17th of the ſame month, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, after a reign of forty-four years [n]. He was in himſelf a prince of more than moderate abilities, and, if he had received a better education, and had not come to the crown ſo young, he would certainly have made a much greater figure. But the great artifice of *Olivares* in ſoothing his propenſity to pleaſure, in magnifying the fatigues of buſineſs, and making him believe he underwent a martyrdom to relieve him from the weight of the adminiſtration, kept him ſo long in a ſtate of indolence, that, even when he thought it neceſſary, he could not bring himſelf to a proper degree of application. He loved magnificence, had a very polite taſte, ſpoke with great vivacity upon many occaſions, and, though his reign was far from being fortunate, had the grandeur of the *Spaniſh* monarchy always at heart. By his teſtament, tho' that was not in the leaſt neceſſary, he called to the ſucceſſion his ſon Don *Carlos*; and, in caſe he died without iſſue, left the crown to the infanta Donna *Margaret*, contracted to the emperor *Leopold*; in caſe ſhe died without iſſue, the ſucceſſion was to paſs to her huſband, and his heirs male; upon the failure of them, to the duke of *Savoy*; and, upon the extinction of that houſe, it was to deſcend to his eldeſt daughter, provided ſhe was a widow, and to the children of her ſecond marriage, if ſhe had any ſuch. He ſettled the regency in the queen his widow, and appointed the preſident of the council of *Caſtile* (the firſt civil officer in this monarchy), the vice-chancellor of *Arragon* (ſo ſtiled, though there is never any chancellor), the inquiſitor-general, the

his adminiſtration. 1665.

[n] Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. STEVENS's Continuation of Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal. Hiſtoire Chronolog. du dernier Siecle. MONTGLAT, QUINCY Hiſt. Milit. de Louis XIV. Hiſt. Gen. d'Eſpagne. La Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE. CESPIDES. BURNET's Hiſt. of his own Times.

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archbishop of *Toledo*, and the marquis of *Aytona* (of the house of *Moncada* in *Catalonia*), her council. He was interred in that magnificent dormitory of the *Spanish* kings, called the *Pantheon*, which he had rebuilt and finished in the year 1655, being persuaded that what *Philip* II. had done was not equal in magnificence to the rest of that royal structure [o]; less lamented by his subjects then, than at the distance of some years.

Accession of Don Carlos II. *and character of his mother the queen regent.*

THE young king, *Charles* the second, was inaugurated, or, as the *Spanish* phrase is, had the ensigns displayed for him, on the 7th of *October*, being at that time not quite four years of age [p]. He was of a weak and tender constitution, but of parts so pregnant and promising, that when he was proclaimed in the *Low Countries*, as he was with great solemnity, the people expressed, by every method they could devise, their expectations that he would resemble his ancestor of the same name, the glorious emperor *Charles* the fifth. It was a misfortune to him that the queen his mother, tho' the daughter of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the sister of the reigning emperor, had not the talents requisite to the right management of power; it was still a greater misfortune that she was jealous and fond of it to the last degree; but it was the greatest of all that she was possessed of it, through a course of years more than sufficient to ruin the authority of the crown, to ruin and exhaust the subject, and to disable this unfortunate prince himself from repairing these mischiefs when he was sincerely inclined to it. This description is severe; but the fundamental law of history is to speak truth. She was intirely devoted to the interests of the court of *Vienna*, and governed in all things by the counsels that she received from thence, except in points that regarded her private inclinations; for in these she listened to no counsel at all. The first was a fault, but, her descent and circumstances considered, very excusable; the latter was a greater fault, and, which was worse, would not admit of any excuse or alleviation. She persisted obstinately in both against the remonstrances of the ablest of her council, as well as all the lights of reason and experience. This character of the queen is necessary, as it will explain all that follows.

Her unaccountable conduct at

AT her first entrance on the government, she was desirous of bringing her confessor, father *Nitard*, a man of low birth, of a very limited capacity, a stranger, unacquainted with

[o] Les Delices d'Epagne & du Portugal, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR. CESPIDES. [p] Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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public affairs, and not at all beloved, into the council of regency, which she effected by engaging the cardinal of *Arragon* to resign to him the post of inquisitor-general, an employment of great weight, and hitherto highly respected in *Spain*. By her influence over the late king, she had prevailed upon him, in his last moments, to exclude his natural son Don *Juan* from having any share in the administration, tho' he was a prince of confessed abilities, both as a statesman and a soldier, had given great proofs of them, was intirely beloved by the people, and was in every respect worthy of her confidence, but more especially from his great disinterestedness, and his tender affection to the person of the king. In this measure she was at first abetted by most of the ministry, and by many of the grandees, from principles of prejudice, envy, and private interest; but by degrees she lost this support, for they saw so plainly that he was the only person capable of restoring the credit, and sustaining the weight, of government, that they concurred with the people in desiring that he might be recalled and employed; to which she was so averse, from the apprehension that he would dismiss her ecclesiastical favourite from the council, or at least circumscribe his power, that she formed a design of removing that prince out of the kingdom, under the pretence of sending him to govern the *Low Countries*, which she might have effected, if her management had not been as bad as her views. The weakness and unsteadiness of her conduct, which would have been highly prejudicial at any time, proved particularly destructive at this juncture, when affairs were in such a state as demanded the greatest circumspection and fortitude to prevent all things from running into confusion; and very possibly this might have been done, if she had demanded the assistance of Don *Juan* cordially and in due time [1].

her entering upon the regency, and her obstinacy therein. 1666.

At the demise of king *Philip* IV. *Spain* still remained engaged in the war with *Portugal*, and *Charles* II. scarce began to reign, before a war with *France* became inevitable. In order to render the progress and issue of these great affairs perfectly intelligible, it will be necessary to treat them separately, tho' succinctly. In regard to *Portugal*, the marquis *del Carpio*, who was prisoner there, had instructions and powers sent him to treat of a peace, under the mediation of *Charles* II. king of *Great Britain*; for the *Spaniards* had at length found out that nothing could prove more prejudicial to their affairs than a quarrel, nothing contribute so much

Compelled to make peace with Portugal, *and to acknowlege the rights of the house of* Braganza. 1667.

[1] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. Memoires de Madame MOTTEVILLE.

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to their proſperity as a good underſtanding, with *England*; notwithſtanding which, they were ſo dilatory in their negotiation, and ſo unwilling to acknowlege Don *Alonſo* for king of *Portugal*, that they ſuffered the ſeaſon to eſcape them, in which the treaty might have been concluded moſt to their advantage, from a perſuaſion that it was always in their power, and that they might conclude it how and when they pleaſed. But the *French*, who had a great intereſt in the continuance of the war, made ſuddenly an unexpected treaty with *Portugal*, and granted to that crown a conſiderable ſubſidy[r]. This was very near anſwering their purpoſe, and taking the *Portugueſe* intirely out of the hands of the *Engliſh*; but the *Spaniards*, ſeeing this in time, laid aſide all their ſcruples, recurred to the old mediation, and ſigned a peace, by which both kings were to reſtore all places taken during the war, except *Ceuta* and *Barbary*, which was to remain to *Spain*. All confiſcations were alſo to be void, all priſoners to be ſet at liberty on both ſides without ranſom, free commerce between both nations to be reſtored; and if, in proceſs of time, any doubts or diſputes ſhould ariſe, they were to be amicably diſcuſſed, without having recourſe to
1668. arms. Thus, after twenty-eight years war, the right of the houſe of *Braganza* was acknowleged, and the two crowns reconciled, by a fair and final treaty of peace, under the guaranty of the crown of *Great Britain*, ſubſcribed at *Liſbon* on the 13th of *February*, by the duke *de Cardaval*, the marquis of *Niza*, admiral of the *Indies*, the marquis *de Gouvea*, the marquis of *Marialva*, the conde *de Miranda*, and *Pedro Vieyra de Silva*, ſecretary of ſtate on the part of *Portugal*, Don *Gaſpar de Haro Guzman*, marquis *del Carpio*, on the part of his catholic majeſty and his mother, and by *Edward Montagu*, earl of *Sandwich*, on the part of the king of *Great Britain*. It was ſolemnly ratified at *Madrid* on the 23d of the ſame month[s].

War with France, and vaſt ſacrifices made by

THE queen mother of *France* died five months after her brother the king of *Spain*; and it was given out by the *French* king and his miniſters, that out of decency, and in regard to the melancholy ſituation of both the royal families, they had not inſiſted on the right of the *French* queen to a

[r] Corps Diplomatique Univerſel du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. Part i. p. 17. [s] BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, STEVENS's Continuation of Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Corps Diplomatique Univerſel du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. P. i. p. 70.

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great part of the *Low Countries*, in virtue of what was ſtiled the *Jus Devolutionis*, or cuſtom of *Brabant*, by which the children of the firſt marriage, whether male or female, are heirs to each other, in preference to the children of a ſecond marriage. In conſequence of this title, the *French* embaſſador preſented his maſter's letter to the queen mother, demanding immediate poſſeſſion of what devolved to the infanta *Maria Thereſa*, queen of *France*, as the heireſs of her brother Don *Balthaſar*[t]. The queen of *Spain* and her council were very far from ſeeing this ſet right ſo eaſily as his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſeemed to expect, and would by no means liſten to the anſwer returned, that, if there was any ſuch right, it had been clearly renounced at the time of the infanta's marriage. The moſt Chriſtian king, who was well aware of this, and had been from the time of his Catholic majeſty's death providing every thing for the execution of his project, ruſhed immediately with three great armies into the field, and laid the foundation of his future greatneſs, in taking a multitude of places in no ſtate of defence, and, as himſelf admitted, in a time of full peace. The affairs of *Spain* in the *Low Countries* were indeed in a very low condition, and not under the beſt adminiſtration; for tho' the marquis of *Caſtel Rodrigo* could not but be ſenſible of the great weakneſs of the provinces ſtill obedient to the *Spaniſh* crown, and the neceſſity they muſt be under, whenever attacked, of recurring to the protection of ſome friendly neighbour, yet he was far from treating either of the maritime powers with kindneſs or reſpect. On the contrary, under the name of the biſhop of *Munſter*, he had projected taking *Williamſtadt* from the *Dutch*, which, though the ſtates diſcovered, they were willing to paſs over, upon his diſavowing it. Indeed they had ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed a ſecond time by *France*, by a treaty of partition, as if the injuſtice of tearing theſe provinces from *Spain* could be alleviated or atoned for by their having a part of them. It was the reſentment of the former, and their flattering themſelves too much from the latter kind of uſage, that ſuſpended their reſolutions, and rendered them tame, tho' not quiet, ſpectators of the miſchiefs to which their neighbours were expoſed. *France* gained in one campaign more than in the courſe of the former war of many years; and, not content with this, in the ſucceeding winter, partly thro' force, and partly through treachery, made herſelf miſtreſs of the

the crown of Spain in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

[t] Memoires de Madame DE MOTTEVILLE, QUINCY, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. MONTGLAT, REINCOURT.

county

county of *Burgundy*, or, as it is uſually ſtiled, the *Franche Comté*, in which expedition the prince of *Conde*, for whom *Spain* had done all that ſhe was able, was the inſtrument *Lewis* XIV. thought fit to employ [u]. This awakened the jealouſy of the ſtates, who, with very unuſual vigour and preſence of mind, concluded with *Great Britain* and *Sweden* the famous triple alliance [w], the beſt and boldeſt political meaſure taken in the laſt age, and which ſaved the *Spaniſh Low Countries* from being ſwallowed up. For the *French* king, perceiving that, if he carried on the war, it would be no longer againſt a weak and defenceleſs power, thought fit to ſtop ſhort, and very wiſely, though unwillingly, concluded the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* on the 2d of *May* [x], by which he retained *Charleroi*, *Binch*, *Ath*, *Douai*, *le Fort de l'Eſcarpe*, *Liſle*, *Oudenarde*, *Armentieres*, *Courtray*, *Bergues*, *Furnes*, with their bailiwicks, and other conqueſts, but thought fit to reſtore *Franche Comté*. The *Spaniards*, in this treaty, took care to avoid acknowleging the queen of *France*'s right to the places they were obliged to yield, and cauſed it to be inſerted in the treaty, that, for the ſake of reſtoring peace to *Europe*, and at the interceſſion of the pope, they had abandoned thoſe places to the *French* king.

Don Juan *obliges father* Nitard *to quit* Spain, *and retire to* Rome, *where he is made a cardinal.*

WHILE theſe black ſtorms thundered on the *Spaniſh* monarchy without, it was far from enjoying repoſe or tranquillity at home. It was the precarious ſtate of the *Low Countries*, and the neceſſity of providing for their future ſafety, that the queen cauſed to be repreſented in the ſtrongeſt manner to Don *Juan* of *Auſtria*, to prevail on him to go thither. The more eaſily to perſuade him, he had the cleareſt aſſurances given him, that he ſhould reſide there with an authority as full as he could deſire, carry a large ſum of money with him, and receive large and regular ſupplies, to enable him the better to perform the great things that were expected from him. When Don *Juan* had accepted theſe propoſals, and was actually at *Corunna*, with an intention to embark for *Flanders*, the queen cauſed Don *Joſeph de Malladas*, a gentleman much in his favour, to be arreſted, and put to death by a warrant under her own hand. She is

[u] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Hiſtoire du Prince de Conde, QUINCY, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, MONTGLAT. [w] BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. i. p. 68. [x] Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par M. LE CLERC, Lettres, Memoires, & Negociations, de Monſ. le Comte d'ESTRADES.

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reported to have done this upon a ſuppoſition that Don *Juan* was actually embarked; but, being obliged by accidents to remain ſome days at *Barcelona*, he no ſooner received the news of Don *Joſeph*'s death, than he quitted that city, and retired to one of his own ſeats[y]. This gave the queen, and her miniſter father *Nitard*, great anxiety, more eſpecially when they underſtood that he was ſurrounded there by perſons of great diſtinction; nor was it long before ſhe received ſuch applications from him, as made it clearly evident, that ſhe had more cauſe to apprehend danger from him than he from her. However, ſome of the grandees, deſirous of compoſing theſe diſputes amicably, repreſented to her majeſty, in the ſofteſt manner poſſible, that the great power of the inquiſitor-general gave univerſal diſtaſte to the nation; that the peace which they at preſent enjoyed was very precarious; that a multitude of abuſes had crept into the adminiſtration; and that, in juſtice to the ſtate, out of regard for her ſon, and from a due reſpect to her own glory, ſhe ought to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual method for redreſſing theſe miſchiefs, and reſtoring that authority to her adminiſtration, the want of which was become but too apparent. The queen was ſo ill adviſed, that ſhe treated theſe remonſtrances as inſolent and unbecoming, and threatened to make examples of ſuch as ſhould take liberties of this kind for the future. The prince, notwithſtanding this, directed his ſecretary *Patinho* to deliver a memorial in much ſtronger terms, in which he very plainly intimated, that a reformation was neceſſary, and that it ought to begin with the removal of the eccleſiaſtic, who was looked upon as the principal author of thoſe grievances under which the nation ſuffered. It was eaſy for her to have diſcerned that the prince would not have ventured upon this ſtep, if he had not looked upon himſelf as ſecure from the effects of her anger; but believing that her power would be ſpeedily unſettled, if ſhe did not treat ſuch an application as this with ſeverity, ſhe cauſed *Patinho* to be inſtantly put under arreſt. Don *Juan*, upon this, advanced from the place of his retirement to within a ſmall diſtance of *Madrid*, and ſent from thence a ſhort meſſage to the queen, that if, by the 26th of *February*, the inquiſitor-general did not leave the capital, he would come thither, and oblige him to quit it, in a manner that would not be agreeable to him. The prince had at that time about him no more than three hundred horſe; of

[y] Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne.

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which the queen being perfectly well informed, she issued her orders for putting the city into a state of defence; and perhaps would have proceeded farther, if she had not found these orders disobeyed; which alarmed father *Nitard* to such
1669. a degree, that he quitted *Madrid* on the 25th [z]. The queen took care to have him conducted as safely as possible out of the dominions of *Spain*, and sent him to *Rome*, where she honoured him with the title of embassador, and procured for him a hat from the pope; of which honour he gave notice to Don *Juan* by a very civil and submissive letter, in hopes it might have procured him the means of returning to *Spain*; but as that prince did not think fit to write him any answer, he very prudently laid aside a project which it appeared impracticable for him to execute. The queen, having consented to such regulations as were required from her, declared Don *Juan* lieutenant-general of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and, in consequence of his accepting that honour, removed him from court [a].

The conde de Monterey *makes a bold and generous attempt in favour of the* Dutch.

After the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the *Spanish* ministers, by a new strain of policy, attempted to provide for the security of the *Low Countries*, by declaring to the maritime powers their inability to make such a provision. As strange a measure as this was, it had its effect, and the states paid to the king of *Sweden* that subsidy which had been stipulated on the part of *Spain*; and in all probability this method might have been practised longer with success, if the *French* intrigues had not prevailed upon the court of *England* to depart from the principles of the triple allianee [b]. Upon Don *Juan*'s refusing to go into *Flanders*, the constable of *Castile* was sent thither; and the marquis *de Castel Rodrigo*, though refused a passport, went incognito thro' *France* into *Spain*. The constable of *Castile* held the government but one year; for the marquis *de Aytona* dying, the queen recalled him, in order to replace that lord in the council, and sent into the *Low Countries* Don *Juan Dominic de Haro y Guzman*, conde *de Monterey*, second son to the famous Don

[z] Relation de la Sortie d'Espagne du P. Everard Nitard, Jesuite Confesseur de la Reine, en Espagnol & en François, par le P. Bouhours, Relation des Differens arrivés en Espagne entre D. Juan d'Autriche & le Cardinal Nitard, depuis la Mort de Philippe IV. [a] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne. [b] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Burnet's History of his own Times, Memoires & Negociations de M. le Comte d'Estrades.

Lewis

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Lewis de Haro, and younger brother to the marquis *del Carpio*, who applied himself with great vigilance and vigour to the discharge of his office. He it was who, when the *Dutch* were in the lowest and most distressed condition possible, had the honour to contrive, and the courage to execute, though not the happiness to atchieve, the reduction of *Charleroy*, which, at his instance, the prince of *Orange* besieged in the absence of the governor; and would infallibly have taken it, if, through the negligence of some of his officers, Mr. *Montalt*, the governor, had not entered it with succours. If this enterprize had succeeded (and the count *de Monterey* gave it all the assistance in his power) the *French* must have immediately quitted all their conquests in *Holland*; but the prince being obliged to raise the siege, the crime of projecting it fell upon the head of the marquis *de Monterey*, of whom the most Christian king complained loudly at *Madrid*, where the queen disavowed his conduct, which was all the satisfaction that could be obtained [c]. 1672.

The courts of Vienna *and* Madrid *reject the offers of* Lewis XIV. *and close with the states.*

THE court of *Madrid* was very far from disapproving in reality what had been done by the count of *Monterey*, tho' they were not a little chagrined at the disappointment he had met with, and which some ascribe to count *Marsin*, who commanded such of their forces as were engaged in the siege. The governor of the *Low Countries*, therefore, continued his correspondence with the prince of *Orange*, and converted even his miscarriage into a signal service to the states; for, having taken care thoroughly to explain the consequences of his scheme if it had taken effect, and thereby shewn that there was a probability of delivering the *Dutch*, as well as a necessity of attempting it, he may be justly considered as the author of that spirit which was afterwards shewn by their neighbours, in assisting and saving that republic, or rather of the instrument of which Providence made use in that critical conjuncture for the Protestant religion, and the independency of *Europe*. If *Lewis* XIV. had taken the advice of Monsieur *Pomponne*, the *Spaniards* had paid dearly for this act of generosity, since he proposed accepting of the terms offered by the states in the height of their misfortune, in order to turn the whole force of the *French* monarchy on the *Spanish* provinces. But the *French* king depended on a negotiation that had been set on foot to amuse 1673.

[c] Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne, QUINCY, Hist. Militare de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

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the court of *Vienna*, which likewise failed; and thereupon both the emperor and *Spain* renewed their alliances with the states, and declared in their favour against *France*[d]. The firmness and rectitude of this measure may seem incompatible with the account we have given of the weak administration of the queen mother; but the reader must remember, that in foreign affairs the queen took the advice of the council of regency, and of the imperial minister, who, from their regard to the interests of the house of *Austria*, could not advise her better or otherwise than they did, which fully accounts for this transaction and its consequences.

Messina in Sicily revolts, which greatly embarrasses the Spanish councils.

THE next year was more fertile in events. The old duke of *Lorrain*, though he had no great obligations to the court of *Madrid*, acquainted both the imperial and *Spanish* ministers with his suspicions that the *French* would attack the *Franche Comté*. But they either neglected his intelligence, or what he proposed was out of their power to execute, consistent with their other schemes; so that this fine country was detached from the *Spanish* monarchy, and added to that of *France*, by a short but vigorous campaign[e]. In *Flanders* the *Spanish* troops, under the command of the count *de Monterey* and prince *Vaudemont* (son to the duke of *Lorrain*) acted in conjunction with the *Dutch*, who were headed by the prince of *Orange*, and had their full share in the battle of *Seneff*, fought on the 11th of *August*, in which a great part of their infantry was ruined[f]. The duke *de St. Germain* commanded in *Catalonia*, and had the year before concerted measures for the revolt of *Roussillon*, which, tho' it was prevented by a discovery, yet he carried on the operations of the war with success, gained a considerable advantage over the army of count *Schomberg*, and would probably have done more, but for the revolt of *Messina*. That city, which is one of the capitals of *Sicily*, had for its governor Don *Lewis del Hoyo*, who fansied that he could not do a greater service to the crown of *Spain*, than to subvert that form of rule which had subsisted there for many ages. He failed in his attempt; the prince *de Ligne*, viceroy of *Sicily*, constrained him to quit the city; and the people, who intended only to maintain their just rights, readily submitted. They discovered afterwards, by an intercepted letter, that

1674.

[d] Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part i. p. 236. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [e] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, REINCOURT; Histoire de Louis XIV. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. NEUVILLE, Histoire de Hollande, BASNAGE. [f] Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC.

the

he prince had promiſed the court of *Madrid* to cruſh them vhen they leaſt expected it, and reſtore the old governor in riumph. This threw things again into confuſion; and tho' he old governor was removed, and Don *Diego de Soria*, narquis *de Criſpano*, ſent in his room, they did not think hemſelves ſafe, more eſpecially as he cauſed ſome of their enators to be arreſted; but, having expelled the *Spaniſh* garriſon, demanded the protection of *France*. It was this hat obliged the court of *Madrid* to order the duke *de St. Germain* to return into *Catalonia*, and to embark part of his forces for *Sicily*, where, notwithſtanding they had a ſuperior fleet, under the command of Don *Bertrand de Guevara*, he *French* had the good fortune to relieve *Meſſina*, which encouraged the people to perſiſt in their revolt [g].

AT the opening of the year the count *de Monterey* was recalled from the government of the *Low Countries*; and the duke of *Villahermoſa*, who had commanded under him with the title of general of horſe, was appointed to ſucceed him, and directed to receive his inſtructions. There never was a governor more eſteemed or beloved than the count, who reformed many abuſes in the adminiſtration, took great pains to promote the manufactures of the provinces, and contrived and executed the famous ſluices near *Oſtend*, for the benefit of navigation. He was impenetrable to the arts, and, which was more, to the offers, of *France*, who, notwithſtanding, paid ſo much reſpect to his merit, that, in the midſt of a war, they granted him a paſſport for his paſſage by land into *Spain* [h]. The campaign on the ſide of *Flanders* was not very remarkable. In *Rouſſillon* the *Spaniards* were able to do but little; and though count *Schomberg* commanded the *French*, they did not do much. In *Meſſina* the people again were in danger of periſhing through want, but were relieved at the opening of the year by a ſmall *French* ſquadron commanded by the marquis de *Valavoir*, who, notwithſtanding, would not land any troops till they had put the principal poſts into his hands, and acknowleged themſelves ſubject to the *French* king. Men will do any thing to eat; and it was this that engaged them to ſubmit to theſe terms, which they had very ſoon reaſon to repent, the inſolence of their new maſters making them forget what they had ſuffered under their old ones. In a month's time they were blocked up by the *Spaniſh* fleet, and in as great diſtreſs as ever; but, on the 9th

The French interfere, and ſend a ſtrong ſquadron to the relief of Meſſina: 1675.

[g] BASNAGE, REINCOURT, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. QUINCY, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. [h] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne.

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of *February*, another *French* ſquadron appeared, under the command of the duke *de Vivonne* and the ſieur *du Queſne*, which entered the port, and relieved the place, in ſpite of all that the *Spaniſh* admiral could do to prevent it[i]. The duke aſſumed the title of viceroy, and plundered the people he ſhould have protected. He was brother to the *French* king's miſtreſs, Madame *de Monteſpan*; and, preſuming upon her favour, made a bad uſe of his good fortune, ſtudied every method to enrich himſelf, and, by his negligence, gave the *Spaniards* time to ſecure the places he ſhould have attacked, which, contrary to their cuſtom, they did not loſe.

His catholic majeſty declared of age, and gives a proof of his great ſpirit.

ON the 9th of *November Charles* the ſecond was declared major, to the great ſatisfaction of himſelf and his ſubjects. His preceptor, the biſhop of *Malaga*, was his brother by the father's ſide, though *Philip* the fourth would never own him, out of reſpect to his mother, who was ſiſter to the marquis *de Mortara*, and whom he married while ſhe was with child to the marquis of *Quintana*. She told her huſband the truth, who died of vexation in two months. When her ſon was of age, ſhe confided the ſecret to him, who immediately became an eccleſiaſtic, and the king his father afterwards beſtowed upon him that rich biſhoprick. He did what lay in his power to give the young monarch juſt notions ſuitable to his dignity; whereas the queen laboured all that was poſſible to prevent his having a turn to any thing but amuſements and diverſions. It was owing in all probability to the inſtructions he received from the prelate, that when, a few days after he became of age, the queen preſented him an act, declaring, that, on account of his tender years and want of experience he left the government to the queen his mother, and the council who had aſſiſted her during his minority, he refuſed to ſign it, adding, "that he hoped "God, who had made him a king, would enable him to "become the father of his people." It has been reported, and believed, the great change that ſoon after appeared in his temper was owing to a certain method of preparing his chocolate; at leaſt the caution given him by the marchioneſs *de los Velez*, who had been his governeſs in his infancy, fortified this opinion, ſhe bidding him "beware of one, who, "from her fondneſs of being a queen, might poſſibly forget

[i] Corps Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part i. p. 316. QUINCY, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC.

"that

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" that ſhe was a mother[k]." The manifeſt imbecillity of this prince, in his laſt years particularly, proved highly detrimental to *Spain*.

THERE had been in the winter ſome negotiations relative to a peace, in conſequence of which it was agreed, that a congreſs ſhould be held at *Nimeguen*; but, notwithſtanding this, both ſides made great preparations for the campaign. It is indeed true, the prince of *Orange* complained that the duke of *Villahermoſa* performed his promiſes but very indifferently; which was certainly fact, but it was owing to his inability. The miniſters at *Madrid* contracted with bankers to remit him a large ſum every month; upon the faith of theſe contracts he made his promiſes; but as the miniſters never advanced any thing to the bankers, they looked upon their contracts as diſſolved, and the duke bore all the blame with the allies. After all, the campaign was not very glorious or very unfortunate; the *French* king commanded in perſon, and avoided fighting the prince of *Orange* at *Valenciennes*, which the allies conſidered as a kind of victory. On the ſide of *Rouſſillon*, the *Spaniards* acted on the defenſive under the duke *de St. Germain*; the *French* had a good army under the marſhal *de Navailles*; but he did nothing in effect; and though the *Spaniards* were too weak to keep the field, yet their miquelets harraſſed the *French* army till they abandoned ſome ſmall places they had taken, and went into winter quarters[l]. The ſending a *French* viceroy into *Sicily* ſo alarmed the court of *Madrid*, that they demanded from the ſtates a fleet for the protection of that iſland; which was accordingly ſent under the command of admiral *de Ruyter*, one of the greateſt ſeamen ever bred in that nation, or in any other. He cruiſed in the ſtreights of *Meſſina* in the beginning of the year, to prevent the *French* from throwing in any ſuccours.

The French ſend a new fleet, with a viceroy, into the iſland of Sicily.

ON the 7th of *January du Queſne* appeared with the *French* fleet. Admiral *de Ruyter* had, beſides his own, the whole naval force of *Spain* in thoſe ſeas, which conſiſted in a ſingle ſhip of war and a ſmall ſquadron of gallies: the latter, on account of the foul weather, were obliged to put into port. *Du Queſne* attacked with great ſpirit, for, like *de Ruyter*, he

Admiral Ruyter is killed in a ſea fight againſt the French, on the coaſts of that iſle.

[k] Memoires Hiſtoriques, Politiques, Critiques, & Literaires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAIE, Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne. [l] QUINCY, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Actes & Memoires de la Paix de Nimegue, Edit. de la Haye, 1697, Hiſtoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, la Haye, 1697.

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had made his way to the first honours by mere dint of merit, and meant to keep them by pursuing the same track. The *Dutch* admiral said in his letter, that he had never been in a battle so obstinately fought. It lasted till night with equal advantage; for though *de Ruyter* sunk a *French* man of war, yet one of his own met with the same misfortune as they were towing her away; but the *French* carried their point, and victualled *Messina*[m]. When the six months, for which the *Dutch* fleet had been sent into the *Mediterranean*, were expired, *de Ruyter* returned to *Leghorn*; but, finding his masters orders to give the *Spaniards* all the assistance in his power, he sailed again for their service to the coasts of *Sicily*, and, to facilitate their operations by land, appeared before *Messina*. The duke *de Vivonne*, whose fleet was now augmented to fifty sail, by the advice of *du Quesne*, resolved to quit the port, and to give him battle. It began about three in the afternoon, on the 22d of *April*, and was fought with great courage and spirit, notwithstanding admiral *de Ruyter*, in half an hour after it began, was wounded in both legs. This engagement did not end till between seven and eight, and then both sides claimed the victory as before, tho' the advantage seemed rather on the side of the enemy. The *Dutch* and *Spanish* fleet went to *Syracuse* for refreshments, where, on the 29th of the same month, *de Ruyter* breathed his last, having been honoured with the order of *St. Michael* from the *French* king, and the title of duke by his catholic majesty, which he did not live to enjoy[n].

The Spanish and Dutch fleets beaten, sunk, and burnt by the French.

THE *Dutch* vice admiral *Van Haan* took the command, and sailed from *Syracuse* to *Palermo*, where, while he was busy in repairing his ships, and recruiting their respective crews, the duke *de Vivonne* arrived, with twenty-eight men of war, nine fireships, and twenty-five gallies, before the port; upon which the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* formed in a half-moon at the entrance of the port; in which situation, after reconnoitring them for three or four days, the *French* attacked them on the 2d of *June*. The combined fleet fought with great spirit, till the *Spanish* vice admiral cut out of the line, and ran ashore, to avoid being burnt

[m] QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. BASNAGE, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. [n] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Vita Michaelis Ruyter, par GERARD BRAND, Amstelod. 1684. fo. Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC, NEUVILLE, Histoire de Hollande, BASNAGE, Annales des Provinces Unies, Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. iii. p. 175, 176.

by

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by a fireship. The *French* improved this advantage, and, having the wind in their favour, sent their fireships down upon the *Spanish* line, by which it was broke. The admiral 1676. cleared himself of two, but was burnt by the third, together with three men of war and two gallies that came to his assistance; the rest, to avoid the same fate, ran ashore. The enemy fell next upon the *Dutch*, and set one of their largest men of war on fire; the flames communicated themselves to two others; upon which, after destroying their own fireships, the rest retired into the port, and took the best measures they could for their own security. In this unfortunate action the *Spanish* admiral *Iberra* and the *Dutch* admiral *Cornelius Van Haan* were both killed, with a great number of officers, soldiers, and seamen. To increase this misfortune, one of the ships that blew up fell directly into the streets of *Palermo*, where, by the great beams and ironwork, many people were killed [o]. This victory raised the spirits of the *Messinese*, and threw the whole island of *Sicily* into a general consternation, which might have made way for a general conquest, if it had been improved.

Queen mother of Spain entertains a new favourite, and raises him to great posts.

We must now turn our eyes upon the interior state of affairs in the *Spanish* monarchy, where the queen, soon after father *Nitard* was torn from her councils, produced a new favourite on the stage, to whom she was still more beneficent, and who of consequence was quickly loaded with a still greater proportion of public hatred. It has been insinuated, that, if the conde *de Monterey* had not been wanting to himself, he might have been both minister and favourite; but he having declined some advances that were made him, Don *Hernando de Valenzuela* made a more rapid progress than any favourite that had been yet seen, since, in the space of a few years, he rose, from being a page to a nobleman, not only to high offices and great appointments, but to the rank of a grandee of *Spain* of the first class. He 1677. was beautiful, brave, enterprising, generous, but without the knowlege or experience requisite to a man whom his own good fortune, and the inclinations of the queen his mistress, brought to manage the affairs of a great kingdom. He took, however, some precautions for the preservation of his power, which were certainly very well imagined. He adhered with the utmost fidelity to the queen who raised him. He laboured to gain the good-will of the people, by keeping

[o] Basnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. Neuville, Histoire de Hollande.

Madrid

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Madrid constantly supplied with provisions at very reasonable prices: he took care to divert them with spectacles of different kinds, of which there are no people in *Europe* more fond; and he was at pains to have the king in a manner besieged by his creatures. He did not certainly take any measures for restoring the reputation or the affairs of the *Spanish* monarchy; he did not attempt to reduce their finances into a right method; he did not apply himself to study the interests of the monarchy with an assiduity requisite to enable him to make a right use almost of his absolute power. But these were things in reality out of his way and out of his reach; what fell within the circle of his capacity he did; and he would not have hindered those whose duty it was, and who were well enough qualified to have done it, from doing more. His great foible was his vanity, which led him to make a display of what his interest and his duty might have taught him to conceal; this gave a colour to popular clamour, and an air of patriotism to the cabals formed against him by the grandees, though, after all, he suffered as much for other people's faults as his own P.

Don Juan of Austria comes to the assistance of the king, and banishes the queen dowager.

DON *Juan*, who governed *Arragon* with an authority much superior to that of its ancient kings, derived that authority from himself, that is, from his own conduct. He added to the *Spanish* regularity, in every thing he did, that spirit which at first gave it reverence. Modest and simple in his dress and in his court, he made the great object of his administration the good of the people. He found the constitution of *Arragon* well suited to this, and, by keeping to the letter of that constitution, he taught the people, by his veneration for the laws, to obey them without murmuring. He was inflexible in the execution of justice; but, where he found any opportunity, he never failed to manifest his compassion. This raised his character, and countenanced the grandees at *Madrid* in their endeavours to place him at the head of the government. He had brought the affairs of *Arragon* into order, and the want of it was visible everywhere else. The duke of *Alba* and the count of *Monterey* were the principal persons amongst the nobility who interested themselves in this respect; the former was much esteemed, and had a great influence; the latter had a generous heart, joined to as cool a head as any in *Spain*. After milder methods had been tried to no purpose, an association was formed, and signed by the grandees, who concurred in sentiment with the duke of *Alba*, at his house; but the great

P Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

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point of all was, to engage the king to add the ſanction of his name, that, for doing the loyaleſt action in the world, they might not be either reputed or treated as rebels. Don *Carlos* came readily into the project as ſoon as it was propoſed to him; his parts were not ſo lively as they had been, yet he ſtill remembered he was a king, and deſired to be conſidered in that light by his ſubjects. He took a reſolution, therefore, of leaving his palace at *Madrid*, and going to the *Pardo*; and though he was forced to walk part of the way on foot, to which he had not been uſed, he performed it without complaining. There he met with Don *Juan*, who gave him a very ſuccinct and true account of the ſtate of his dominions, the diſtreſs of his ſubjects, and the methods by which they might be relieved. In conſequence of his advice, and with the concurrence of the council, the queen mother was removed to *Toledo*, which ſhe conſidered as a kind of baniſhment. Don *Hernando Valenzuela*, who had taken ſhelter in the convent of *Eſcurial*, was at length found there, concealed in a nich made for that purpoſe, in a cell of one of the monks, transferred to a priſon, degraded from all his honours, and ſent to the *Philippines*. He behaved with great ſpirit under his misfortunes; and, after remaining years, ſometimes in the *Eaſt* ſometimes in the *Weſt Indies*, was at length ſuffered to return to *Spain*. This great revolution happened in the ſpring, when Don *Juan* received, from the unanimous voice of the nobility and people, the title of protector and preſerver of his country [q]. They changed their ſentiments ſoon after, and would have called him the betrayer of it, if they durſt.

Campaign in Flanders attended only with diſappointments and diſaſters.

THE negotiations were carried on all this time at *Nimeguen*, where it appeared to be evidently the deſign of the *French* to let all the loſſes fall upon *Spain*. It muſt be indeed owned, that the *Dutch* had hitherto borne in a great meaſure the charge of the war, which, though grievous to them, was however but juſt, ſince the *Spaniards* came into it for their preſervation. Beſides, it had been carried on chiefly for their benefit, ſo that at this time they had recovered the beſt part of their country, and moſt of their fortreſſes except *Maeſtricht*. In point, therefore, of juſtice and decency, they were content to make this campaign, that their allies might have ſome opportunity of repairing their loſſes, or at leaſt of making better terms; of which there appeared ſuch a probability, that they rejected the ceſſation of

[q] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne.

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arms proposed by *Lewis* XIV. from a belief that *Charles* the fifth, who had succeeded his uncle of the same name in *Lorrain*, and was at the head of the emperor's armies, would be able to enter into his own dominions, and, by the assistance of the allies, into *France* itself. They had the misfortune, however, to be disappointed in their expectations. The *French* king very unexpectedly took the field on the last of *February*, opened the trenches against *Valenciennes* on the 10th of *March*, and carried it very unexpectedly by storm on the 17th, not without great suspicions of treachery. The town and citadel of *Cambray* were reduced in less than a fortnight; at the same time that the duke of *Orleans* lay before *St. Omer's*, the prince of *Orange* hazarded a battle at *Cassel* for its relief, in which he was beaten by that duke, assisted by marshal *Luxemburgh*, on the 11th of *April*[r]. After this, at the pressing instances of the *Spaniards*, he once more formed the siege of *Charleroi*, which he raised on the 13th of *August*, upon the approach of marshal *Luxemburgh*, and declined fighting the *French* army, upon which the duke of *Villahermosa* warmly insisted. When the campaign seemed to be at an end, the *French* besieged and took *St. Guilain*, in the beginning of *December*[s]. In *Catalonia* Don *Juan* of *Austria* furnished the count *de Monterey* with a superior army, by ordering all the troops to join him that were intended to be transported to *Sicily*, judging very rightly, that the licence with which the *French* troops lived in that island would inspire its inhabitants with courage enough to drive them out. The marshal duke *de Navailles* commanded for the *French*, and, their historians say, did wonders. It is certain that he acted upon the offensive at the beginning of the campaign; that, upon the approach of the count *de Monterey*, he retired towards *Roussillon*, through a rough and mountainous country, through which the *Spaniards* followed him, and fought him on the 4th of *July*, when both sides claimed the victory; but that it belonged rather to the *Spaniards* may be presumed from hence, that the *French*, according to their own accounts, decamped at midnight, and retired into their own territories. It must be owned, that the campaign did not answer the expectations of Don *Juan*, who

[r] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par Le Clerc, Basnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, Lettres Historiques de Monsr. Pelisson, Memoires du Marquis de Feuquieres, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

looked

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looked coldly upon the count *de Monterey*, tho' some say this was rather owing to his having too great an interest in the affections of the young king [t].

The next entirely of the same complexion both there and in Catalonia.

THE proceedings at *Nimeguen* went on very slowly, which was not a little owing to the *Spaniards*, who, presuming on that honour and generosity which they had shewn in coming into the war, insisted upon as good terms as if they had been victorious throughout the course of it, to which the *French* would not agree. The *Dutch* gave the *Spaniards* good words and good advice, but endeavoured to soften them as far as was in their power. The prince of *Orange*, 1678. indeed, who was for carrying on the war, spoke another kind of language, still less acceptable to the *Spaniards*, for he inveighed against their want of punctuality, their dilatoriness and imbecillity, which, after all, was owing to the perplexed state of their affairs, and to their indigence, which they were at once too proud to confess, and too lazy to amend. The *French* king took advantage of these favourable circumstances for accomplishing his designs. In the very beginning of *March* he invested and reduced, or rather surprised, *Ghent*, and soon after invested *Ypres*, at the siege of which he assisted in person. The *Spanish* garrison was commanded by the marquis of *Conflans*, who made a gallant defence, and did not render the place till after twenty-five days open trenches [u]. The *French* next blocked up *Mons*, which had its effect, as we shall see in its proper place. The marshal duke *de Navailles* being considerably reinforced in *Roussillon*, after menacing *Roses* in *Catalonia*, suddenly invested and besieged *Puicerda*, which was very gallantly defended. The count *de Monterey* assembled his forces, and took such measures as he thought most expedient for its relief; but, whether he wanted strength, or was in reality inferior in military skill to the *French* marshal, who was indeed considered as one of the best officers of that age, so it fell out, that his design miscarried, and *Puicerda* was lost. This ruined the count with Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who caused him to be exiled [w], though he had been one of the principal persons who had opened a passage to his return from *Arragon*; and though, for this reason, Don *Juan* has been accused of ingratitude, yet it will hereafter

[t] Memoires de NAVAILLES, BASNAGE, Annales des Provinces Unies, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne. [u] QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. [w] Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, & auct. sup. citat.

appear,

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appear, that his treatment of this nobleman could not proceed from so base a principle.

French fleet and forces abandon Messina, and the court takes no care of them in the peace.

WHAT Don *Juan* had foreseen, with respect to the island of *Sicily*, came exactly to pass. The duke *de Vivonne* suffered his soldiers to live in a manner at discretion, and was at the same time very rapacious; this created heart-burnings and complaints, which, instead of procuring redress, produced confiscations. The *Sicilians* in general came to have an utter abhorrence for the *French*; and the *English* being on the point of joining with the *Dutch*, in sending a strong maritime force to the assistance of the *Spaniards*, *Lewis* XIV. took a quick resolution of withdrawing his forces from that island, and sent Monsieur *de la Feuillade*, with a strong squadron in the spring, to put that design in execution. The duke *de Vivonne*, who had previous intelligence of this step, managed every thing with such address and circumspection, as made it plainly appear, that the innumerable errors of his government were not at all owing to want of capacity. He gave out that he had a secret expedition of the utmost importance in view, which would require the whole force under his command; and carried his dissimulation so far, that public prayers were addressed to heaven for the success of what was never intended. Thus, after insulting and abusing both God and man, the *French* troops and the treasures they had plundered were embarked on board Monsieur *de la Feuillade*'s squadron on the 8th of *April*, and then, and not till then, the *Messinese* were informed, that they were to be deserted. In the consternation they were under at this unexpected news, the only expedient of which they could think, was, to quit their country, and retire to *France*, which between four and five hundred of them did; but the bulk of the inhabitants were abandoned, not only by the *French* fleet and army, but by the ministers of *France* also, in the negotiations at *Nimeguen*, to the resentment of the court of *Madrid*; and not a few of them paid with their lives for having been weak enough to place any confidence in a power that acted only from motives of self-interest and ambition[x]. It might, however, have been more to the advantage of *Spain*, if clemency had taken place of resentment.

After much negotiation,

THE great object of the *French* negotiations was, to detach the republic of the *United Provinces* from her allies, in which they at length succeeded, notwithstanding all the op-

[x] Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, QUINCY, BASNAGE, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

position

position that could be given to this measure by the prince of *Orange*. The states, indeed, had two things to plead, which were, the excessive expences of the war; and that *Maestricht*, which was the only place *France* held out of all her conquests, was to be restored. The *French*, by one of their great refinements in policy, were very near losing this peace, when there was nothing left towards its conclusion but the bare form of signing. They had promised the *Dutch* to restore certain places to *Spain*, without taking any notice of the time when this restitution was to be made; and, being pressed upon this head, the plenipotentiaries acknowleged it was the king's intention not to proceed to these restitutions till the like were made to *Sweden*, which, in this war, had suffered as much for being the ally of *France*, as *Spain* for her attachment to the states. But the *Dutch* acted with great steadiness in this particular, fixing a day certain, by which if the *French* did not depart from this pretension, they would look upon their engagements as void. When the day came, the *French* acquiesced, and the treaty was signed on the 10th of *August*. The prince of *Orange*, notwithstanding, attacked the *French* army before *Mons* four days after; which, however, did not prevent both parties from adhering to the treaty. This put the *Spaniards* under the necessity of accepting the terms prescribed to them; and the treaty was accordingly subscribed between *France* and *Spain*, by the plenipotentiaries from the respective crowns, on the 17th of *September* following, at *Nimeguen*. The places restored to *Spain* by this peace were *Charleroy*, *Binsch*, *Ath*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray* and its dependencies, the town and duchy of *Limbourg*, *Gand*, the fort of *Rodenhius*, the country of *Waes*, *Lewe*, and *St. Guilain*, their fortifications being first razed. *Puicerda* in *Catalonia* was also restored. *France* retained the *Franche Comté* intire, the towns of *Valenciennes*, *Bouchain*, *Conde*, *Cambray* and its dependencies, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Ypres* and its chatellenie, *Warwick*, *Warneton*, *Poperinghen*, *Bailleul*, *Cassel*, *Bavai*, *Maubeuge*, *Charlemont* or *Dinant*. The public tranquillity was far from being restored by the conclusion of this peace; for the *French* had so many new pretensions, and the *Spanish* ministers flattered themselves with such hopes of being assisted by both the maritime powers, that it was not till towards the end of the year that the ratification of *Spain* arrived[y], and was ex-

and with no small difficulty, the treaty at Nimeguen *is concluded.*

[y] Memoires & Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Histoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. Part i. p. 365.

changed;

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changed; by which the people were freed from their apprehensions of seeing a new war kindled out of the ashes of the old one.

Don Juan *of* Austria *concludes a marriage for his catholic majesty with the princess* Maria Louisa *of* Orleans.

THE revolution that happened in their domestic government had filled the *Spanish* nation with hopes that they should see all their grievances redressed, and the reputation of the crown speedily revived. This, without question, was what Don *Juan* had in view; but, considering with himself the instability of his own situation, and the odious colours that might be thrown on the manner in which he assumed the administration, in case of any new change, he resolved to prevent this, on establishing, by a judicial inquiry, the certainty of those facts which had been alleged as the causes for the disgrace of the queen mother, which, though at this time it was allowed just and requisite, yet it was afterwards treated as a needless act of severity, and which served only to bring to light things that had better have been concealed. The queen, during her administration, had not only negotiated, but concluded, a treaty of marriage for the king her son, with the archduchess *Maria Antonietta*, daughter to the emperor *Leopold*, though a perfect infant, and had even gone so far as to notify this to the states general; notwithstanding which, that contract was laid aside, and in compliance, as it is said, with the king's own inclinations, who was exceedingly charmed with the picture of the duke of *Orleans*'s daughter. Don *Juan* sent the marquis *de los Balbazes* into *France*, to demand that princess, who had his audience for that purpose of his most Christian majesty on the 10th of *May*, and every thing was settled and concluded by the 2d of *July*. As *Maria Louisa* of *Orleans* stood equally related to *Lewis* XIV. and *Charles* II. of *England*, this match was highly applauded, and Don *Juan* received great compliments thereupon; and yet (such strange things fall out in courts!) this marriage was improved by the enemies of Don *Juan* into the cause of his disgrace, and that broke his heart before the arrival of the young queen, who stood indebted to him for that pompous, though, in its consequences, no very pleasing title[z]. The circumstances of this new revolution, which disappointed the measures that had been concerted for a gradual reformation of whatever was

1679.

[z] Memoires de Madame Montpensier, Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part i. p. 417. Histoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

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's in the government, ſhall be repreſented as clearly and
iccinctly as it is poſſible.

'HE young king ſeemed to be ſo much ſatisfied with
narriage, that ſuch as were attached to the queen mother,
as had grounds to apprehend the reſult of Don *Juan*'s
iiries, ſuch as thought themſelves neglected ſince the com-
cement of his adminiſtration, ſuch as had felt the effects
iis diſpleaſure, and ſuch as had a faculty of intriguing,
curred in the inſinuations, that though he certainly pro-
:d, yet he ſecretly laboured to prevent, this marriage.
:y gave out, that, even in propoſing it, he had chiefly in
v the croſſing the queen's deſigns of marrying the king
) her own family; that he had privately negotiated at
on for the young princeſs, who was like to be the heir of
t crown; and that the miniſter he had ſent into *France*
not proceed with a vivacity ſuitable to the king's deſires.
eſe ſuggeſtions had made ſome impreſſion upon the king's
id, when Don *Juan*, unfortunately for himſelf, but ſurely
m a noble and generous motive, repreſented to the coun-
that, ſince the king was to marry a niece, and not a
ighter, of *France*, this occaſion might be taken to engage
it crown to make ſome conceſſions in favour of *Spain*, or
leaſt to put a ſtop to thoſe proceedings in the *Low Coun-
es*, by which the ſubjects of that crown felt almoſt all the
ſeries of war in the midſt of peace. The council, to
ke their court to the king, rejected this propoſition, tho'
y prudent in itſelf, and which might have been productive
very good effects. The king was pleaſed with this, and
:wed a viſible coldneſs towards Don *Juan*; upon which
nal, many, who had the greateſt obligations to him, aban-
ned his party, and, amongſt the reſt, the king's confeſſor,
io owed that poſt intirely to Don *Juan*'s favour. In the
dſt of theſe intrigues, he was ſeized with an ague, and,
ile he was indiſpoſed, things proceeded ſo far, that he
v his diſgrace inevitable. He had conferred upon the
unt *de Monterey*, of his own accord, one of the beſt em-
oyments in the new queen's houſhold; a certain proof,
at, with reſpect to this nobleman, he was not implacable;
it this did not hinder his being chagrined when he found
e count recalled from exile without his conſent.

The Spaniſh *courtiers, by their arts, turn this very meaſure to his prejudice.*

THIS, and a multitude of other accidents of the ſame
nd (not to give into the ſuſpicion of ſomething of a worſe
rt), threw him into a mortal diſeaſe, which emaciated him
ſuch a degree, that his phyſicians, who could never tell
hat to make of his diſeaſe, deſpaired of his recovery. The
ng's tenderneſs revived when it was too late; he viſited

Don Juan *falls ſick, and, after languiſhing ſome time, dies of a*

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broken heart. him, wept at the sight of his condition, complaining, that, now he had most need of his advice, he was about to lose him. Don *Juan* did not appear much affected with these marks of royal compassion. He took that opportunity to enter into a full detail of the state of public affairs, to let the king see in how perplexed, as well as in how declining, a condition they stood; to point out to him the true sources from which all these mischiefs flowed, and the sole remedies that could prove effectual. He pressed him to make a proper choice of a council, and to apply himself, by the help of their advice, to administer the concerns of his kingdom. He exhorted him to remember always his duty to God and his people, and to beware of listening to flatterers and favourites; and, with many wishes for his long life, prosperity, and issue by his queen, he took leave of him for ever. On the 17th of *September* he expired, and, by his will, bequeathed all his estate, which was but very small, to the king; his jewels, which were more considerable, to be equally divided between the two queens [a]. Calumny, loud even in his last moments, became dumb at his decease. The vulgar were convinced of his disinterestedness; and the whole nation confessed, that, in him, the abilities and virtues of the house of *Austria* made their last efforts. He left behind him a natural daughter, who was a nun. He was scarce interred before the king went to *Toledo*, to bring back the queen mother to triumph over his ashes, and to persecute with unrelenting hatred all who had manifested their zeal for their country, by adhering to a prince who had nothing else at heart; which she did, till the terror of this vindictive temper again deprived her of power [b].

His death has an extreme bad effect on public affairs, which fall into confusion.

THE king went to meet his new queen, and consummated his marriage, by a strange indecorum, in one of the poorest villages in *Old Castile*, from whence he conducted her to *Burgos*, and, in the month of *February*, made a pompous entry into *Madrid*. The vast expences that attended this marriage added to those evils with which *Spain* was already oppressed. There was for a long time no administration at all; but such business as could not be delayed, the king dispatched with the secretary of state, a young man, without either parts or experience, who, by assiduity and cunning, had supplanted his master, and, by the practice of the same

1680.

[a] Histoire gen. d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Memoires historiques, politiques, critiques, & literaires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAIE. [b] Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

noble

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noble arts, kept the king from fixing for a long time upon any minister; nor was he determined in his choice at last, but by the constable of *Castile*'s generously declaring in favour of his competitor for that high post, the duke *de Medina Cœli*, who was a nobleman of a gentle disposition, and very much beloved. The young queen found herself under great restraint, and, from a very different education, found the *Spanish* customs very uneasy and troublesome. The queen mother lost her power by degrees, in endeavouring to extend it. The prince *de Harcourt*, who accompanied the queen from *France*, and the marquis *de Villars*, who was ambassador from that crown, were disagreeable to *Charles*. They looked narrowly into every thing; they entered into conferences and connections with the grandees; and the latter more especially took a pleasure in delivering his master's haughty messages in a manner that rendered them still more distasteful. The accounts they gave from time to time of the distracted state of things at *Madrid*, where one untoward accident was continually following another, induced *Lewis* XIV. to form various pretensions, as if he had delighted in trespassing upon the catholic king's patience, or rather insulting his circumstances. He obliged him to lay aside the title of duke of *Burgundy*, to part with many villages upon the frontiers of *Roussillon*, as well as in the *Low Countries*, to give orders for his ships striking the flag to those of *France*, and to give him distinguished satisfactions for disputes between their subjects, in which sometimes right was on his side, though they were almost always unworthy of notice. Such is the situation of a king, whose splendor appears only in his titles; and such the repeated reasons by which *Charles* was taught, that the monarch, who cannot make war, can as little enjoy peace; of which he was at length so convinced, that he told his queen, he should be glad of a war to be rid of M. *de Villars* [c].

A succinct detail of their domestic miseries and misfortunes.

In making choice of the duke of *Medina Cœli* for prime minister, the king satisfied the court and the nation, as well as himself; but it was for a very small time, after which the clamour revived, and became even louder than ever. This did not proceed from any thing the duke had done, but from his doing nothing. He was indeed qualified to be the king's favourite, but not his minister; his capacity was good, his intention was better; but there were so many evils to

[c] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Mercure Hollandois, sous l'an. 1680. Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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be redreſſed, ſo many things to be provided for, and ſuch an intire deficiency of funds, that, like one amazed, not knowing what road to take, he ſtood quite ſtill. At length he ventured upon the worſt meaſure he could take, which was, regulating the copper coin, which he reduced from its nominal to its real value, and thereby confounded every thing, ſince there were no leſs than fifteen millions of this coin in *Spain*. By this error two miſchiefs were brought to meet that before were ſcarce ſeen together, for money was ſcarce, and yet proviſions were dear. To correct this, the copper money was called in, and the king promiſed to pay its value in ſix months; which, as it was known he could not perform, it ſerved only to make things worſe. In the mean time foreigners made an advantage of this in many different ways, more eſpecially when great families came at laſt to coin or ſell their plate. The miſery of the court was ſo great, that many of the king's menial ſervants left the palace for want of ſubſiſtence; and the king, with the advice of his council, was not able to find money for the annual journey to *Aranjuez*, though that is but ſeven leagues from *Madrid*[d]. The navy ſunk to nothing, the funds deſtined for its ſupport being diverted by thoſe whoſe duty it was to apply them. The ſoldiers deſerted on the frontiers, for want of pay; and at laſt the governors quitted their fortreſſes, to come and repreſent at *Madrid* in perſon what they had often repreſented by letters to little or no purpoſe.

Become deſpicable in the ſight of allies, and of all foreign nations. 1681.

As to the ſettled revenue of the crown, it was anticipated for ſeveral years, and, which was much worſe, the collection remained in the officers of the crown, who did not bring in above one tenth of what they levied upon the people into the king's coffers, or, what ſtood in their place, the pockets of the aſſientiſts, ſo that the anticipation of all was made upon a very ſmall part. Another ſingularity was, that many, if not moſt, of theſe aſſientiſts, were *Jews*, who, for the ſake of their valuable talents in the management of the finances, were overlooked by the inquiſition, except now and then, when, having made too great a diſplay of their wealth, they were ſqueezed a little; and therefore, not being able to enjoy their riches here, they ſent them into other countries, and followed them at a proper time into places of greater freedom. The detached provinces of the *Spaniſh* empire were not leſs expoſed than the ſeat of its government. Thoſe ſent to rule them had chiefly in view the repairing their own fortunes, and, in order to this, they made no ſcruple of

[d] Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne.

multiplying

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multiplying thoſe miſchiefs, of which, at their arrival, they found too many; neighbouring potentates took their advantages likewiſe, and ſtood as little in fear of the log as they had formerly been afraid of the ſtork: hence it was that every court inſulted that of *Spain*. *France* made incroachments in *Biſcay*, in *Rouſſillon*, in the *Low Countries*. The elector of *Brandenburgh*, finding it impoſſible to recover by negotiation the ſubſidies that were due to him, withdrew his miniſter from *Madrid*, hired a ſmall ſquadron of privateers, and took a *Spaniſh* veſſel with a large ſum on board, on the coaſt of the *Low Countries*. As the court of *Madrid* was too proud to enter into any liquidation of his demands till the ſhip was previouſly reſtored, he kept all, though he would have been content with what was his due [e]. The *Spaniſh* governor of *Buenos Ayres* having diſpoſſeſſed the *Portugueſe* of a place they had ſeized, without any better title than convenience, the prince regent of *Portugal* took this up in ſuch high terms, that though *Spain* inſiſted firſt upon her right, and her poſſeſſion of one hundred and forty years, which ſhe juſtified by a manifeſto, yet in a month's time ſhe negotiated this right away, and not only gave up the iſland in queſtion, but confeſſed that ſhe had no title to it.

THE detail of the affairs of *Spain* is the hiſtory of *Spain* at this juncture: a nation in ſuch a condition can furniſh no other hiſtory. The king repoſed himſelf on his miniſter, and the ſeveral councils to which his predeceſſors had aſſigned the cogniſance of different affairs; ſo that the appearance of government remained, though the ſpirit was almoſt extinguiſhed. The duke *de Medina Cœli* was adviſed to eſtabliſh a ſelect council, with whom he might confer upon extraordinary occaſions; but he apprehended, that, in doing this, his power would devolve upon that junta. He was at laſt forced to take this ſtep, which had no conſiderable effect. There were, however, in *Spain*, men of parts and capacity, and particularly the two ſons of Don *Lewis de Haro*, the marquis *de Lich*, who had made the treaty with *Portugal*, and the count *de Monterey*, who has been ſo often mentioned; but the former was ſent embaſſador to *Rome*, and kept there againſt his will; the latter was hated by the queen mother, always ſuſpected, ſometimes in diſgrace. They were hated for their ſuperior parts; and thoſe who had the king's ear knew ſo well that a general reform would follow their

The violences committed by the crown of France, contrary to the peace of Nimeguen.

[e] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques. Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne.

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coming into power, that, for their own sakes, they kept
1682. them at a distance. The duke of *Villahermosa* had been admitted into the council, upon his return from the *Low Countries*, where he was succeeded by the prince of *Parma*, who could not prevent the county of *Chinei* from being seized by *France*; which having violated the peace on this side, from the same principle of ambition, put a garrison into *Casal*, to bridle *Italy* [f]. The next year the *French* king demanded the county of *Alost*, because it had been once in his possession, and he had never renounced it expressly, though at the treaty of *Nimeguen* it was restored to *Spain*. As this sacrifice was not easily made, *Luxemburgh* was blocked up. The sole resource of the court of *Madrid* was, to demand the assistance of her allies; but the emperor was engaged in a war with the *Turks*, the republic of *Holland* wanted the power, and the king of *Great Britain* was not in a condition to undertake the protection of the *Austrian Netherlands*, though his interest was deeply concerned in their safety. The government of them was at length confided to the marquis *de Grana*, a man of abilities and spirit, very capable of defending them, if the means had been in
1683. his power. The death of the queen of *France*, his catholic majesty's sister, was an additional misfortune, which was known and felt at *Madrid*, and, like other misfortunes, was esteemed without remedy [g]. Such was the situation of a power, which, in the memory of some then living, had given law to all *Europe*.

By which, tho' unable to make, the Spaniards *are provoked to declare, war.*

AT this critical conjuncture the duke *de Medina Cœli* resigned his post of prime minister, that he might be free from that clamour which he found it impossible to remove any other way. But this had no visible effect upon public affairs, which went on still in the same way. The *French* king, under pretence of obtaining an equivalent for the county of *Alost*, besieged and took *Courtray* and *Dixmude*. The marquis *de Grana*, in order to push the allies of *Spain* to unite on the side of justice, and in her favour, declared war, and the prince of *Orange* did all that was in his power to engage the states to take the side of the injured at all events. But their tenderness for their own concerns, and their appre-

[f] QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Mercure Hollandois, sous l'an. 1681. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Corps Universel Diplomat. du Droit des Gens. [g] REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. LARREY, Histoire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS, Histoire du regne de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

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henſions of the vaſt power of an ambitious prince, who had no law but his will, reſtrained them. The project of the marquis, therefore, in this reſpect, became vain. But however, it ſet the arrogance of *Lewis* XIV. and his contempt of treaties, in their juſt light, and convinced all the powers in *Europe*, that all hopes of ſafety were vain, till this exorbitant power ſhould be humbled. It is however true, that, notwithſtanding this declaration of war, and the weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, *France* did not puſh her conqueſts in the *Low Countries* as ſhe might have done. This did not ariſe from any moderation, but was founded on an apprehenſion of provoking the *Dutch*, by the approach of danger, to take that ſtep, which, from a principle of equity, they had declined. To make the *Spaniards* thoroughly ſenſible of this, marſhal *Crequi* was ſent in the very depth of winter to bombard *Luxemburgh*; which he did with great fury, but without exciting, as was expected, any ſedition in the place[h]. The princes and ſtates of the empire ſaw the conſequence of this clearly, but want of unanimity checked their reſentment.

THE *French* beginning to aſſemble an army on the frontiers, the duke *de Bournonville* was ſent in haſte into *Catalonia*, where, while he was viſiting the places, and aſſembling the troops, the *French* very unexpectedly penetrated into *Navarre*, where, except plundering ſome places of ſmall importance, and ſpreading rumours, calculated to increaſe the diſcontents of the people, they did nothing worth mentioning. This gave the duke *de Bournonville* time to draw together what forces there were in *Catalonia*; ſo that when the *French* general the marſhal *de Bellefoins* came to penetrate into that country by *Rouſſillon*, he found him very well poſted, in order to diſpute his paſſage. But the marſhal, being ſuperior in all reſpects, attacked and forced the duke at *Ponte Mayor* on the 12th of *May*, and thereby opened a paſſage to *Gironne*. The duke, however, threw into that place the beſt part of his infantry; ſo that when the marſhal came to form the ſiege, he met with a much more obſtinate reſiſtance than he expected; however, having taken ſome outworks, and made a breach in the body of the place, he attempted it by aſſault, in which the *French* troops were

Which ends in a truce for 20 years, which they are compelled to make on bad terms.

[h] REINCOURT, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. LARREY, QUINCY, Mercure Hollandois, ſous l'an. 1683. Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques, LIMIERS, Hiſtoire du regne de Louis XIX. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne.

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not only repulsed, but were pursued to their camp with such vigour, that the marshal was obliged to raise the siege, and retire towards the sea coast, where, by the assistance of the *French* fleet, he made himself master of *Palamos*, and some other little places[i]. On the side of the *Low Countries*, the war was suspended, the *French* king having declared to the states general what at that time he was disposed to take from *Spain*; upon which he was willing to restore what he had already taken, and suspend his further demands for twenty years, adding, that if, in fourteen days after the taking *Luxemburgh*, which was besieged by marshal *Crequi*, they did not prevail upon his catholic majesty to accept, he would take such measures as the superiority of his power should enable him to do. The fortress of *Luxemburgh*, which had been invested in the beginning of *May*, held out till the 4th of *June*; and then the *Spaniards*, being convinced they had no assistance to hope, submitted to put their affairs into the hands of their friends; in consequence of which, the truce
1684. of *Ratisbon* was subscribed on their behalf on the 10th of *August*, by which they abandoned *Luxemburgh*, and recovered *Courtray* and *Dixmude*, together with a great number of villages that had been taken from them since the treaty of *Nimeguen*. As this was a measure equally repugnant to the interests and honour of *Spain*, the ratification came but slowly from *Madrid*; so that, when it arrived, the *French* demanded upwards of ten millions of livres for contributions; but, upon the interposition of the king of *Great Britain*, condescended to accept four millions, which was all that the people had in the world, and, which is still more extraordinary, caused a medal to be struck, to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful act of condescension[k]. But how much soever this might amuse his own subjects, the rest of *Europe* saw it with amazement.

This constrains his catholic majesty to begin a reformation.

AT *Madrid* the king began to apply himself with more steadiness than usual to the conduct of public affairs, and shewed such a sensibility of the state in which he found the generality of his subjects, as very speedily produced many salutary regulations, which had an extreme good effect; but

[i] QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Mercure Hollandois, sous l'an 1684. REINCOURT, LARREY. [k] BUSSI, Histoire de Louis le Grand, Memoires historiques & chronologiques, QUINCY, & al. ubi sup. LIMIERS, Memoires du Marq. FEUQUIERES, Corps Universel Diplomat. du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 79. Hist. de la vie & du regne de Louis XIV. par M. BRUEEN DE LA MARTINIERE, tom. iv. p. 291.

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which would have been much more effectual, if they had been begun earlier, or if they had been conducted with greater judgment. Through his endeavour to correct luxury, many foreign commodities and manufactures were prohibited, and, for example-sake, some seized and burnt, which disobliged the *Dutch*, a thing by no means seasonable. In order to ease the people, some heavy taxes were abolished; but as the income arising from those taxes were mortgaged, it raised a clamour amongst the assientists, or public creditors, who were not those artful and cunning persons who had raised fortunes to themselves from the necessities of the government, but honest people, who had purchased those securities at a high rate, and were now deprived of their subsistence. The king, therefore, caused a new fund to be settled, without reviving the old taxes for the payment of their interest; but, as it arose from suppressing of pensions, the clamour was only varied; and as this regulation was ascribed to the count *de Oropesa*, the king's favourite, who, by the way, was of the house of *Braganza*, and the next heir male to the crown of *Portugal*, it drew upon him a degree of hatred that made him very uneasy. In the mean time the marquis *de Grana* died at *Brussels*, and the government of the *Low Countries per interim* devolved on Don *Francisco Antonio de Agurto*, marquis *de Gastanaga*. Some other changes were made, and the imperial minister had now a greater influence than ever at the court of *Madrid*[1]; which was exceedingly serviceable to the interests of the house of *Austria*, and accidentally to those of *Europe*.

formation in affairs at home;

IT has been observed, that there is no branch in politics to which the *Spaniards* may with so much justice pretend as impenetrable secrecy. While they appeared to be intirely taken up with their domestic concerns, and to have nothing so much at heart as restoring the interior of their administration, their ministers in all the courts of *Europe*, who were generally speaking men of sense and experience, deplored the exorbitant growth of the *French* power, magnified their own losses incurred by daring to stand up against it; and suggested, that such as were partners in calamity ought naturally to become allies to each other to prevent being gradually destroyed. In *Italy* the spirit of pope *Innocent* XI. was kept up, notwithstanding *France* had already given him ill usage, and threatened worse. No pains were spared by Don *Pedro Ronquillo*, at *London*, to detach king *James* the second from his close connection with *France*, which lessened

and to concert measures for circumscribing the power of France, *with other states.*

[1] Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

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him as much with the popish powers as his religion did with the protestants. In *Holland* memorials of a like nature were presented, and the states solicited with great assiduity to enter into some measures for the protection of what was still left of the *Spanish Low Countries*. But in the midst of these insinuations, remonstrances, and applications, a minister on the behalf of his catholic majesty, signed, with all possible secrecy, the league at *Augsbourg*, on the 29th of *June* [m], into which the emperor, the crown of *Sweden*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and other princes and circles of the empire, the king of *Spain* himself representing the circle of *Burgundy*, entered, for the protection of their respective dominions, and for the maintenance of the peace of *Nimeguen*, and the late truce for twenty years: for this purpose their respective quotas were assigned, his electoral highness of *Bavaria* declared general of the allies, and a military chest established at *Francfort*. But the prince of *Orange* and the states, upon whom the allies chiefly depended, were not, for certain reasons, amongst the number of the contracting parties. The *French* king, exceedingly provoked by the discourses of the *Spanish* ministers before-mentioned, but unwilling to violate openly the truce of *Ratisbon* so soon after it was concluded, took a new method of venting his resentment. As he had the year before bombarded *Genoa*, because the republic had built four gallies that might possi-
1686. bly join the *Spanish* fleet, so now he sent marshal *d'Etrees* with a powerful squadron into the *Mediterranean*, who very unexpectedly appeared before *Cadiz*, where, after taking two galleons in the sight of ten *Dutch* men of war, he demanded half a million of crowns for losses sustained by the *French* merchants in *Mexico*, that is, the value of their goods taken in illicit trade, for which he obtained the promise of full and immediate satisfaction. This was an additional insult, and more than was necessary to convince the ministers at *Madrid* how good a neighbour they had in this potent prince. The additional affront, therefore, of setting up posts upon a common at a small distance from *Namur*, with inscriptions, declaring it to be within the territories of *France*, with hints, that a citadel might possibly be built there, was a wanton display of a superiority of power, that, whatever the *French* ministers fansied [n], was not altogether so mortifying to

[m] Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part ii. p. 131. 133. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Histoire generale d'Espagne. [n] Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV. par Monf. L'ABBE DE CHOISY, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

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the *Spaniards* as was intended. On the contrary, theſe exorbitancies, which at another time would have been intolerable, were in ſome meaſure welcome at preſent.

The queen mother's influence, and the ſtrange uſes ſhe made of it.

THE great projects that were now upon the carpet obliged the king to purſue the reformation he had begun. The marquis *de los Velos* was placed at the head of the finances, in order to carry into execution a new alteration in the coin, which occaſioned loud and general complaints, more eſpecially from the *French* and *Engliſh* miniſters, the former inſiſting, that the money due to the *French* merchants ſhould be paid upon the old foot; and the latter, that the ſubjects of *Great Britain* ſhould be exempted from this order. The king's anſwer was ſenſible and ſteady: "With reſpect to "public contracts and old debts, he admitted the demand "to be reaſonable; but, in reſpect to ſubſequent tranſ-"actions, his meaſures had been taken with deliberation, "and he could not recede." Abundance of ſounding military titles, with good appointments, which thoſe who held them never executed, were ſuppreſſed, and a multitude of ſupernumerary offices in the law had the ſame fate. The court was viſibly changed for the better; and that change would have been ſtill more conſpicuous, if the king's heart had not been equally divided between the two queens. His 1687.
conſort had a fever, and the queen mother did all ſhe could to prevent the king from viſiting her, but without effect, though his tenderneſs in this reſpect coſt him a fit of ſickneſs. On the other hand, the queen mother prevailed to keep the duke of *Medina Cœli* in exile, and even procured an order for the return of *Valenzuela*, notwithſtanding it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed [o]; but the king, being made ſenſible of the conſequences, ſecretly countermanded it.

His catholic majeſty has a very large ſhare in the revolution in Great Britain.

THE court of *France*, having intelligence of the league of *Augsbourg*, propoſed to his catholic majeſty, after making the like offer to the emperor, to convert the truce of twenty years into a perpetual peace upon the ſame or like terms, and had the mortification to receive ſuch anſwers from *Vienna* and *Madrid*, as plainly demonſtrated the two courts acted in concert. However, the diſpute, or rather the quarrel, commenced with the *Spaniards* the year before, was amicably adjuſted, but, as uſual, at their expence, by an exchange of certain lands for the common, in the vicinity of *Namur*. The war with the *Moors* gave the *Spaniſh* court an opportunity of equipping a conſiderable ſquadron of gallies, and repairing ſome men of war, without giving umbrage; the

[o] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne.

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marquis *de Gastanaga* was confirmed in his government of the *Low Countries*, but was so indifferently supplied, that most of the troops there deserted for want of pay, which the *French* saw with no small satisfaction, though this would have been very much diminished, if they had known the true cause at that time, which they afterwards published, in their declaration of war, to be the accommodating the prince of *Orange* with very considerable supplies for the expedition which he then meditated; neither would they have been free from chagrin, if they had discovered the share the *Spanish* ministers certainly had in determining the duke of *Savoy* no longer to bear the ill usage he received from Monsieur *de Louvois*, and their intrigues in other courts in *Italy*, where, being now so little formidable, they had so much the better interest P.

Acts with much diligence and sagacity in strengthening the confederacy against France.

In the beginning of the year the court of *Spain* was exceedingly alarmed by the king's falling dangerously ill, during which time the queen mother assumed the power of excluding the queen consort her husband's chamber. Upon his recovery, the queen mother thought fit to let the duke of *Medina Cœli* come to court; but he paid pretty dear for that favour, since she obliged him to surrender all his great offices, which she immediately distributed amongst her creatures. To prevent his becoming popular, she divulged, that he was the concealed author of all the new regulations, and that he had sacrificed all things, that he might gain access to the king, in order to give him the necessary lights for carrying those regulations into execution, from whence he came to be reputed the best patriot in *Spain*, and, though not employed, was as much trusted by the king as ever Q. In *Catalonia* the marquis *de Leganez*, who was viceroy, attempting to put the province in a posture of defence, fell into such hatred with the people, that he demanded to be recalled; upon which the king, or rather the queen mother, took him at his word, and sent thither the count *de Melgar*. In the autumn the queen consort fell ill of the small-pox, of which she recovered, and, during the whole time of her distemper, the king expressed great tenderness for her. Yet there was a rumour, as if the disposition of the court of *Rome* had been founded about a divorce, on account of the queen's sterility, and that the king might have an opportunity of marrying the infanta of *Portugal*. In respect to so-

P Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Mercure historique & politique, 1687. Histoire generale d'Espagne. Q Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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reign affairs, his majesty laboured earnestly to persuade the emperor into a peace with the *Turks*, and continued his correspondencies in *Italy*, where his influence began to revive, in proportion as his power was less feared. The *Moors* having besieged *Oran* with a great force, the king Don *Carlos*, who could not have done it perhaps any other way, relieved it by a stroke of wit. As soon as he received the news, he made it public, adding, that if this misfortune had happened to his most Christian majesty he must have published a proclamation for restraining the nobility from going thither without leave. The *Spanish* lords took the hint, two hundred of them went at their own expence, and raised the siege. Count *Tourville*, with three *French* men of war, meeting rear-admiral *Pacpachin* with two *Spanish* men of war in the *Mediterranean*, as they did not immediately lower their topsails, fired upon them, and, after a long engagement, obliged them to salute him. The court of *Madrid* was forced to digest this, and to send orders to the count *de Gastanaga* to temporize in the *Low Countries*, as their schemes were not yet ripe. However, a plate fleet arrived at *Cadiz*; and, though the king could keep but very little of its contents, yet it gave him fresh credit[r]; and to a court in such circumstances this was of great use. 1688.

Death of his queen, his second marriage, and breaking out of a new war.

The death of the queen of *Spain*, after an illness of three days, on the 12th of *February*, made a great change in the face of affairs, more especially as the *French* gave out very positively, that she died of poison[s]. A modern writer[t], after citing the memoirs of a person of distinction, in which it is asserted, that *Louis* XIV. affirmed so much at supper, treats it as a fable; but this is certain, that it was believed at the time, and that it was expected the *French* court would have published a manifesto upon it. However, she was buried with little ceremony, and, which was thought extraordinary, her household kept up; but the reason quickly appeared; for, in the space of about two months, the king's marriage was declared with the princess *Mary Anne*, daughter to the elector palatine, and, on the 15th of *June* following, he espoused her by proxy[u]. There were two powerful motives to this marriage, first, that she was sister to the reigning empress and the queen of *Portugal*; the other, that

[r] Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. [s] Mercure historique & politique, 1686. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [t] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, tom. ii. p. 63. [u] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, 1689.

she

ſhe was young, handſome, and of a family remarkable for their fertility; to which we may add, that the match was agreeable to the queen mother, who now governed all. The marquis *de Ribaynac* preſſed the king, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, to declare what part he would take; upon which the king propoſed a neutrality, which the marquis told him his maſter would not accept, and ſoon after the *French* declared war. That declaration was anſwered by the marquis *de Gaſtanaga* in very ſtrong terms: and both in *Spain* and in the *Low Countries* all commerce was prohibited, and, by the catholic king's order, all *French* effects were ſeized [w]. The duke *de Noailles* took the field early on the ſide of *Rouſſillon*, and made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of *Campredon*; but the duke *de Villahermoſa*, who commanded in *Catalonia*, marched againſt him with a ſuperior army, inveſted his new conqueſt, into which the *French* had put a ſtrong garriſon, and, with ſome difficulty the duke *de Noailles* diſengaged them, and blew up the place, but not without conſiderable loſs. The *Spaniards* continued to preſs the enemy all the reſt of the campaign, and levied great contributions in *Rouſſillon*, ſo that on this ſide they were clearly victorious. In *Flanders* the *French* propoſed to take three or four of the beſt places the king of *Spain* had left; but the *Dutch* and *Brandenburgh* troops coming early to the aſſiſtance of the marquis of *Gaſtanaga*, preſerved them all; and marſhal *Humieres* having received a ſevere check from prince *Waldeck* at *Valcourt*, on the 20th of *Auguſt*, the reſt of the campaign was not very fertile in events [x]. In *Barbary* his catholic majeſty was leſs fortunate; for the famous *Muley Iſhmael*, emperor of *Morocco*, having inveſted *Larache*, took it, after a long and obſtinate ſiege, notwithſtanding it was very gallantly defended by a garriſon of one thouſand men, and, being carried by ſtorm, a great part of them were cut to pieces [y]; the reſt, who retired to the caſtle, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and mouldered away in dungeons, that barbarous prince refuſing to ranſom them, though he ſent over a miniſter to *Spain*, under colour of treating on this ſubject, who concluded a convention, which the emperor immediately diſavowed.

1689.

[w] Corps Univ. Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part ii. p. 221. 226.
[x] Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Reincourt, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Limiers, Hiſtoire du regne de Louis XIV. Larrey, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques. [y] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne.

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We have before mentioned the insurrection in *Catalonia* against the marquis *de Leganez*, and the complaisance of the king in recalling that nobleman. This, it seems, had a bad effect; for the peasants, pretending that their privileges were violated by quartering troops amongst them, tho' for their own protection, assembled in great multitudes, and attempted to seize the duke of *Villahermosa*, who quickly disengaged himself, and obliged them to retire to the mountains nearest *Barcelona*. There, in a sudden fit of repentance, they cut off the head of one of their chiefs, and sent it to the duke, promising the utmost submission for the future; upon which he immediately proclaimed a general pardon. But this was only to gain time, and to amuse; for, having received assurances of succours from *France*, they took up arms again, and made a powerful diversion in favour of the enemy [a]. The new queen made her public entry into *Madrid* on the 22d of *June*, with great magnificence; she brought with her her brother, the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, and several other persons of distinction. The king, to shew his great affection for her, created count *Mansfield*, who went into *Germany* to conclude the marriage, and to bring her into *Spain*, prince of *Fondi*, in the kingdom of *Naples*; and the queen mother expressed the same fondness for her as if she had been her own daughter [a]. The new pope, *Alexander* VIII. exhorted the king to peace; which gave him an opportunity of publishing one of the best penned answers that ever came from the court of *Madrid*, in which all the violences committed by *Louis* XIV. were strongly tho' succinctly set forth; and in which it is observed, that as there was not a single power in *Europe*, his holiness not excepted, whom at some time or other he had not injured, oppressed, and insulted, it was therefore become necessary, for the peace and safety of Christendom, to weaken an exorbitant power which was the continual instrument of pride and ambition; so that this war was not only to be considered as just and necessary, till that purpose was answered, but perfectly consistent with the duties of Christian princes, bound to protect their subjects against a prince, whom no considerations of justice or humanity could restrain, and who had so often and so notoriously violated the most solemn treaties [b]. In consequence of these maxims, he concluded a treaty with the duke of *Savoy*, in pursuance of which that prince en-

Consequences attending this marriage, and the events of the second campaign.

1690.

[a] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. [a] Mercure historique & politique, 1690. Histoire generale d'Espagne.
[b] Mercure historique & politique.

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tered into the general alliance[c]. The campaign in *Catalonia* had been ſtill a better commentary upon his catholic majeſty's manifeſto, if the diſturbances before-mentioned had not hindered the duke of *Villahermoſa* from taking the field ſo early as otherwiſe he would have done; but when he was at laſt able to act againſt the *French*, he compelled the duke of *Noailles* to retire, and would have forced him to a battle if that cautious officer had not exerted his utmoſt ſkill to prevent it. However, the *Spaniſh* fleet made a deſcent on the coaſt, and burnt all the country about *Perpignan*. In *Flanders*, notwithſtanding the loſs of the battle of *Fleurus*, the *Spaniards* were no great ſufferers; and *France* ſaw with regret, that ſhe was no longer able to make thoſe terrible impreſſions which had rendered her ſo formidable to her neighbours but a few years before. The *Moors* threatened much this year, which obliged the *Spaniards* to ſend ſuch timely ſuccours, that, after a few faint attempts, the infidels quitted the field[d].

Count Oropeſa *diſgraced, on account of the new regulations in the finances.*

AT a ſeaſon when the *Spaniards* were ſo much diſtreſſed for money, that no better method could be deviſed for the preſent than laying open the neceſſities of the public to the grandees, and, depending on their public ſpirit, to do for the crown what the crown was unable to do for itſelf, the galleons arrived ſafely at *Cadiz* with thirty millions on board. This had a very happy effect, and enabled his majeſty to make remittances into *Italy* and the *Low Countries*, where all things ſuffered grievouſly for want of the ſtipulated ſupplies. The marquis *de Leganez* was ſent governor general into the duchy of *Milan*, where he found things in great diſorder, which, with much vigilance and activity, he laboured to repair[e]. The duke *de Medina Cœli*, upon whom the king always relied, deceaſed after a long illneſs; and the count *de Oropeſa*, who ſucceded when the duke was obliged to reſign his office of prime miniſter, was ſo much and ſo generally hated, that the king was obliged to part with him. In the month of *September* his majeſty was ſo dangerouſly ill, that all *Spain* expected his death, and could hardly be perſuaded that it was poſſible for him to recover. It was upon this illneſs that the world began freely to canvaſs the ſucceſſion;

1691.

[c] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. Part ii. p. 265. [d] Relation de la Bataille de Fleurus, Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, LE CLERC, LIMIERS, LARREY, FEUQUIERES, REINCOURT. [e] Mercure hiſtorique & politique, 1691.

and

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and that some proposed sending for the young archduke, and giving him the title of presumptive successor; while others insinuated, that perhaps a good peace might be made by adopting the second son of the dauphin, who, as they understood it, had the better title of the two. The king's recovery put an end for the present to these intrigues; till the queen's falling more dangerously ill, introduced some of another kind. However, contrary even to the sentiments of the physicians, she likewise recovered [f].

The third campaign in Flanders more particularly unfortunate to Spain.

In relation to the progress of the war, the coasts of *Spain* suffered extremely from the *French* fleet commanded by marshal *d'Etrees*, which first bombarded *Barcelona*; and, after ruining part of that fine city, did still more mischief at *Alicant*. This incensed the people to such a degree, that they plundered, and were with difficulty hindered from murdering, all the *French* settled amongst them. The duke *de Medina Sidonia* was sent viceroy into *Catalonia*, merely to please the people. He managed the war but very indifferently, though he had a better army than his predecessor. Marshal *Noailles* took *Urgel*, and made incursions into the kingdom of *Arragon*. The *Spanish* duke, having superior forces, marched towards him, as if he would give him battle; but afterwards amused himself with besieging a place of no great consequence, and that in so strange a manner, as induced count *Pignatelli*, who commanded under him, to retire with the best part of the army to *Barcelona*: this forced the duke to follow him, and both parties appealed in justification of their conduct to the court of *Spain*, which had no great reason to be satisfied with either [g]. In *Flanders* *Mons* was taken on the 9th of *April*, after a short siege, in the sight, as the *French* were pleased to say, and to the terror, of all *Europe*; but, it is certain, with so much amazement to the *Spanish* court, that the ministers would have been willing, if they had thought it practicable, to conceal it from the king. His knowlege of it, however, had a very good effect, for he resolved immediately to perform what had been more than once under consideration, the detaching in some measure from the crown these distant dominions. Accordingly at the close of the year letters patents were dispatched declaring his serene highness, the elector of *Bavaria* hereditary governor of the *Low Countries*, with incomparably higher powers than had been granted to the arch-

[f] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique. [g] Larrey, Histoire de Louis XIV. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

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duke *Leopold*, or to Don *Juan* of *Austria*, with a promise of a punctual subsidy of 75,000 pieces of eight *per* month. This measure is by some ascribed intirely to the influence of king *William*'s councils; whereas others affirm that it had been stipulated some years before, upon the elector's marriage with the king's niece. It is not improbable that both may be true; and that, after so long a delay, his catholic majesty was at length determined to this step by the representations of king *William*, who knew by experience the great difficulty, or rather impossibility, of concerting proper measures for the defence of countries of such consequence to the maritime powers, with governors seldom continued above three years, generally intent upon making their private fortunes, and who could do nothing of moment till they received orders from *Madrid* [h], where they were not always the best judges of things at such a distance.

Things go pretty equally on both sides in the fourth.

As the former, so this year, opened with a most agreeable and seasonable supply, the galleons returning from *America* with forty-eight millions on board, of which the king had four by way of indulto, which enabled him to send very large sums into the *Low Countries* and *Italy*; but his finances, notwithstanding, were in great disorder, and therefore a new junta was appointed to bring them under proper regulations, at the head of which was the count *de Monterey*. One of their first resolutions was to examine into the conduct of such as had been formerly trusted; and, that it might appear they were in earnest, the marquis *de Gastanaga* 1692. no sooner arrived in *Spain*, than he was sent prisoner to the castle of *Burgos*, with a note of the immense sums he had received, and an intimation that he must give an exact account of what was become of them [i]. The queen dowager of *England*, passing through *Spain* into her native country of *Portugal*, was complimented by a person of distinction on the part of his catholic majesty, at *Valladolid*. The *Spanish* fleet, under the command of admiral *Papachin*, sailed to *Genoa*, which induced that republic to act for the service of the emperor, and the rest of the allies: and the same fleet was very serviceable afterwards to the duke of *Savoy*, in his glorious campaign against the *French*. The marquis *de Castlans* was appointed viceroy of *Catalonia*; but it was so late in the year before he arrived, that the duke commanded the *Spanish* army, which however did nothing very considerable.

[h] Mercure historique & politique, QUINCY, LE CLERC, BURNET, REINCOURT, LIMIERS. [i] LARREY, Le Siecle de Louis XIV: par VOLTAIRE.

On

On the other hand, marſhal *Noailles*, being obliged to make a great detachment to reinforce the army employed againſt the duke of *Savoy*, was not in a condition to do much. As for the *French* fleet under marſhal *d'Etrees*, it was ſo roughly handled by the elements, that, though it appeared before *Malaga*, and threatened a bombardment, yet, after exchanging ſome civilities, ſuch as releaſing priſoners on one ſide, and receiving proviſions on the other, it quitted the coaſt. In *Flanders*, the loſs of the important city and fortreſs of *Namur*, after a month's ſiege, and the defeat at *Steenkirk*, could not but chagrin the court, which however was in ſome meaſure conſoled by certain applications, that plainly ſhewed that *France* was not only diſpoſed to make, but was even deſirous of purchaſing a peace; an inclination ſhe had never diſcovered before [k].

THE pains taken by his catholic majeſty and his miniſters, in regulating the finances, had a very good effect, and brought the ordinary expences of the government into a proper method; but the unforeſeen emergencies of the war threw them, notwithſtanding, into ſuch diſtreſs, as might eaſily have undone all they had been doing, if, upon mature deliberation, they had not taken the ſame meaſure they took before of engaging the public to relieve itſelf. The great councils paid each a certain ſum, the grandees and officers of the court did the like; their examples were followed by the cities and great towns, ſo that a very large ſum was levied for once. In order to remedy the ſtate of their military affairs, and that they might have troops when and where-ever they were wanted, the king appointed four lieutenant-generals to have the ſuperintendence in that reſpect of all *Spain*. Theſe were quickly reduced to three; for the count *de Monterey*, who was of the number, deſired to be excuſed; and ſoon after he refuſed a civil employment of great conſequence, which was then aſcribed to diſcontent, but it appeared afterwards that he meditated a retreat from the world, which he executed, and went into orders. The marquis *de Gaſtanaga* made a very good precedent for ſubſequent governors, ſince, after the ſtricteſt examination, he was found to have behaved himſelf, during the time he adminiſtered the affairs of the *Low Countries*, with great integrity and honour; ſo that, in ap-

Two parties already formed in the council, as to the ſucceſſion.

1698.

[k] QUINCY, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires hiſtoriques & politiques, REINCOURT, Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, LIMIERS, LARREY, LE CLERC, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

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probation of his conduct, as well as in reward for his services, he was made viceroy of *Catalonia*; but he refusing that employment, it was bestowed on the marquis of *Villena*. The rumour of the queen's being with child excited for some time a general joy throughout the nation, which gradually sunk when it was known to be a mistake, and, upon this, the intrigues to engage his catholic majesty to settle the succession were renewed with greater vigour than ever [m]. The queen mother, and the count *de Oropesa*, who still retained no small credit with his master, were vigorous in the support of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*; but the cardinals *Portocarrero* and *Cordova*, Don *Juan Henriques de Cabrera*, the count *de Aguilar*, the marquis de *Villafranca*, and other great politicians, declared in favour of the archduke *Charles*, the emperor's second son; and at this time his interest seemed to be the best of the two, though it was a chapter not very pleasing to the monarch, whose will was to settle the right of these contending princes, and, except count *Lobkowitz* the imperial minister, none of the embassadors of the allies could be brought to interfere [n], as apprehending it equally unpleasant and indecent.

Spain and her new allies have the worst almost on every side in the fifth campaign.

Marshall *Tourville*, with the *French* fleet, hovered upon the coast of *Spain*, which filled the court with apprehensions either of a descent or a bombardment; at length he appeared before *Roses* in *Catalonia* about the beginning of *June*, and the place was at the same time invested by land, the *French* army being commanded by marshal *Noailles*. Their operations were commenced by a bombardment, in which the governor being dangerously wounded, the place capitulated on the 9th, and it was upon this misfortune that the ministers demanded a free gift [o]. The marshal *de Tourville*, towards the latter end of the same month, surprised the *Smyrna* fleet, destroyed four men of war, and either took, sunk, or burnt, 80 *English* and *Dutch* ships richly laden. This action happened between *Lagos* and *Cadiz*; but the enemy pursued the ships into the *Spanish* ports, and burnt many of them under the guns of their fortresses [p]. The rest of the campaign in *Catalonia* was spent in marches and countermarches; the duke *de Medina Sidonia* commanding the *Spanish* army,

[m] Memoires & Negotiations secretes du Comte d'Harrach, Mercure historique & politique. [n] Memoires & Negociations secretes du Comte d'Harrach. [o] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Limiers, Histoire du regne de Louis XIV. Burnet's History of his own Times, Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

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as the marquis *de Villena* was not sent thither till towards the close of the year. The *Spanish* fleet remained this summer on the coast of *Italy*; and his catholic majesty applied to the maritime powers to send a naval force sufficient to cover his dominions the next year, in pursuance of a treaty made with the crown of *Great Britain* two years before [q]. As to the military operations in *Flanders*, they were far enough from being successful. *Furnes* and *Dixmude* were taken at the very beginning of the campaign. Marshal *Luxemburgh* had the advantage in the battle of *Nerwind*, fought on the 29th of *July*, in which some *Spanish* volunteers of distinction were killed. But the most mortifying stroke was the loss of *Charleroi*, defended by the marquis of *Castillo*, with a garrison of four thousand five hundred men, after twenty-seven days open trenches. The army of *France* was commanded by marshal *Villeroi*, and was covered by another army under the command of marshal *Luxemburgh*. The attacks were directed by Monsieur *Vauban*, who had fortified the place, and was therefore supposed to be best acquainted with it; yet, by an unaccountable mistake, he attacked it where it was strongest. After all these misfortunes, the pope's nuncio insinuated at *Madrid* his most Christian majesty's inclination to peace, which was rejected with great firmness, as overtures of the like kind were by the rest of the allies [r].

His catholic majesty having received from his allies an account of the propositions made to them on the part of *France*, in which there were some insinuations in regard to settling the succession of his dominions, he thought fit to write a letter, dated the 23d of *January*, to the states general, in which he assured them of his resolution to carry on the war, mentioned his having taken notice of those insinuations, and considered them with horror and execrations, adding, that he hoped Heaven, in compliance with the fervent prayers of his subjects, would yet grant him a successor [s]. The galleons arrived this year with sixteen millions, of which the king had but a small share. The junta for reforming the management of the finances had recourse to many expedients, and yet were not able to furnish the subsidies that had been promised to the duke of *Savoy* and the elector of *Bavaria*. The scarcity of men also was almost as great as 1694.

However, steadily reject all propositions for peace, and labour to raise supplies for the war.

[p] Burnet's History of his own Times, Le Clerc, Limiers. [q] Mercure historique & politique, Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. [r] Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. Larrey, Memoires du Marquis de Feuquieres, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. [s] Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

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that of money; and the factions that reigned at court, where those who opposed the *French* interest were divided among themselves, did not a little contribute to distract their measures, and to frustrate some of their best-concerted undertakings. It was owing to these that the marquis *de Villena* and duke of *Escalona*, one of the wisest and worthiest men in *Spain*, could not assemble above sixteen thousand men in *Catalonia*, and part of these raw troops, though he had been assured they would enable him to take the field early, and with an army superior to that of the enemy. His presence was acceptable to the people; the ministers knew it, and hoped they would assist him; notwithstanding which, they did what was in their power; but, all things taken together, he had not above half of what was really requisite for him to defend the province committed to his charge. This was notwithstanding the point most attended to, and we may conceive from thence what became of the rest[t], and how easily miscarriages in *Spain* might be accounted for.

The sixth campaign somewhat less unfortunate than the last.

THE *French* king and his ministers, who, for many reasons, but more especially that they might dissolve the grand alliance, were become very desirous of peace, believed that nothing could contribute to it so much as pushing the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia*: for this reason marshal *Tourville* was sent with a fleet in the spring upon that coast; and marshal *Noailles*, with 30,000 men, entered the *Spanish* frontiers in the beginning of *May*. The duke of *Escalona* endeavoured to defend the banks of the river *Ter*, though it was fordable in many places; he performed this as well as it was possible, but the duke of *Noailles* forced the passage on the 22d of *May*, after an obstinate resistance, in which the *Spaniards* lost about 2000 men. He afterwards took *Palamos*, with the assistance of the fleet, and then besieged *Gironne*. The place was strong, and had a good garrison, but very unluckily composed of new troops, who deserted the works, and obliged the governor to capitulate in less than a week. The marshal afterwards made himself master of *Ostelrich*, upon which the duke of *Escalona* threw himself into *Barcelona*[u]. When the campaign was over, the king prevailed upon the marquis *de Gastanaga* to accept of that government. The fleet of the allies, under the command of admiral *Russell*, came, as the king desired, into the *Mediterranean*, and continued there the whole year, with which he

[t] Mercure historique & politique. [u] REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS, QUINCY, Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

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was so pleased, that he sent a jewel to the admiral valued at fourscore thousand crowns. The *Moors* besieged *Ceuta* and *Melilla*, but without effect. The campaign in *Flanders* was barren of events. *Huy* and *Dixmude* were retaken by the allies; and, if they were no gainers, the *Spaniards* had however the satisfaction of losing nothing, and of seeing *France* more and more oppressed by the length and weight of the war [w]; to which a kind of famine, which prevailed in that kingdom, did not a little contribute.

But, in the seventh, things change their aspect, and go on much better.

As the junta for the improvement of the finances, which the *Spaniards* as well as we called the junta or committee of ways and means, had daily more and more success, a resolution was taken of bringing over a body of *German* and *Italian* troops, to augment the forces in *Catalonia*; which however had been impracticable, but for the assistance of the fleet of the allies, by whom it was executed without any difficulty. The death of queen *Mary* of *England* was esteemed so great a misfortune, that the court of *Spain* not only went into deep mourning, but directed their ministers in all foreign courts to do the same [x]. Their catholic majesties were both indisposed this year, and, as had fallen out more than once before, the queen's illness was very industriously ascribed to a miscarriage, which perhaps she never had [y]. In *Catalonia* the marquis *de Gastanaga* did wonders; for, instead of keeping the field with the regular troops, he applied himself with indefatigable diligence to discipline the militia and the peasants; and, as the *French* had fortified and put garrisons into many places, he contrived sometimes to block up one, sometimes another, chiefly with a view to cut off the convoys and detachments sent to relieve them, in which he was very successful. The *French* viceroy (for marshal *Noailles* had that title) being much indisposed, quitted his employment, in which he was replaced by the duke of *Vendosme*, who turned this method of making war upon the *Spaniards*, by demolishing and abandoning most of those small places, and harrassing the troops of the count of *Gastanaga*, sent to repair them; but, upon the whole, the *Spaniards* were gainers by this campaign [z]. In *Italy*, with the assistance of *Spanish* troops and money, the duke of *Savoy* reduced *Casal*; the fortifications of which being demolished, the town was restored to its natural sovereign, the duke of

1695.

[w] Burnet's History of his own Times, Le Clerc, Limiers. [x] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Larrey, Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. [y] Mercure historique & politique. [z] Histoire du regne de Louis XIV.

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Mantua [a]. In *Flanders*, marshal *Villeroy* bombarded *Brussels* the 13th, 14th, and 15th, of *August*, during which he threw several thousand bombs and red-hot bullets into the place, by which he did a great deal of mischief, but at the same time excited an implacable hatred to the *French*, and brought upon himself the imputation of having done it in a fit of despair. *Namur* surrendered on the fourth of *August*, and the citadel on the second of *September*, notwithstanding *Villeroi* had threatened to fight the army of the allies commanded by king *William*, which he durst not perform. These successes on every side raised the spirits of the *Spanish* ministers, and confirmed them in their inclinations to carry on the war [b].

The duke of Savoy *makes a separate peace, and acts against the* Spaniards *in the* Milanese.

The supplies from the *Indies* not arriving, the ministers found themselves exceedingly distressed for money, which induced them to put a tax, or rather a fine, upon all the lucrative governments, which proved a good expedient, tho' attended with ill consequences. The death of the queen mother on the 16th of *May* produced no great alterations at court, as it had been long expected. Her disease was a cancer of many years continuance; and, as she had been long in a dying condition, she had in a manner outlived her credit [c]. It was not, however, till after her decease that the count *de Oropesa* came publicly to court, and was again admitted into the king's councils. In the month of *September* their catholic majesties were both very much indisposed, and it was some time before the king found himself well enough to appear in public, which occasioned a general consternation through his dominions, and great distraction in his councils, more especially since at this time there was nothing regulated as to the succession [d]. The *Moors* had lain two years before *Ceuta*, with a numerous army; it was first defended by the marquis *de Valparaiso*, with invincible courage, and afterwards with indefatigable diligence by the marquis *de Avallaneda*, who was sent to relieve it; so that, after losing 15,000 men, and being in the field twenty-five months, the infidels abandoned their design. The marquis *de Gastanaga*, finding it impracticable to struggle with the

[a] Burnet's History of his own Times, Larrey, Memoires historiques & chronologiques. [b] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par Le Clerc, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Mercure historique & politique. [c] Mercure historique & politique, 1696. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [d] Memoires & Negociations secretes du Comte de Harrac.

difficulties

difficulties to which his post was exposed, and the haughty temper of the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who commanded the *German* troops, resigned his viceroyalty, and was succeeded by Don *Francisco de Velasco*. The duke *de Vendosme*, who had the title of viceroy from the king of *France*, gained some advantage over the prince of *Hesse*; and, except a dispute at the beginning, there happened nothing of consequence during this campaign, the duke's army being but weak[e]. In *Italy* things took a very ill turn; for the duke of *Savoy*, who had renewed his treaty with the allies but the year before, and demanded extraordinary succours in men and money, to protect his capital from being besieged by the *French*, acted therein but a delusive part, as having made a secret treaty with *France*. At length having separated the foreign auxiliaries into different posts, he declared for a neutrality in *Italy*: and, as the *Spaniards* did not readily embrace it, he put himself at the head of the *French* army, and besieged *Valenza*, which, through the care of the marquis *de Leganez*, was in a good state of defence. However, as the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* found it impossible to regain him, tho' they offered the duchy of *Milan* in property, and were also apprised that most of the *Italian* powers approved his measures, they were obliged to comply, and accept a neutrality likewise[f]. In *Flanders*, though the *French* and the allies had great armies, and though the latter were commanded by king *William* and the elector of *Bavaria* in person, yet in effect there was little or nothing done, no battle fought, no place so much as besieged; but, towards the end of the year, plenipotentiaries were appointed, and a place settled for a congress, which seemed to explain the inactivity of the preceding campaign[g]. 1696.

In *Spain* the winters are generally sharp, and yet a very hard winter is a rare thing. This proved so severe, that his catholic majesty diverted himself with seeing some *Dutch* sailors skate upon the ice at *Madrid*. The want of money, and the necessity of finding it, being equally great, the ministers had once more recourse to a free gift, to which some of the grandees, when they had given what they could afford, added the profit of their offices, which they sold for *By this, and the taking* Ath, Barcelona, *and* Carthagena, *the* Spaniards

[e] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [f] Burnet's History of his own Times, Le Siecle de Louis XIV par Voltaire, Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part ii. p. 368. Larrey, Actes, Memoires, & Negociations, de la Paix de Ryswick, edit. de la Haye, 1725. [g] Mercure historique & politique.

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are forced into the peace of Ryſwick.

the public benefit. In the mean time arrived the galleons with thirty millions, out of which the king's ſhare was not much, and the demands from *Catalonia* were very high[h]. *Lewis* XIV. finding that he could eaſily compromiſe matters with the maritime powers, offered, in complaiſance to the *Spaniards*, a neutrality in *Catalonia*, which they abſolutely rejected. Upon this, the army of the prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt* was very conſiderably augmented, the fortifications of *Barcelona* repaired, and directions given for a fleet. But while they were executing in the *Spaniſh* way, that is, very ſlowly, the duke of *Noailles* took the field with a numerous army, attended with a fine train of artillery, and directed his march immediately towards that city. At the ſame time the count *d'Etrees* and the balliff *de Noailles* appeared upon the coaſt, one with a large fleet, and the other with a ſtrong ſquadron of gallies, ſo that the place was quickly inveſted by land and by ſea, though not completely, for the prince of *Heſſe*, who had thrown himſelf into it with the beſt part of the infantry, had ſtill a communication with the viceroy, who, with between ſix and ſeven thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, were encamped behind him. The ſiege was long and bloody, more eſpecially the action by which the duke of *Vendoſme* cut off the communication between the army and the town. At length, however, after fifty-two days open trenches, the capitulation was ſigned on the 10th of *Auguſt*[i]. In *Flanders* the important fortreſs of *Ath* was taken by the marſhal *Catinat*, which, with the news of the loſs of *Carthagena* in the *Weſt Indies*, beſieged, reduced, and plundered, by the ſieur *Pontis*, and ranſacked again by the buccaniers, brought the miniſters at *Madrid* to ſee clearly, that they muſt accept of thoſe terms which their allies thought reaſonable, and to oblige them to accept of which, at leaſt as they ſurmiſed, they had given them little or no aſſiſtance[k]. Accordingly, proper orders being diſpatched to Don *Bernard de Quiros*, the treaty was ſigned at the caſtle of *Ryſwick*, on the 20th of *September*[l], by which all that had been taken from them in *Catalonia*, the important fortreſs of *Luxemburgh*, the county of *Chinei*, the fortreſſes of

1697.

[h] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Mercure hiſtorique & politique, 1697. [i] Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Limiers, Larrey, P. Daniel, Hiſtoire de France. [k] Quincy, Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques. [l] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part ii. p. 408. Actes, Memoires, & Negociations, de la Paix de Ryſwick.

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Charleroi, *Mons*, *Ath*, *Courtrai*, and all that had been torn from them by the chambers of reunion, were restored. The peace was solemnly proclaimed at *Madrid*; and the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, in consideration of the gallant defence of *Barcelona*, was not only created grandee of *Spain*, and adorned with the order of the *Golden Fleece*, but declared likewise viceroy and captain general of *Catalonia* [m].

The court torn by factions and intrigues, while the king's health daily declines.

In most countries, and in *Spain* almost beyond any country, such favours conferred upon a foreigner are apt to create envy and discontent; but if these preferments and honours produced, as certainly they did, some effects of this sort, they were strangely strengthened and encouraged by the king's making him a present of 50,000 pistoles, which was followed by rich gifts from the queen, and very expensive compliments of the same kind from all the grandees, who were desirous of acquiring or preserving her favour. These unpopular strokes, however, were followed by another still more so than any or than all the rest. A regiment of horse-guards was formed mostly out of the inferior officers of the disbanded cavalry, of which the prince himself was colonel, and named all the other officers, and which, as soon as it was formed, was sent to *Toledo*: this gave very great offence, more especially as this new regiment was established when most of the national corps were discharged; but the queen minded this very little, pursuing her interests, or rather her inclinations, with very remarkable vivacity. The cardinal archbishop of *Toledo*, better known to the world by the title of cardinal *Portocarrero*, gave her no small opposition; and, according as their respective credits prevailed, various successive changes took place [n]. At this time the queen had an apparent superiority, as appeared from the count *de Monterey*'s being forbidden the court for the freedom with which he expressed himself in council, and the raising count *d'Oropesa* to the high dignity of president of *Castile*. The king's health continued all this time very precarious; he was subject to fainting fits, to fluxes, and sometimes his hands and legs swelled. The physicians advised a change of air; upon which their majesties made a tour to the city of *Toledo*, where, under the care of an *English* gentleman, one doctor *Somers*, bred at *Oxford*, the king grew much better, and, by the use of gentle exercise, recovered his strength [o]. On the return of the court to *Ma-*

1698.

[m] Mercure historique & politique. Negociations secretes du Comte de Harrac, historique & politique, 1698.

[n] Memoires & Negociations secretes du Comte de Harrac, historique & politique, 1698.

[o] Mercure

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drid, the miniſterial intrigues revived. Count *Harrach*, the imperial miniſter, had a great influence over the king, and a greater over the queen; but the marquis *de Harcourt*, who was ſent from *France* immediately after the concluſion of the peace, had likewiſe a conſiderable degree of favour; and the marchioneſs his wife behaved with ſo much reſpect to all the *Spaniſh* ladies, made them ſo many preſents, and took ſuch pains to render herſelf popular, that, in the ſpace of a few months, it was ſurpriſing to ſee the progreſs that was made in raiſing and augmenting a party. Amongſt other arts, the marquis exhibited in the hall of his palace the pictures of the dauphin and of his three ſons, the dukes of *Burgundy*, *Anjou*, and *Berry*, and care was taken to point out their reſemblance to the infanta Donna *Maria Thereſa*, whoſe memory was very dear to all the old *Spaniards*. Beſides, the marquis neglected nothing to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the clergy; and, being informed by them of many families of old officers that were in diſtreſs, he relieved them liberally and ſecretly. He likewiſe offered his catholic majeſty a ſquadron for the relief of *Ceuta*, which was again beſieged; and, in reſpect to ſome differences that aroſe upon the frontiers, after great pains taken to fix the fault upon the *Spaniards*, all was left to his catholic majeſty's diſcretion, and no demands of ſatisfaction were made, as in former times [p].

Makes a will in favour of the prince of Bavaria, *declared his heir by the firſt treaty of partition.*

THE precautions taken for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown of *Spain*, in caſe his catholic majeſty ſhould die without heirs, of which there was a ſtrong appearance, on the part of that monarch himſelf, as well as of his allies, comprehend ſome of the moſt curious and intereſting points of modern hiſtory; and though they have been ſo often, and in all appearance ſo exactly, ſtated, yet, as we have taken the pains to examine them very cloſely and minutely, and to ſeparate, as well as poſſible, not only facts from falſhoods, but from conjectures, we have reaſon to flatter ourſelves, that what we ſhall deliver on this head, as ſuccinctly as it is poſſible, will afford the reader ſome ſatisfaction. The firſt treaty of partition was negotiated this ſummer between king *William* and *Louis* XIV. with very great ſecrecy, and at length concluded and ſigned at the *Hague* [q], on the 11th of *October*; on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, by the count *Tallard*; by the earl of *Portland* and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, on the part of his *Britannic* majeſty; and by eight

[p] Memoires & Negociations ſecretes du Comte de HARRACH.
[q] Corps Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part ii. p. 442.

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plenipotentiaries for the states general. The ratifications were dated the 24th of the same month. By this treaty the electoral prince of *Bavaria* was to enjoy *Spain* and the *Indies*; the dauphin the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the places on the coast of *Tuscany*, the town and marquisate of *Final*, the province of *Guipuscoa*, including the towns of *Fontarabia*, *St. Sebastian*, and *Port Passage*; and the archduke *Charles* was to have the duchy of *Milan*. Some writers say [r], that, in resentment of this treaty, and to prevent his dominions from being dismembered, his catholic majesty resolved to make a will in favour of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, and to declare him his heir general of all his territories in *Europe* and the *Indies*. Some writers again [s] speak doubtfully of this will, and seem to think that nothing can or ought to be affirmed with certainty about it. Both are mistaken; for it was not the partition treaty that gave occasion to this will, and there is not the least reason to hesitate as to the point of fact that such a will there really was. There had been long a disposition in the king, at the instance of the queen, and some of the ministers, to favour the archduke *Charles*; but it was thought requisite, as a previous measure, that the emperor should send ten thousand men into his catholic majesty's dominions, that there might be a force sufficient to support whatever declaration the king should make. But the emperor *Leopold* deferred this so long on account of his war with the *Turks*, and other motives, some of which were concealed, and some assigned, and the bishop of *Lerida* [t], his catholic majesty's minister at *Vienna*, sent such strange relations of the contempt expressed for the *Spanish* nation at *Vienna*, that, the patience of the king Don *Carlos* being quite worn out, he at length determined to make, and actually did make, a will, in favour of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, which was intirely conformable to the disposition of his father *Philip* the fourth, and to the renunciations upon which that disposition was founded. It is necessary to observe, that the only colour of objection to which this young prince's title was liable, was, the renunciation made by his mother the archduchess *Maria Antonietta*, upon her marriage with the elector of *Bavaria*; but the most able lawyers unanimously agreed, that this renunciation was null and void, as not having been communicated

[r] Histoire de Louis XIV. par MARTINIERE, tom. v. p. 198, 199. [s] Abregé de l'Histoire de France, par le President HENAUT, p. 669. [t] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, tom. i. p. 320.

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to the court, and not having had the ſanction of the *Cortes*, or ſtates of *Spain* [u]; an inquiry and reſolution attended with extraordinary conſequences.

The death of the prince of Bavaria *turns things back into the former ſtate of perplexity.*

1699. AT the opening of this year, the teſtament in favour of the electoral prince of *Bavaria* being made at the cloſe of the laſt, of which the marquis *de Harcourt* having received intelligence from cardinal *Portocarrero*, had given early notice in *France*, that miniſter received orders to preſent a memorial to his catholic majeſty upon this head; which we find repreſented in ſome collections of ſtate papers as a very ſecret tranſaction, and as inconſiſtent with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's engagements with his *Britannic* majeſty and the ſtates. It was neither; for it was ſo public, that it appeared in the common gazettes at that time; and all that is ſaid therein amounts to no more than this, that, conſidering the harmony ſubſiſting between the two courts, it was with great ſurprize he learned, in a manner that would not allow him to doubt of the fact, that his catholic majeſty had made a teſtament in favour of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*: that it was fit his majeſty ſhould know the moſt Chriſtian king could not but be attentive to the indubitable rights of his only ſon the dauphin; and that it was requiſite to put his majeſty in mind, that the moſt Chriſtian king, as well out of tenderneſs as decency, had never troubled him before even with the moſt diſtant hint on this delicate ſubject. This produced a civil, but a general anſwer, importing, his catholic majeſty's attention to the peace and welfare of his ſubjects ſhould be ever accompanied with a ſtrict regard to what was due to the relation and friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two monarchs [w]. In the mean time the young prince, whom the king and whom the allies had deſtined for his ſucceſſor, died on the 6th of *February*, of a ſhort illneſs at *Bruſſels*, attended with ſome ſuſpicions that received perhaps too much credit from what was ſome years after thrown out by the elector of *Bavaria*, in a manifeſto which he publiſhed, and which amounts to no more than a proof of his opinion [x]. This unexpected death, however, altered the ſtate of things every-where; for, though it was provided againſt in a ſecret article of the partition treaty, in which it was ſtipulated,

[u] Memoires du Comte de HARRACH, tom. ii. p. 124. 302.
[w] LAMBERTI, Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du Siecle xviii. tom. i. pag. 96. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, A. D. 1699.
[x] Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC. BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques.

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hat, in such a case, the elector might be substituted in the lace of his son, yet, upon mature deliberation, it was judged ore expedient to have recourse to a new treaty. In *Spain* he king was advised by his ministers to make a new will, and o take the sense of the pope, which has ever the greatest veight in that country as to the validity of renunciations, in rejudice to the established rule of succession, which proved work of time, the result of which will appear in its proper lace.

THERE happened about the close of the month of *April*, at *Madrid*, a violent sedition, in which almost all the meaner sort of people were engaged, the cause of which was the carcity of bread, and the dearness of all sorts of provisions. The populace demolished the house of the count *d'Oropesa*, and had murdered him and his family, if they had not found means to escape in disguise. By the express interposition of the king's authority, and not without much difficulty, it was appeased; upon a strict inquiry, it was found, that the source of this mischief was a new tax, the produce of which was shared by the count *d'Oropesa*, the amirante of *Castile*, and the countess of *Berlips*, the queen's favourite. Upon this, the king pardoned all who had been imprisoned, moved the count *d'Oropesa* from being president of *Castile*, and banished both him and the amirante; and the cardinal of *Toledo*, with other ministers, who had been for some time out of favour, were recalled and caressed[y]. At the proper season of the year the court went to the *Escurial*, where the king went to visit the *Pantheon*, and ordered the coffins of his mother and first queen to be opened. Of the former there was nothing left intire but one hand, which the king stooped down, and kissed with tears. The body of the latter remained not only whole, but the colour of the face remained unchanged; which surprised the king so much, that he immediately retired. There have been various speculations upon this incident; but the foregoing part of our history will shew, that this was no very unusual thing, and his father *Philip* the fourth had done the very same in the year 1655, when it was observed, that the body of *Charles* the fifth appeared more fresh than that of his own queen *Elizabeth*, who died but nine years before[z]. At the return of the court from the *Escurial*, the king having granted a

King Charles visits the tombs, and opens the coffins, of his deceased mother and wife.

[y] Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

[z] Les Delices de l'Espagne & du Portugal, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

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penſion, on the revenues of the *Low Countries*, to the counteſs of *Berlips*, the count *de Monterey*, who was preſident of the council of *Flanders*, not only oppoſed it, but inveighed ſo bitterly againſt what he called the *German* government, that he received orders from the king to retire from *Madrid* in forty-eight hours; upon which a new commotion enſued, and the people, in the king's hearing, cried out, *Let the patriots be recalled, and the plunderers baniſhed*[a]!

Reſents highly the conduct of Great Britain *and* Holland, *as to the partition treaty.*

WHILE the allies were intent upon their new treaty of partition, the count *de Canales*, the *Spaniſh* miniſter at *London*, preſented a memorial to the regency, the king being then in *Holland*, conceived in very ſtrong terms, and in which ſome groſs epithets were uſed with reſpect to the firſt treaty. Upon the tranſmitting of this paper, dated the third of *May*, to the king at *Loo*, Mr. ſecretary *Vernon* was directed to wait upon the *Spaniſh* embaſſador, with an order to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, which he accordingly did. On this news arriving at *Madrid*, Mr. *Stanhope*, the *Britiſh* miniſter, received the like orders; to which he anſwered, that he needed not ſo much time, having received his maſter's commands to the like purpoſe ſome days before[b]. This did not however hinder the allies from concluding their ſecond treaty, by which *Spain* and the *Indies* were given to the archduke *Charles*, the duchy of *Lorrain* was added to the countries aſſigned the dauphin, in exchange for which duke *Leopold* of *Lorrain* was to have the duchy of *Milan*. The emperor was to ſignify his conſent in three months; and in caſe the duke of *Lorrain* would not accept of *Milan*, it was to be given to the elector of *Bavaria*, or to the duke of *Savoy*: in the firſt caſe, the dauphin was to have *Navarre*; and in the latter, the duchy of *Savoy* and the county of *Nice*. This ſecond treaty of partition was ſigned at *London*, by the *French* and *Engliſh* miniſters, on the 3d of *March* 1700, N. S.; and at the *Hague*, on the 25th of the ſame month, by the plenipotentiaries for the ſtates[c]. In the month of *Auguſt* the emperor, by count *Harrach*, declared to the miniſters of *France* and *Holland*, and afterwards to the ſecretary of the *Engliſh* embaſſy, that he conceived himſelf to have the ſole and indubitable right of ſucceſſion to the whole of the *Spaniſh* monarchy; and that, if his line ſhould fail, that ſucceſſion belonged to the houſe of *Savoy* by

[a] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne. [b] Mercure hiſtorique & politique. [c] Corps Diplomatique, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 477. BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, & auct. ſupra citat.

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he teſtament of *Philip* the fourth. At the ſame time, however, that this declaration was made, his imperial majeſty deſired that they would not proceed to name another prince in conſequence of his refuſal, purſuant to one of the articles of the treaty, in caſe he did not accept it in three months, and which, by a ſecret article, was extended to five months; and in this ſituation things reſted, at leaſt on the part of the allies, and their differences with the court of *Madrid* were not long after amicably compromiſed, and their uſual intercourſe reſtored; though through the miniſter of *Holland* only, neither of the kings being inclined to recede firſt, but rather to allow time to act, as he often does, as the mediator between them [d].

Strange diſtraction and confuſion amongſt the miniſters, and in the court of Madrid.

As there were many points, in regard to the frontiers in the *Low Countries*, left undecided between the two crowns, commiſſioners were appointed to meet at *Liſle*, by their catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, who in an amicable manner ſettled every thing, and ſubſcribed a treaty or convention upon this ſubject towards the cloſe of the foregoing year; and the ratifications were exchanged in the beginning of this, with great candour and civility on both ſides. This proceeded from the ſituation that things were in, and the king's tenderneſs for the welfare of his ſubjects [e]. In his heart he was as much attached to his family as ever; and therefore he appointed Don *Franciſco de Moles*, duke *de Pareta*, his embaſſador to the court of *Vienna*, with the warmeſt aſſurances of that nature; from whence a report afterwards prevailed in the world, that this *Neapolitan* nobleman carried with him a will in favour of the archduke. Not long after, one father *Moro*, who came from *Turin*, put the whole court in confuſion, by pretending to diſcover that his majeſty was bewitched, and that his ill health was owing to charms and practices with evil ſpirits; and it ſeems that at firſt, as fooliſh as theſe tales were, they met with credit, ſince this monk was permitted to exorciſe the king, for which, as he was not at all the better, the tables were turned upon the exorciſt, ſo that he fell into the hands of the inquiſition. Father *Dias*, the king's confeſſor, who ran, or pretended to run, into the ſame wild notions, and took the liberty from thence of ſpeaking very injuriouſly of perſons of the higheſt rank, was not only diſgraced, but baniſhed, and ſent pri- 1700.

[d] Memoires du Comte d'HARRACH, tom. i. Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Hiſtory of Europe, A. D. 1700. [e] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, A. D. 1700. Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 470.

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ſoner to his cloiſter. The marquis *de Harcourt*, who was grown weary of a court where there was ſo much diſcord and confuſion, had his audience of leave in *May*, and ſoon after returned to *France*, having firſt introduced Mr. *Bicourt*, who was appointed envoy on his departure [f].

The violence of the king's diſeaſe much exaſperated by chagrin and deſpair.

All poſſible methods had been tried by the queen, and thoſe in her favour, to prevent the counteſs of *Berlips* from being ſent back to *Germany*; but the public clamour became ſo ſtrong, and ſome of the principal miniſters repreſented to the king, in ſuch plain terms, the miſchiefs occaſioned, that ſhe was at length diſmiſſed, with her ſon, her niece, and moſt of the *German* ſervants the queen had brought with her, but with great civility, and many rich preſents [g]. About the ſame time ſome endeavours were uſed to procure a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to take their advice in regulating the ſucceſſion; but this went no farther than a rumour. The king's health remained very precarious; he was ſometimes ſeized with vomitings, and other evacuations, that threatened him with immediate death; notwithſtanding which he recovered, and for ſome ſhort ſpace of time ſeemed tolerably well. In theſe intervals he went ſo often in proceſſion, took ſo much exerciſe, and appeared ſo frequently in public, that the people might conceive the better of his health, as, in the opinion of his phyſicians, contributed not a little to thoſe frequent relapſes [h]. The *French* miniſter, and the miniſter from the ſtates, having each of them communicated, by a memorial, the concluſion of the ſecond treaty of partition, it threw his catholic majeſty into a deep melancholy, who thereupon demanded from the emperor the archduke *Charles*, deſiring he might be ſent privately into *Spain*; and propoſing that an indiſpoſition ſhould be feigned, to prevent his departure from being diſcovered as long as poſſible. To this he received no immediate anſwer; ſo that the delays of that court, the memorials of the allies, the miſunderſtandings amongſt his own miniſters, leaving him no quiet, and no creature to whom he could expreſs himſelf in confidence, the poor king often traverſed his apartment, haſtily wringing his hands like one in deſpair, and was overheard to ſay to himſelf, *Where is my Son! where is Charles! where is the archduke!* At length, underſtanding, that, under pretence of care for that young prince's health, the emperor had actually refuſed to ſend him, he loſt all patience and

[f] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Memoires du Comte d'Harrach. [g] Mercure hiſtorique & politique. [h] Memoires du Comte d'Harrach.

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power over himself. At this juncture the *French* minister presented a menacing memorial, which, added to the load of his former afflictions, brought on, about the middle of *September*, such a violent fit of his distemper, that he received the sacraments of the church; but, to the amazement of those about him, and even of his physicians, he not only escaped, but seemed to recover strength[i].

At the instigation of cardinal Portocarrero, *makes a will in favour of the duke of* Anjou.

When he grew a little better, cardinal *Portocarrero* represented to him the necessity of his fixing the succession by a will; that the secret congregation at *Rome*, to whom the pope had referred the renunciations of his aunt and of his sister, had declared them null; that the motive of those renunciations, which was preventing the junction of the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, might be complied with, and at the same time the dismembering of his dominions prevented, by calling *Philip* duke of *Anjou* to the succession. Upon this, the king fixed his eyes earnestly on the cardinal, who stood by his bed-side; bid him weigh the matter attentively, and remember that he discharged the whole burden of it upon him, who must be responsible at the last day for his conduct in this important affair. Upon this the cardinal caused the will to be drawn, which the king, not without great reluctance, signed, on the 2d of *October* following; and, having sealed it up, caused it to be put in a cover before some of the principal nobility, who thereupon indorsed their names as witnesses, *viz.* the cardinals *Portocarrero* and *Borgia*, Don *Manuel de' Arias*, president of *Castile*, the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, count *de Benevente*, and the dukes of *Sessa* and *Infantado*. Three days after he made a codicil, by which he confirmed his testament, and added some pious legacies, directing that the queen should have the government either of the *Italian* provinces, or of the *Low Countries*, at her own choice[k]. Notwithstanding all this, he wrote to the duke of *Pareta*, to acquaint him with his testament; and ordered him to inform the emperor, that, notwithstanding the low state of his affairs and his health had obliged him to take this step, yet he hoped to live long enough to make another disposition in favour of his imperial majesty, without prejudice to the welfare of his subjects. He had indeed some reason to hope this; for he grew afterwards so much better,

[i] Lamberti, Memoires pour servir à l'Hist. du Siecle xviii. tom. i. p. 110. Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne. [k] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 485. Memoires de la Torre, tom. ii. p. 64. 109.

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that public rejoicings were made at *Madrid* and at *Brussels*. On the 26th of *October* he relapsed for the last time with such mortal symptoms, that he immediately received the sacraments with great resignation, as he likewise did with the same disposition three days afterwards; and on the first of *November*, between two and three in the afternoon, he breathed his last, being within five days of thirty-nine years old, and having reigned a little more than thirty-five years[l].

The will, after some deliberation, accepted by Louis XIV. *and the dauphin.*

THE late king's testament was opened the very same day that he died; upon which the queen dowager, cardinal *Portocarrero*, the president of *Castile*, the inquisitor-general, the count *de Frigliano*, counsellor of state, and the count *de Benevente*, grandee of *Spain*, in quality of regents of the kingdom, notified to the minister of *France* the nomination of the duke of *Anjou*. The minister dispatched an account of this, with an extract of the testament, to the court of *France*. The queen, and the rest of the regents, wrote also the same day to the most Christian king; and, after this, dispatched a second and a third letter, to press the immediate departure of their new king, and to represent the difficulties they laboured under, till they received at least the news of his acceptance of the crown. On the 12th of the same month *Louis* XIV. notified to them, by a letter under his own hand, that the duke of *Anjou* had accepted the crown, and that the dauphin had renounced all his pretensions in his favour[m]. It may not be amiss to observe, that some historians have asserted they were for a time divided at the court of *Spain* as to the choice of a successor out of the house of *Bourbon*, some of the ministers being inclined to prefer the duke of *Orleans*, or his son the duke of *Chartres*; and it has been also insinuated, that this would not have been disagreeable to *Louis* XIV.; but that, after mature deliberation, this project was laid aside, from an apprehension that his most Christian majesty would be less zealous in the cause of his nephew than in that of his grandson. At first sight this seems very plausible; but a little reflection will shew, that it is far from being solid, since the *Spanish* ministers might have reasonably concluded, that the want of zeal in the *French* king might have been balanced by the want of in-

[l] BURNET's History of his own Times, Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. ii. p. 133. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. [m] Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. ii. p. 147. LARREY, Histoire de Louis XIV. LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle XVIII. tom. i. p. 229—235. History of Europe, A. D. 1700.

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lination in other princes to have disputed that nomination, which would have quadrated so well with the pacific views of the allies. But, to speak the truth without reserve, this is not in the least degree probable; for, if the ministers had ever reflected upon this matter at all, they would never have omitted the duke of *Orleans* and his whole line, in the disposition of the *Spanish* monarchy made by this testament, as it is evident they did. It was for this reason that *Philip* duke of *Orleans*, on behalf of himself and his son, made at *Paris* a solemn protest against the validity of this will, with respect to the preference given to the archduke *Charles*, in prejudice to the duke and his family, more especially as that testament is founded solely on the inviolable rule of succession to the *Spanish* monarchy [n]. This protest is dated the 1st of *December*, and on the 4th of the same month the new king set out for his dominions; which naturally brings us to the close of this section, and to the detail of a transaction, one of the most material in modern history, which was immediately the source of a long war, which, at the bottom, has been the cause of every war since, and which it is very possible may prove the ground of disputes that are yet to come.

[n] Mercure historique & politique.

SECT. XVII.

The Reign of Philip V. *from his Accession, to the Treaty of* Utrecht.

Plan of this section, with a view of the method in which, and authorities on which, it is written.

WE had, in the foregoing sections, for the most part, guides sufficiently known, and whose historical labours have received the sanction of public approbation; but we can boast no longer of this advantage. What we are to deliver in this section is a new history, collected from the best materials that we could meet with, and carefully compared, and methodically digested. For these reasons we thought it necessary to be a little more full, that the reader may receive greater satisfaction in regard to a period, where we cannot atone for our succinctness, as we have hitherto done, by referring him to some larger history, as well as from the consideration that what falls near our own times, and within the remembrance of many who are now living, becomes so much the more interesting, and is for that reason read with greater curiosity, and examined with more attention. But, that we might still keep within reasonable bounds, we touch as slightly as possible whatever regards

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transactions out of *Spain*, though relative to that crown, leaving them to be more accurately explained in their proper places, and admitting few or no events which are not of real importance, or which are not absolutely necessary to the understanding such as are; so that, in the course of the section, there may be represented the real consequences of the duke of *Anjou*'s being called to this succession, the disposition of the *Spaniards* towards him, the source of those discontents, that induced whole provinces to embrace the interest of his competitor, the progress of the war, and the means by which he came at last to be left in the quiet possession of *Spain* and the *Indies*, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, which was calculated to deprive him of both.

Measures taken by the regents to facilitate the quiet accession of Philip.

THE regents having fixed the 24th of *November* for the proclamation of the new king, the ceremony was performed with all possible regularity and splendor, and with loud acclamations of joy by the populace[a]. The regents, knowing well how bold a step they had taken, resolved to proceed in the same road, and with the same vigour. They desired the marquis of *Harcourt*, now honoured with the title of duke and peer, to take his seat in the council; and, in their answer to his most Christian majesty's letter, they desired him to take what measures he thought proper on the behalf of *Spain*, and assured him of their approbation, as also that they had given instructions to the viceroys of provinces, and governors of places, to obey his orders, and to march or to receive whatever troops he should judge requisite[b]. The dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* attended *Philip* to the frontiers, and took their leaves of him in the *Isle of Pheasants*. The king slept that night at *Irun*, which was the 24th of *January*, where he was received by the bishop of *Pampeluna*, and other persons of distinction[c]. His first act of sovereignty was bestowing the viceroyalty of *Catalonia* upon the count *de Palma*, nephew to cardinal *Portocarrero*, notwithstanding the landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who was in possession of that dignity, had owned him as well as the rest of the *Spanish* viceroys; such as the elector of *Bavaria* in the *Low Countries*, prince *Vaudemont* in the duchy of *Milan*, and the duke *de Medina Cœli* at *Naples*. But, in the midst of all

[a] Hist. gen. d'Espagne, Memoires & Negociations secretes de diverses Cours de l'Europe, tom. ii. p. 188. [b] LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xvii. tom. i. p. 233. Memoires & Negociations secretes de diverses Cours de l'Europe, tom. ii. p. 197. [c] History of Europe for 1700. BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure historique & politique,

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this seeming tranquillity, as there was a league forming abroad, so there were contrivances at home to deprive him of that crown which he had so lately received.

Contrivances of those who were still attached to the house of Austria. 1701.

To give the better colour to this, the count *de Harrach*, on the 17th of *January*, protested, in the most solemn manner, at *Madrid*, against the validity of the late king's will, which he alleged that monarch had no power to make[d]. Father *Torres*, who had been his confessor, asserted, that a little before his death he had declared to him and to the inquisitor-general, that what he did was against his inclination. The queen dowager likewise was disposed to the same way of thinking; of which king *Philip* being informed, he wrote her a letter with his own hand, desiring her to quit the capital, and go to *Valencia*, *Granada*, or *Cordova*; but, as the season was very cold, she chose to go no further than *Toledo*[e]. The regents intimated to *Bernard de Mendoza*, bishop of *Segovia*, inquisitor-general, and one of their own number, that his absence would be acceptable; and as for the confessor, they banished him without ceremony. They removed likewise some other persons, and even the imperial and palatine ministers, who made at first some difficulty of obeying; but the regents having observed to them, that they could not insist on their public characters to a prince they would not acknowlege, and that they could not be responsible for the safety of their persons, they thought fit to take the advice that was given them[f]. King *Philip* arrived on the 18th of *February* at the palace of *Buen Retiro*, where he was received by cardinal *Portocarrero*, and many of the grandees, and where he resided till the 14th of *April*, when, all things being ready, he made his public entry into *Madrid* with all possible magnificence, and attended by such a croud of people, that some were pressed to death in the streets. His youth, his docility, the sweetness of his temper, his clemency, and, above all, his piety, gained him the affections of the nobility in appearance, and of the middle and meaner sort of people in reality[g].

Philip *unanimously acknowleged*

THE court of *France*, desirous of securing the duke of *Savoy* in the interest of the two crowns, after the refusal, as some say, of an archduchess, demanded the younger daughter of that prince, Donna *Louisa Gabriella*, sister to the du-

[d] Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. iii. p. 24. LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle XVIII. tom. i. p. 367.
[e] Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1701. [f] Histoire generale d'Espagne. [g] Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. iii. p. 33. Histoire chronologique, History of Europe for 1701. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

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and received by the provinces of Spain.

chefs of *Burgundy*, to which the duke very readily agreed. This marriage was declared at *Madrid* on the 4th of *May*, without aſking the opinion or conſent of the council, at which ſome took offence. But public rejoicings were made, and the marriage went on. It was afterwards haſtily ſolemnized at the court of *Savoy*, immediately after which the young princeſs was ſent to *Nice*, from whence ſhe proceeded by ſea to *Marſeilles*, where after being entertained in the moſt ſuperb manner, ſhe proceeded to *Barcelona*, to which city the king, upon the notice of her departure, immediately ſet out from *Madrid* [h]. Before he left his capital, he received the homage of the grandees of *Caſtile*, who, according to the old cuſtom, not only ſwore to ſerve him with duty and affection, but likewiſe to diſcloſe whatever deſigns againſt him ſhould come to their knowlege, and to fight againſt the enemies of his government at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. He alſo made a tour, in the month of *Auguſt*, to *Toledo*, in order to viſit the queen dowager, who received him with all poſſible marks of kindneſs and reſpect, made him a preſent of a golden fleece richly adorned with jewels, which ſhe faſtened with her own hands to his button, and received from him an eagle enriched with diamonds of great price [i]. All the provinces of *Spain* made him a free gift upon his acceſſion, and, amongſt the reſt, that of *Guipuſcoa*, which had never ſhewn the like mark of zeal for any of his predeceſſors. He named, on his leaving *Madrid*, a cabinet council, at the head of which was cardinal *Portocarrero*, made a public entry into the city of *Saragoſſa*, in his way to *Catalonia*, and, arriving at *Barcelona*, held an aſſembly of the ſtates there in the month of *October*, where he gave a ſpecimen of his wiſdom and goodneſs, which induced the people for a time to conſider him as another *Solomon* (A). There

[h] Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Hiſtoire general d'Eſpagne.
[i] Mercure hiſtorique & politique.

(A) The caſe alluded to in the text regards the ſon of the duke *de Medina Sidonia*, the firſt duke in *Caſtile*, grandee of *Spain* of the firſt claſs, maſter of the horſe to the king, and one of the graveſt, worthieſt, and moſt potent, noblemen in *Spain*. This young gentleman, being diſpleaſed that an officer of the revenue preſumed to ſearch his equipage at the entrance of *Madrid*, gave him ſome coarſe language; to which, either not knowing or not regarding his quality, the fellow anſwered with all the inſolence of a man in office; which ſo provoked the young lord, that he ſhot him through the head. For this

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There his marriage was celebrated with great lustre; and there, in consequence of his grandfather's advice, which was likewise approved by his own council, he resolved to pass over into *Italy*, where the war was already begun, and where his presence was on that and on many other accounts become absolutely necessary [k].

[k] Histoire gen. d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique.

high offence cardinal *Portocarrero* caused him to be closely confined, and dispatched an express immediately to *Barcelona*, with an account of what had happened, to the king, as being unwilling to run any hazard of offending the grandees, by taking any steps, in an affair of so delicate a nature, of his own head. As soon as *Philip* had received and read the cardinal's dispatch, he called the duke of *Medina Sidonia* into his cabinet: "There "is a young man," said the king, "the son of a person of "very high quality, who has "killed an officer of the reve- "nue for doing his duty, and "while he was doing it; I de- "sire you would give me your "opinion, how he ought to be "punished for this offence?" The duke, after a little consideration, made answer, that the offence was of a very high nature; that the young man, let him be whose son he would, should be confined for the remainder of his life in prison; and his father obliged to provide for the widow of the deceased, and for all his family. "You have spoke," returned *Philip*, "upon this occasion, "like a king, and therefore I "must speak to you as a father. "The criminal is your son; "send him to one of your own "castles, and keep him there "till he is made thoroughly "sensible of his fault; with "respect to the widow and fa- "mily of the deceased, I can- "not dispense with that part of "your judgment, and I am "persuaded you will make no "difficulty in assigning them "a handsome maintenance." The duke threw himself at the king's feet, to thank him for this act of favour and kindness, and remained always attached to him with the most heroic fidelity (1). An instance he gave of this when the affairs of *Philip* were in a very critical situation, that is, after raising the siege of *Barcelona*, when he was obliged to retire into *France*, and it was debated in his council whether he should not remain there. The duke, who was then very old, and also infirm, said, at the close of the debate, "His majesty will de- "termine, from what he has "heard, whether he will go; "for my part, I have long ago "determined to follow him to "the last gasp of my breath, "and into the most distant cor- "ner of the world" (2). But, as the reader will see, things did not come to such extremities.

(1) *Mercure historique & politique, tom.* xxxi. *p.* 579. *Causes celebres & interessantes, tom.* viii. *p.* 521. (2) *Vayrac, Etat present de l'Espagne, tom.* iv. *p.* 172.

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His foreign alliances with Portugal *and* Savoy, *and his marriage with a princess of the last-mentioned house.*

As to foreign affairs, the interests of *Spain* were now entirely managed by the most Christian king, who shewed great wisdom and spirit in the contrivance; but, having outlived the great ministers and heroes who had contributed to the elevation of his glory, failed in the execution of them. If he really outwitted the allies, in preferring the spirit to the letter of the partition treaty, they were certainly even with him by their persevering in such a conduct as hindered him from discerning with certainty whether they intended peace or war. King *William* and the states of *Holland* acknowleged king *Philip* upon his accession; and the latter, by this act of civility, recovered 22 battalions of old troops dispersed in the garrisons of the *Low Countries*. Yet, in the beginning of the month of *September*, the grand alliance was signed [l], which perhaps might have been prevented, if *France* had made the same vigorous use of her arms she had formerly done. An alliance offensive and defensive was also concluded, by the two crowns, with the duke of *Savoy* [m], in consequence of which, and the marriage of his daughter, he was declared generalissimo of their forces in *Italy*, where, as marshal *Catinat* suspected, he exposed his person with great intrepidity on one side, while he furnished to, as well as held secret intelligence with, the other [n]. An alliance of the like kind was made with the court of *Portugal*; and his most Christian majesty, amongst other things, undertook to pay the dowry of the queen dowager of *England*, in case it should, out of resentment of this treaty, be stopped by that crown [o]. Both these alliances, though advantageous in shew, proved detrimental in fact to *France* and *Spain*, where they depended upon, and were deceived by, them. The pope was in the interest of king *Philip*, and yet had not the courage to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*. An insurrection happened in that capital, which was extinguished indeed, but not without effusion of blood, as well in the streets as on the scaffold [p]; so that at the end of this year affairs had a very cloudy aspect at home and abroad, and the young king found himself obliged to quit his consort almost as soon as he had received her, and the kingdoms of

[l] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. i. p. 89. Memoires historiques & chronologique, Le Clerc, Quincy, Limiers. [m] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [n] Mercure historique & politique. [o] Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. P. i. pag. 31. Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 504. [p] Mercure historique & politique.

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which he had just taken possession, to go and expose his person in provinces where a spirit of disaffection had already appeared, and at the head of armies which had already suffered several checks, and where he was to rely intirely upon the conduct of others, having as yet no military experience, and being too young to form any just notions of men or things, at least in proportion to the exigency of his affairs, and that critical conjuncture in which he was called to the government of a nation, distracted in their councils, divided in their affections, and, in point of treasure and power, almost totally exhausted. It is true, that, towards the close of the year, he had the consolation of seeing the plate fleet arrive with a cargo of sixty millions; and was so prudent as to refuse admission to the fleet of the allies, which, without committing hostilities, had demanded entrance into the port of *Cadiz* [q], with an intention to seize it.

King Philip makes a tour to Italy, contrary to the sentiments of the Spanish nobility.

The intended voyage of king *Philip* into *Italy* was by no means agreeable to many of the *Spanish* lords, and it was likewise disapproved by the duke of *Harcourt*. His grandfather sent him a long memorial upon the subject, by the count *de Marsin*; but as he remained fixed to his purpose, after the perusal of that paper, his most Christian majesty consented, and complimented him by a letter upon that firmness [r]. In the mean time there were many things of importance to be settled; the states of *Catalonia* made high demands, and took very little notice of those made by the king. Both their majesties were much indisposed during their residence at *Barcelona*; and the news they received from *Madrid*, as well as from most other quarters, was far from being agreeable. At length the king yielded to all the demands of the *Catalans*; and, in return, they granted him a million, to be paid in ten years, and 50,000 crowns by way of free gift to the queen [s]. The marquis *de Bedmar*, was appointed commander in chief of the *Low Countries*, on the departure of the elector of *Bavaria* for his own dominions; and, at the pressing instances of cardinal *Portocarrero*, the king consented that the queen should remain in *Spain*, and that the councils of regency should be held in her presence [t]. 1702.

[q] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Burnet's History of his own Times. [r] Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1702. Lamberti, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. ii. p. 2, 3. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [s] Mercure historique & politique. [t] Le Clerc, Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas.

All

Pacifies Naples by his presence, and secures the Sicilians without making them a visit.

ALL things being at length adjusted in the best manner possible, the king embarked at *Barcelona* on the 8th of *April*, and landed the 15th of the same month in the bay of *Naples*. He made his entry into that city the next day, where his presence seemed to re-establish a calm. He was not only very affable to the nobility, but granted audiences to all sorts of people, heard their grievances patiently, and redressed them as far as he was able. There was an arrear of about five or six millions due to the crown for quit-rents and taxes, which lay very heavy, and afforded the officers of the revenue constant colour for vexations. King *Philip* made a short end of this; he remitted the whole; at which the people were so distracted with joy, that, when the nobility made him a free gift of three hundred thousand ducats, the commons of *Naples* gave him four hundred thousand [u]. He would have crossed the sea to *Sicily*; but it was represented to him, that the severity of the *Spanish* government, since the revolt of *Messina*, had not only spread universal discontent through that island, but had impoverished the nobility and gentry to such a degree, that the expence of a royal visit would absolutely ruin them. He not only desisted, upon this, from his design, but sent his orders to that kingdom for restoring the honours and estates to all that had been condemned and banished, and directed their palaces, that had been demolished, to be rebuilt at his expence; which effectually gained him the hearts of that nation, as appeared afterwards in many instances [w]. At his leaving *Naples*, he granted an amnesty to all who had been concerned in the late troubles; which had not the same effect, though it created a great joy for the present.

Proceeds to the duchy of Milan, *joins the duke of* Vendosme, *and fights the battle of* Luzara.

HE quitted that capital on the 2d of *June*, went by sea to *Leghorn*, and proceeded from thence by land to *Milan*, where he arrived on the 18th of the same month. He went from thence to the army, and intended an interview with his father-in-law, who avoided it, by pretending some disgust in respect to the ceremonial, to decline taking the command of the army, because he had privately changed sides. The king, having joined the duke of *Vendosme*, was present in the action at *Luzara* on the 15th of *August*; the imperialists were commanded by prince *Eugene*, who was very near surprising and destroying the whole army of the two crowns, and prevented by an accident only. This engagement lasted

[u] Mercure historique & politique, BURNET's History of his own Times, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. [w] Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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till one in the morning. King *Philip* was in the right wing, with the marshal *de Crequi*, who was killed there. The fire was prodigiously warm; and he gave upon that occasion not only the highest testimonies of personal courage, but of patience also, being near forty-eight hours on horseback, and almost the whole time without any refreshment. Each side sung *Te Deum*, and claimed the victory; the slaughter was great on both; but in reality the advantage was on the side of the two crowns, for the next day they took *Lazara*, with all the enemy's magazines; *Guastalla*, after a siege of ten days, in which there was a garrison of eighteen hundred men; and soon after *Burgoforte*, during the siege of which king *Philip* exposed himself in the trenches, encouraged the soldiers by his liberality, and at length made the garrison, which consisted of four thousand five hundred men, prisoners of war. The campaign being over, the king resolved to return by the way of *France* into *Spain*, where his presence was become highly requisite[x], through that spirit of discontent and intrigue spread throughout the kingdom.

THE queen opened the states of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and leaving them sitting at *Saragossa*, proceeded to *Madrid*, where her arrival created great joy, and prevented that spirit of intrigue, which began to prevail, from breaking out into open insurrection, as otherwise it would have done, upon the appearance of the fleet of the allies before *Cadiz*[y]. As soon as the news came, the queen declared in a council of regency, that she was ready to go into *Andalusia*, if that could be of any use; and offered all her jewels to be sold, if money was wanting. This had a great effect; cardinal *Portocarrero* raised and paid six squadrons of horse, the bishop of *Cordova* levied a regiment of foot at his own expence[z]. The same firmness of the queen appeared after the misfortune at *Vigo*, where the marine of *France* was ruined, and where the *Spaniards* lost, by their own confession, to the value of eight millions of gold[a]. The retreat of the admirante of *Castile* was a new misfortune; he had accepted the embassy to *France*, and, under colour of providing every thing requisite to discharge it with the utmost splendor, he raised immense sums of money, packed up a

The queen's spirit and resolution of great service in a time of public distress.

[x] QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Monsieur le Marquis de FEUQUIERES, tom. iii. p. 249. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, BURNET's History of his own Times. [y] Mercure historique et politique, History of Europe for 1702. BURNET, LIMIERS, LARREY. [z] Histoire gen. d'Espagne.
[a] Le Siecle de Louis XIV.

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vast quantity of rich furniture and jewels, which, at a certain stage upon the road filed off for *Portugal*, whither he retired himself with great secrecy, and made a kind of public entry into *Lisbon*, accompanied by about three hundred persons, and one hundred and fifty carriages, on the 23d of *October* [b]. In the mean time king *Philip*, having landed at *Marseilles*, continued his journey with all possible vigilance, and, passing directly into *Catalonia*, made his entry into *Barcelona* on the 20th of *September*; and, from the time of his arrival in *Spain*, the powers of the regency ceased, and the deliberations of all the councils were transmitted to the king, before any resolutions were taken [c]. All this time cardinal *Portocarrero*, archbishop of *Toledo*, was at the head of affairs, and acted in all things as prime minister.

King Philip *returns into* Spain, *and finds great heart-burnings in his conduct.*

1703. ABOUT the middle of *January*, at the request of cardinal *Portocarrero*, the king returned to *Madrid*; the very same day the cardinal *d'Etrees* came thither likewise with the title of embassador from his most Christian majesty. This prelate explained to him, pursuant to the intelligence they had received from *France*, the real intentions of the allies, and the certainty of his being attacked in his own dominions. Upon this king *Philip* thought proper to enforce the measures already resolved upon for recruiting the *Spanish* infantry, for remounting their cavalry, and for forming a numerous body of standing forces, under the title of troops of the household. Orders were likewise given in respect to the marine; and, that these necessary projects might be carried into execution with as much vigour as possible, he judged it requisite to make free with six or eight millions of what had been saved out of the galleons at *Vigo*. The council of the *Indies*, and the duke of *Medina Cœli* who was at the head of it, remonstrated very strongly against this proceeding, but in vain. The *French* cardinal maintained, that a part might be taken to save the whole; and it was believed that the *Spaniards* were chiefly irritated by the sending immediately two millions into *France*, to indemnify the most Christian king for the loss of his ships at *Vigo*, and his subjects in some measure for the loss of their money. The duke *de Medina Cœli* resigned his employment; the *Spanish* cardinal quarrelled with the cardinal from *France*; and the king, to keep them in some measure quiet, was forced to dispatch business without either [d].

[b] Mercure historique & politique. [c] Histoire generale d'Espagne. [d] BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure historique & politique.

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Upon this, orders came from *France* for the dutchess of *Braccaciano*, better known by the name of the princess *d'Ursins*, to return to *Rome*, on account of her declaring, without any management, for cardinal *Portocarrero*. She was by birth a *French* woman, of the noble family of *Tremouille*, and had gained an unaccountable ascendency over both their majesties, insomuch that the queen fell sick upon the order, which was thereupon suspended [e]. In secret, both the cardinals gave *Philip* good advice; *d'Estrees* assured him, that it was impossible to preserve himself upon the throne, but by the assistance of his grandfather: that, through the weakness of the two last reigns, a spirit of faction had diffused itself amongst the grandees, which inclined many of them to postpone the public in favour of their private interest: that they began already to cabal; and that, without having a sufficient number of *French* troops upon whom he might rely, neither his crown nor his person could be safe. Cardinal *Portocarrero* treated these suspicions in general as unjust, but, however, did not oppose the measures that were suggested. He desired the king's leave to resign all his employments, on account of his age and infirmities, but assured him of his constant fidelity and best advice, insinuating, that a state of independency would put it more in his power to serve him, and that he might rely upon his integrity in a private as well as in a public station; but, the king being unwilling to consent, this step was for some time retarded [f]. The commissioners appointed to inquire into the conduct of the admirante declared all his estates forfeited during his life, condemned him to perpetual banishment, and, to justify this sentence, acquitted him of treason; with which the court was not by any means satisfied, apprehending that this would not sufficiently restrain those who still maintained a correspondence with him; and being very well informed of the nature and design of that correspondence, which greatly fortified the credit of that intelligence the *French* cardinal had given, and augmented the king's fears for what might happen, when the design of the allies came to be disclosed [g].

Cardinal Portocarrero *quits the post of prime minister, and retires into the diocese of* Toledo.

At the time of his retreat, the admirante acted with great address; he wrote a very respectful letter to the queen, in which he complained of the injuries done him by his enemies, and particularly of the cardinal of *Toledo* and the president of *Castile*, who had ruined him in the opinion of the king; and had projected an embassy to *France*, to force him

Admirante of Castile's *dangerous intrigues, after his retreat into* Portugal.

[e] Histoire generale d'Espagne. [f] Mercure historique & politique. [g] Hist. gen. d'Espagne.

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out of that privacy in which he desired to live: that he had accepted this employment beneath his birth, which was a strange notion, since the constable of *Castile* was then *Philip*'s embassador, that he might have an opportunity of getting out of their reach, with which view he retired into *Portugal*[h]. At the same time he sent back his secretary, with all the papers of the embassy. But these were all appearances; for at *Lisbon* he persuaded the ministers of the allies, that, if once the archduke was declared king of *Spain*, *Philip* might be with ease dethroned: that the greater part of the nobility, and the people in general, were in the interests of the house of *Austria*; and that it was not so much the succours of *France*, as the irresolution of the court of *France*, that maintained *Philip* at *Madrid*. The king of *Portugal* having entered into the grand alliance, the admirante drew with his own hand the reasons for sending the archduke into *Spain*; which being insisted upon by the allies, at length induced the emperor *Leopold*, and his son the king of the *Romans*, to renounce, by a solemn act, dated the eleventh of *September*, all their pretensions to this monarchy; in consequence of which, the archduke was the next day publicly declared king of *Spain* at *Vienna*, by the name of *Charles* the third[i]. His correspondence in *Spain* was certainly great; and though it was managed with much secrecy, yet *Philip* and his ministers discovered it in part, and suspected more; upon which he was at last attainted of treason, and *Philip* declared, that he would consider as traitors all who had intercourse with him of any kind. About this time the duke of *Savoy*, who, in the spring of the year, had complained, both at *Paris* and *Madrid*, of the calumnies spread to his prejudice, declared openly for the allies, which afflicted the queen extremely[k]. The court of *France* having recalled the cardinal *d'Etrees*, cardinal *Portocarrero* laid hold of that opportunity of executing his former resolution; and accordingly resigned all his offices, and retired[l]. This afforded a gloomy prospect, though nothing in comparison of what afterwards happened; for the elector of *Bavaria* was victorious in *Germany*, the *Low Countries* were still preserved, the duke of *Vendosme* prospered in *Italy*, and the duke of *Savoy*

[h] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, 1703, BURNET's History of his own Times. [i] Corps Universel Diplomatique tom. viii. P. i. p. 133. History of Europe, for 1703. [k] Memoires de LA TORRE, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. VOLTAIRE, LAMBERTI, Memoires, tom. ii. p. 547. [l] Mercure historique & politique.

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saw himself in danger of paying, with the loss of his dominions, for deserting the cause of the two crowns.

As king *Philip* thought it absolutely necessary to have recourse to the succours offered him by his grandfather, and knowing how expedient it would be to have his finances in perfect order at the opening of a war, he gave in to the sentiments of Mr. *Orry*, who had been sent from *France* to assist him in matters of this nature, and who, amongst other singular pieces of advice, suggested, that his revenues were but too well collected: that, to prevent the people from defrauding the king of his taxes, and to prevent their own officers from cheating, the *Spanish* ministers had multiplied them to such a degree, that what the king received was very trifling, in comparison of what was levied; and that these retainers of the treasury were more numerous, and cost the king a greater sum yearly, than all the effective troops in *Spain*. Upon this *Philip* demolished that old fabric, and cashiered the far greater part of these unnecessary officers, which however created a great clamour. This was heightened by suppressing all the titular offices about the court, which were either mere sine-cures, or superfluous. But it was augmented to the highest degree, by obliging some of the old officers of the revenue, who made an improper display of their wealth in times of such confusion, to make some proper offerings out of their abundance, to excuse giving any account how they came by the rest. About the middle of *February* the duke of *Berwick* arrived, who was to command the *French* auxiliaries, and a camp was marked out near *Badajoz* for 30,000 men. The king repaired thither in the beginning of *March*, in order to command his forces in person[m].

King Philip's strict œconomy increases the number of the malecontents.

A. D. 1704.

In the mean time *Charles* III. was arrived in *Portugal*[n], where the admirante, not content with owning him, wrote a letter to pope *Clement* XI. in which he asserted king *Charles*'s will to be a forgery, takes to himself the shame of being concerned in that forgery, and affirms, that there was a true will in favour of *Charles* III.[o]. The king of *Portugal* and the new king of *Spain* published likewise their manifestoes; and, that he might have an equal share in this paper war, *Philip* V. published his declaration likewise, by much the most moderate and the best drawn. In this he establishes his right as derived from the fundamental laws of the kingdom; the testament of his uncle *Charles* II. made upon

Archduke comes on board an English fleet to Lisbon, and assumes the title of Charles the third.

[m] Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [n] Burnet's History of his own Times. [o] Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1704.

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mature deliberation; and the choice of the whole kingdom testified in the most authentic manner. He observes, that he had been four years in possession, and acknowleged by most of the powers of *Europe*, particularly by the crowns of *Great Britain* and *Portugal*, and by the states general, though now embarked in a confederacy to dethrone him. In the close it is added, that if the alliance be increased, it is visibly from motives of interest, certain cessions being made to the king of *Portugal* out of the territories of *Spain*, and others to the duke of *Savoy* out of the *Italian* dominions. King *Philip* took likewise this opportunity of bringing his cousin the duke of *Orleans*'s protest upon the carpet; and established the right of him and his posterity to the succession immediately after the duke of *Berry*, and before the archduke and the duke of *Savoy* [p]. As to the campaign, the operations of it were not very considerable, but, such as they were, they turned to his advantage; he took and demolished several places on the frontiers of *Portugal*, destroyed one half of the *English* and *Dutch* auxiliaries, and gave the people of *Portugal* a very ill impression of the war. On the other hand, those people were by no means pleased to see duke *Schomberg* and baron *Fagel* at the head of the troops; the former quarrelled with the king of *Portugal*; and the admirante with king *Charles*, about his father's arrears; and with a *Spanish* nobleman about his notions, which he treated as visions and chimeras. However, the admirante's policy soon after served him in good stead with the two kings. He was restored into favour; and the earl of *Galway* was appointed to command the army, as the foreign general most acceptable to the troops [q].

Gibraltar taken by the English seamen, and naval fight off Malaga.

While the king made the campaign in the summer, the order that had been so long respited with regard to the princess of *Ursins* was carried into execution; and, upon receiving an order to quit *Madrid* in forty-eight hours, she retired accordingly on the 16th of *April*, to the inexpressible grief of the queen of *Spain* [r]. It was also supposed to chagrin cardinal *Portocarrero*, who remained at *Toledo*, and could not be persuaded to return to court, though the king bestowed on him the high office of inquisitor-general. The fleet of the allies, under the command of Sir *George Rooke*, having the prince of *Darmstadt* on board, and between three and four thousand regular troops, made an attempt upon

[p] Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. part i. p. 154. [q] Histoire gen. d'Espagne, Burnet's History of his own Times. [r] Mercure historique & politique.

Barcelona;

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Barcelona; but, through the care of the viceroy Don *Francisco de Velasco*, it proved ineffectual. They sailed from the coast of *Catalonia* in the beginning of *June*, and about two months after appeared before *Gibraltar*, which was furiously cannonaded. The prince of *Darmstadt*, with his troops, were landed on the isthmus; but the place was taken by the courage of the *English* seamen, under the command of the captains *Whitaker* and *Jumper*; and indeed it was no great wonder, the garrison consisting but of one hundred men [s]. The prince of *Darmstadt* was left with a strong garrison; and the fleet, on the 24th of *August*, engaged, at a small distance from *Malaga*, the navy of *France*, commanded by the count *de Thoulouse*. Both sides claimed the victory, to which neither had a clear title; but it was afterwards known that Sir *George Rooke* had so little ammunition, that his obliging the *French* fleet to retire added as much to his reputation as the most signal victory would have done, if it had been gained before the taking of *Gibraltar* [t].

Excessive honours conferred on marshal Tesse by K. Philip.

THE allies promised themselves much from the autumn campaign on the side of *Portugal*; both the kings, Don *Pedro* and Don *Carlos* were in the field; and the army of king *Philip*, commanded by marshal *Berwick*, was very thin; notwithstanding which, they did little or nothing. This was in part owing to the disputes between Lord *Galway* and Baron *Fagel*, partly to the hatred the *Portuguese* had to their heretic allies, but chiefly to their disappointment with respect to the *Spaniards*, who they imagined would have deserted in great numbers; which was so far from being the case, that the peasants chose to have their villages burnt, rather than own king *Charles* [u]. On the other hand, the duke of *Berwick* found himself so uneasy, that he demanded to be recalled; which was granted, and marshal *Tesse* sent in his stead, whom king *Philip* honoured with the order of the *Golden Fleece*, created him grandee of *Spain*, and captain general, with the same powers and appointments that Don *Juan* of *Austria* had enjoyed; all which, however, contributed nothing to his success, since the sending him into *Spain* has been compared by the *French* writers to the replacing *Villars* by *Tallard* in *Bavaria*, which ruined the elector's affairs, as this new grandee had like to have done

[s] BURNET's History of his own Times, QUINCY, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, LAMBERTI, Memoires, tom. iii. p. 324. [t] QUINCY, BURNET, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. VOLTAIRE. [u] Mercure historique & politique, Hist. gen. d'Espagne.

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those of king *Philip*, who even at *Madrid* found himself surrounded by enemies; and though he was so fortunate as to discover their designs, yet he missed seizing the count de *Cifuentes*, by whom they were conducted, who acted in concert with the admirante of *Castile*, and in whom afterwards *Charles* III. principally confided [w], though the warmth of that nobleman's temper gave him frequent uneasiness.

Siege of Gibraltar carried on with great obstinacy, and without effect. A. D. 1705.

In the present situation of his affairs, king *Philip* found it equally impracticable to defend his person and dominions, without imposing new taxes, and to levy those taxes without exciting continual murmurs, and in some places insurrections. The great aversion the *Spaniards* had to the *French* still subsisted, or rather increased, though they could not but be sensible that the king went every day more and more into the *Spanish* customs, and had recourse to them out of pure necessity. Commerce in *Spain* was lost to such a degree, that king *Philip* was obliged to permit even his enemies to resume it, provided they made use of neutral vessels [x]. In the midst of these distresses he made some great efforts. He fixed a fund for the maintenance of the army, and, when it was deficient, borrowed of the treasurer of the *French* troops; which, in spite of their ill-will, induced the *Spanish* officers to desire that the whole army might be put upon the same foot, and paid in the same way. He established household troops after the mode of his grandfather; and, by having *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *Walloon* guards, found means to draw many young men of the best houses to enter into the service; which was of great use to him. He likewise fixed a cabinet council, composed of persons upon whom he could depend; and into which Mr. *Amelot*, the *French* minister, was admitted, who, being of the long robe, and a very wise and grave man, became highly acceptable to the *Spaniards*. Cardinal *Portocarrero*, though he declined the high office of inquisitor-general, gave the king all the assistance he could, and, as he had done from the beginning, rendered him all the services in his power [y]. The king and his ministers, however, persisted in carrying on the siege of *Gibraltar*, which had been formed in the month of *October*, in the preceding year, by the marquis *de Villadarias*, and had been continued through the winter, at a vast expence of men and money, to very little purpose; for the prince of *Darmstadt*, who defended it, was a good officer, a man of inflexible courage,

[w] Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne.
[x] Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1705. [y] Vide auct. sup. citat.

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and, having the sea open, received continual supplies. Once indeed it might have been taken; for a peasant shewed them a road at the back of the mountain, by which a detachment of five hundred men reached the top of it, and attacked the works, which were but slight on that side, so vigorously, that, if they had been properly supported, they must have carried the place. This error induced the king to send marshal *Tesse* thither, and procured an order to Baron *Pontis* to sail thither with a squadron of five large men of war, notwithstanding he represented how dangerous a step they obliged him to take. He was quickly attacked by the *English* fleet, by whom three of his ships were taken, and he was forced to run the other two on shore. Upon this, on the 23d of *April*, the siege was raised[z].

Consequences of the admirante's contrivances, to the time of his decease.

WHILE the *Spanish* army was employed in the fruitless siege of *Gibraltar*, the *Portuguese* and their allies were in the field, with scarce any force to oppose them. The first place they invested was *Salvaterra*, the governor of which, having made his terms with the admirante, no sooner received his money, than he opened the gates; but his garrison, consisting of four hundred and thirty men, chose to be conducted prisoners to *Lisbon*, rather than take arms against king *Philip*. *Valencia de Alcantara* was the next, where Don *Alonso de Mariaga* commanded, with a garrison of three hundred and fifty men, strong by situation, but ill fortified; it made a gallant, indeed a wonderful defence; for the governor stood five assaults, the last of which continued several hours, and, when he surrendered, there were but one hundred and twelve men left; and these, being disarmed, and sent prisoners under a guard of a troop of horse, seized the arms of their escort while they were at dinner, and, with the assistance of their horses, made their escape to a man[a]. *Albuquerque* in *Estramadura* was taken after seven days open trenches. And thus ended the summer campaign, during which, however, king *Philip* met with misfortunes that chagrined him much more than the sense of his losses. The effects of the admirante's correspondencies produced these apprehensions. A plot was discovered at *Granada*, managed by a physician and a monk, for cutting the throats of the garrison; another of the same kind at *Valencia*, by mere accident; both fixed the design to the eleventh of *June*: at length the capital

[z] QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, BURNET's History of his own Times, Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. iv. p. 204. [a] QUINCY, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. iv. p. 240.

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conſpiracy came to be known, or rather ſuſpected, for it was never clearly made out; the ſcheme was, to ſeize the perſons of the king and queen at *Buen Retiro*, and to carry them priſoners to *Liſbon*, or, if that was found impracticable, to ſtab them by the way. As the marquis *de Leganez* was governor of *Buen Retiro*, and as he had deſired leave to make a tour to his eſtates in the country at the time the deſign was to have been executed, it drew a ſuſpicion upon him, though he was univerſally allowed to be the fineſt gentleman, one of the ableſt ſtateſmen, and one of the beſt officers, in *Spain*. He was arreſted coming out of the king's apartment, and ſent priſoner to *Pampeluna*, from thence removed into *France*, and at length ſuffered to reſide in his own houſe at *Paris*, where he lived in univerſal eſteem to the time of his deceaſe, which was about ſix years after [b]. The miſcarriage of this deſign, accompanied with ſome reproaches from ſome of thoſe to whoſe intereſt he had ſacrificed his own, broke the heart of the admirante [c] on the 23d of *June*, at *Liſbon*, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of the court of *Madrid*, where, however he might be ridiculed and deſpiſed by others, they ſtood at leaſt in as great fear of his artifices as of the arms of the allies, nor were they intirely delivered from the effects of them even by his death (B).

A GRAND

[b] Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques, QUINCY, Mercure hiſtorique & politique. [c] BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, tom. ii. p. 419.

(B) The titles of this extraordinary perſon, ſomewhat more at large, run thus: Don *Juan Enriquez de Cabrera*, ſeventh duke of *Medina de Rio Seco*, eleventh admiral of *Caſtile*, count of *Melgar*, *Modica*, and *Cabrera*. Don *Fadrique*, or *Frederick*, twin brother to Don *Henry* the ſecond, king of *Caſtile*, the ſon of Don *Alonſo* the eleventh, by the famous Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, was the founder of this family, and was the father of Don *Alonſo Enriquez*, though it is not clear who was his mother (3). Some authors ſay a very beautiful woman, whoſe name was *Palena*; but the generality of writers incline, perhaps out of reſpect to the family, to make him the ſon of *Blanch* of *Bourbon*, the wife of Don *Pedro* the Cruel (4). But it is certain that *Henry* the third conferred upon him the office of admirante of *Caſtile*; that Don *Juan* the ſecond created *Frederic Enriquez*, the ſon of *Alonſo*, conde *de Melgar*; and that the emperor *Charles* the fifth made Don *Ferdinand Enriquez*,

(3) *Etat preſent de l'Eſpagne, par l'Abbé de Vayrac, tom. iv. p. 161.* (4) *Relation de l'Etat de l'Eſpagne, p. 39.*

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A GRAND fleet of the allies, commanded by the earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, having taken *Charles* the third on board at *Liſbon*, ſailed for the coaſt of *Catalonia*, where ſome places revolted in their favour, and where they landed a body of ten thouſand men, between *Barcelona* Barcelona *taken by the allies, and becomes the*

riquez, who was the grandſon of Don *Frederic*, duke of *Medina de Rio Seco*. But the title of admirante was held ſo much more honourable, that the reſt were hardly ever mentioned (5). This nobleman, in his father's life time, bore the title of *Conde de Melgar*, and was eſteemed one of the ableſt perſons in the court of *Charles* the ſecond, had the government of *Milan* beſtowed upon him, and ſtood ſo high in the favour of his laſt queen, that for ſome time he was in a manner abſolute at court. The fierceneſs of his temper, and the haughtineſs of his diſpoſition, made him ſo many enemies, that he was driven from court in ſpite of all the intereſt of his protectreſs. He had the greateſt perſonal enmity poſſible to cardinal *Portocarrero*, oppoſed him in every thing, and attached himſelf openly, and with great vehemence, to the intereſts of the houſe of *Auſtria* (6). This did not hinder king *Philip* from endeavouring to gain him; and it is very certain that the admirante made not the leaſt ſcruple of acknowleging his title, or of accepting the character of his embaſſador to the court of *France*. When he retired into *Portugal*, he ſent for his nephew the marquis of *Alcanizas* to *Zamora*, where he propoſed his going with him. The marquis, ſeeing how he was attended, diſſembled his ſentiments, that he might not be carried away by force, made his eſcape in the night, and brought the firſt news of his uncle's evaſion to the queen at *Saragoſſa*, where he was received with great joy, and ever after treated with the utmoſt reſpect As for the admirante, he had a graceful perſon, great courage, and prodigious capacity (7). He was ſtrictly and properly the author of the war in *Spain*; and though ſome great men have treated him as a wild, chimerical, viſionary politician, and condemned his projects as romantic and impracticable (8), yet, to do him juſtice, he had moſt amazing talents, and bid very fair, by his contrivances, for expelling the king he had left, and ſetting upon the throne the prince whoſe claim he eſpouſed; but when he ſaw how little he was conſidered by thoſe for whom he had done ſo much, and how obſtinate they were in undoing all that he had done, grief, indignation, and reſentment, firſt broke his temper, and then his heart (9).

(5) *Etat preſent de l'Eſpagne, par l'Abbé de Vayrac, tom.* iv. *p.* 162. (6) *Memoires de la Torres. Hiſtoire de la Cour de Madrid. Mercure hiſtorique & politique.* (7) *Etat preſent de l'Eſpagne, par l'Abbé de Vayrac, tom.* iv. *p.* 33. (8) *Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, tom.* ix. *p.* 77, 78 *Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Uſe of Hiſtory, vol.* ii. *p.* 87. (9) *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire du* xviii. *Siecle, par M. de Lamberti, tom.* iii. *p.* 521.

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Seat of Charles the third's government.

and *Palamos*; and, being joined by a considerable number of *Miquelets*, broke ground before *Barcelona* on the 28th of *August*. Don *Francisco de Velasco*, viceroy for king *Philip*, having but a slender garrison, summoned the inhabitants, and told them, that he would deal fairly by them; and that if any person was inclined in his sentiments to the opposite party, he should have free leave to go out; but that, if he discovered any treachery afterwards, he would punish it with the utmost severity; but there were none who accepted of this proposal. It was however believed, that the prince of *Hesse* had engaged the governor of *Montjuic* to make the reduction of that fortress no difficult enterprize; but the viceroy prevented this, by hanging the governor, and changing the garrison. When, therefore, the prince came to to make the attack, he met with an obstinate resistance, in which himself and four or five hundred *English* were killed. The *Spaniards* are persuaded, that this lost them the place; for they affirm, that, when the earl of *Peterborough* heard the prince of *Darmstadt* was killed, he suffered himself to say, or rather to think aloud, Then *Barcelona* is to be taken; and, rallying the troops in person, with the assistance of fresh reinforcements, attacked and carried the fortress. Upon this the inhabitants discovered their real sentiments, and compelled the viceroy to give up the place by capitulation, which he did on the 9th of *October* [d]. He was constrained to demand the earl of *Peterborough*'s protection, to prevent his sharing the same fate with his deputy, who was murdered by the inhabitants. All *Catalonia*, *Roses* only excepted, declared for king *Charles*, and the greatest part of the kingdom of *Valencia* did the like [e]. The autumn campaign on the side of *Portugal* was more favourable to king *Philip*; for marshal *Tesse* forced the marquis *las Minas* to raise the siege of *Badajoz*, where the earl of *Galway* lost his right arm, and where the generals of the allies differed so much amongst themselves, that Baron *Fagel* procured himself to be recalled. The princess of *Ursins* returned this year into *Spain*, and the king and queen went some miles out of *Madrid* to receive her; and, which is stranger, the *French* court made her very rich presents, to pacify that resentment which her short

[d] Quincy Histoire Milit. de Louis XIV. Lamberti, Memoires, tom. iii. Burnet's History of his own Times, Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Larrey, Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain, by John Friend, M. D. p. 44. [e] Mercure historique & politique, Quincy, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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exile might have raised [f]. But these, however, made but very little impression.

Besieged by king Philip and marshal Tesse to very little purpose. A. D. 1706.

On the loss of *Barcelona*, the friends and the enemies of king *Philip* began to doubt what turn affairs might take, more especially as a great part of *Arragon*, and almost all *Valentia*, gave evident proofs of their inclination to revolt in favour of his competitor. But they began to recover their spirits at *Madrid*, when it was known what efforts *France* was determined to make on their behalf. It was then resolved that king *Philip* should march in person with the army into *Catalonia*, in order to besiege *Barcelona*, while the count *de Thoulouse*, with the *French* fleet, blocked it up by sea: that the duke of *Berwick*, with a small army, should watch the motions of the *Portuguese*, while the duke *de Noailles* entered *Catalonia* on the side of *France* with seven or eight thousand men, in order to hinder the *Catalans* from disturbing the siege. The queen was to be again left regent in worse circumstances than ever; for, in reality, she was as much exposed in the capital, as her consort at the head of his army. The plan was certainly well laid; and, notwithstanding all her losses, *France* took care that on her side it should be well executed; for the duke of *Noailles* was early in the field, as the count *de Thoulouse* was at sea; but it was out of the power of king *Philip* to be so expeditious. The count *de la Torres*, indeed, took *Villa Real* in the beginning of *January*, and the king put himself at the head of his army before the end of *February*; and yet, through a series of unlucky accidents, the month of *April* was begun before he arrived in sight of *Barcelona* with an army of about 20,000 men, commanded under him by marshal *Tesse*, and abundantly supplied with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries, from the fleet. This was one of the most remarkable sieges in the present century, since *Charles* the third persisted in his resolution of remaining in the place, where he had a strong garrison, and a flying camp under the earl of *Peterborough* in the neighbourhood. The trenches were opened on the 6th of *April*; on the 20th of the same month the *Catalans* found themselves obliged to abandon *Montjuic*, from which the loss of the city seemed inevitable. But the king's person so animated the besieged, tho' he was almost every day perplexed in pacifying their quarrels, that it held out till the 8th of *May*, when the fleet of the allies, under the command of vice admiral *Leake*, appeared upon the

[f] Burnet's History of his own Times, Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

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coaſt, which obliged the count of *Thouloufe* to withdraw with his ſquadron; notwithſtanding which, the army continued the ſiege till the thirteenth, when it was raiſed, with the mortifying circumſtance of leaving not only their artillery and magazines, but alſo their hoſpitals, with a vaſt number of ſick and wounded, whom he recommended to the clemency of the earl of *Peterborough*, who treated them with the ſame care and kindneſs as if they had been his own. This was the greateſt misfortune that *Philip* had hitherto ſuſtained; the rather, becauſe he was obliged to take a vaſt compaſs in his retreat, and that the reputation both of the *Spaniſh* and *French* officers ſuffered by it exceedingly; while, on the other hand, the allies gained great advantage, and the reſolution of *Charles*, by which, out of all doubt, *Barcelona* was preſerved, did him great honour in the eyes of *Europe*[g].

The army of the allies, with the troops of Portugal, *make themſelves maſters of* Madrid.

As the allies had made prodigious efforts to augment their forces in *Portugal*, and as the army commanded by the duke of *Berwick* was very weak, the marquis *de las Minas* and the earl of *Galway*, having taken poſſeſſion of *Alcantara*, reſolved to attack *Ciudad Rodrigo*; which having accompliſhed, and having received the acceptable news of raiſing the ſiege of *Barcelona*, they continued their march to *Salamanca*, of which they became maſters on the 7th of *June*[h]. It being evident that they intended to puſh their good fortune, and to make themſelves maſters of *Madrid*, the *French* embaſſador, Mr. *Amelot*, held a kind of general aſſembly of the grandees, in which he deſired them to explain themſelves clearly, for that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty did not deſire to impoſe his grandſon upon them; and, if he did, his circumſtances at that time left it no way in his power; ſo that it was become both expedient and neceſſary for them to conſider for whom, and in what manner, they would act for reſtoring peace, and the bleſſings of a legal government to their country. The duke *de Medina Cœli* anſwered, in the name of the grandees, that though they wanted not ſome reaſons of complaint ariſing from the ſlights they had received, and from the too great influence of the princeſs of *Urſins*, yet their affections continued inviolable to king *Phi-*

[g] Memoires du Marquis de FEUQUIERES, tom. iv. pag. 111. QUINCY, LAMBERTI, tom. iv. p. 146. Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques, BURNET's Hiſt. of his own Times, Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain, p. 59. [h] Memoires de LA TORRE, LARREY, QUINCY, Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV.

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lip, for whose service they were willing to do all that lay in their power. The king himself arrived about this time, having left the remains of his army in *Navarre*; and, after mature deliberation, sent away the queen and her family to *Burgos* on the 18th of the same month, under a good escort, and took the same route himself the next day[i].

By the dilatoriness of Charles *the third, king* Philip *recovers his capital.*

THE army of the allies, upon his retreat, entered, and took possession of *Madrid*, after sending express upon express to invite king *Charles* to come thither without delay; but that monarch being engaged in the reduction of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and being desirous of making his public entry as he did into *Saragossa*, made less haste than they expected, and the earl of *Peterborough* being also busy in subduing *Valencia*, they found their hopes frustrated of seeing their whole forces united while they were masters of the capital[k]. They had, however, the satisfaction of learning that *Carthagena* and *Alicant* were subdued, and of seeing *Toledo* for some days in their power. But the scene was quickly changed, through the activity of king *Philip*, and the abilities of the duke of *Berwick*, who, after retreating far enough to be joined by the troops from *Navarre*, and being, by that junction, become superior to the allies, began in their turn to advance towards *Madrid*, which, for want of subsistence, the allies were forced to quit, and to retreat to the strong camp of *Guadalaxara*, where they were joined by king *Charles*, and soon after by the earl of *Peterborough*; notwithstanding which, through the weakness of their forces, or misintelligence amongst their generals, they still continued their retreat, which gave the duke of *Berwick* an opportunity of penetrating with his army into *Valencia*, while king *Philip* returned to *Madrid*, into which he made his public entry on the 22d of *September*[l]. One of the first steps taken upon his return was, to send the duke of *Ossuna* with a troop of guards to remove the queen dowager from *Toledo*, and to conduct her to *Burgos*. The people of the first-mentioned city had taken it into their heads, that she invited the *Portuguese* into *Castile*; and this afforded the court a pretence, under colour of providing for her safety, to carry her first to *Burgos*, and from thence to *Bayonne*, where she was received with all possible testimonies of joy and respect,

[i] Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1706. QUINCY, Hist. Militaire, tom. v. p. 282, LARREY, Histoire generale d'Espagne.
[k] BURNET's History of his own Times, tom. ii. p. 448, 449. QUINCY, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. [l] Mercure historique & politique.

and

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and where she lived in great tranquillity upon her annuity of four hundred thousand pieces of eight [m]. Before the end of the year count *Mahony*, who had gallantly defended *Alicant*, made himself master of *Carthagena*, and the marquis de *Baye* recovered *Alcantara* from the *Portuguese*. These small successes, however, made no amends for the loss of the islands of *Majorca* and *Ivica*, of the *Low Countries*, in consequence of the battle of *Ramillies*, and of the duchy of *Milan*, which followed upon the defeat of the army of the two crowns before *Turin* [n].

Methods pursued by him, in order to re-establish his affairs. A. D. 1707.

IT must be allowed, that king *Philip*, by the advice probably of cardinal *Portocarrero*, availed himself prodigiously, at the beginning of this year, of those disgraces which had been suffered in the last. He confiscated the estates of the conde *de Oropesa*, the conde *de Cardona*, the conde *de Cifuentes*, and, in general, of all the nobility that had declared for *Charles* III. and obliged their families to quit *Castile*, and retire to *Barcelona*; which was alleged to be a necessary severity, to prevent that kind of intelligence which might have been fatal to his affairs [o]. He annexed several hereditary offices of great profit to the crown, which, though at any other time it would have been liable to censure, was now applauded. He drew great sums from the clergy by an adroit management of the danger they were under, if the arms of heretics should prevail. He solicited the voluntary assistance of his subjects, and accepted very graciously the smallest marks of it either in money or in men [p]. Some fortunate circumstances concurred with these endeavours; a few ships from *America* arrived safely at *Brest*, and they brought a free gift of a million from the duke of *Albuquerque*, as a testimony of his subjects loyalty. The count *de Villars*, brother to the marshal, recovered the island of *Minorca*, which had revolted; and the queen's pregnancy was declared, which filled the people with joy and hopes [q]. On the 18th of *April* the duke of *Orleans*, afterwards regent of *France*, arrived at *Madrid*, where the king caused him to be received as an infant of *Castile* [r].

[m] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, BURNET. [n] Memoires historiques & chronolog. Hist. gen. d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, BURNET's Hist. of his own Times. [o] Mercure historique & politique. A. D. 1707. [p] Histoire generale d'Espagne. [q] Mercure historique & politique. [r] QUINCY, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV.

MARSHAL

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MARSHAL *Berwick* was in the field with the army, to prevent the enemy from returning into *Castile*, and, when joined by the troops he expected, to proceed in the conquest of the kingdom of *Valencia*. The marquis *de las Minas* and the earl of *Galway*, with about sixteen thousand horse and foot, began the campaign early, in hopes of destroying the *Spanish* magazines, and covering the kingdom of *Valencia*. They did destroy several magazines, which they had better have kept, since they afterwards resolved to besiege the castle of *Villuna*. It was a place of little strength, and no great consequence, yet the duke of *Berwick* marched to relieve it, for he knew the allies wanted subsistence, and thought their retreat before him would raise the spirits of his soldiers, and add reputation to his arms. The earl of *Galway* was for fighting, and prevailed upon the other generals to come into his opinion; upon which they advanced into the plain of *Almanza*, where they attacked the duke of *Berwick* on the 25th of *April*. The *English* troops, at the beginning of the action, penetrated through the centre of the *Spanish* army; but the *Spanish* cavalry having broke the *Portuguese*, and the *French* infantry making a dreadful fire upon their flanks, the army of the allies was at last broke, and, when it was almost dark, began their retreat. Colonel *Hill* carried off the remains of thirteen battalions towards the river *Xucar*, which if they could have passed, they might have been safe; but as they marched in the morning as soon as it was light, and had fought till it was dark, their fatigue obliged them to halt; and this gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity to surround them, so that they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. In short, the victory was complete; there was a great number killed and wounded, several thousands taken prisoners, many of whom were *French*, who had taken service with the allies after the defeats of *Hochstet* and *Ramillies*, and who, returning to their standards, replaced those who had fallen in the battle. The marquis *de las Minas* was dangerously wounded, and his mistress, in the garb of an amazon, killed by his side. The earl of *Galway* had two cuts cross the face, which, though not dangerous, hindered him from seeing, or giving orders. One hundred and twenty standards, with all the artillery and baggage, were taken. The duke of *Orleans*, tho' he did not arrive time enough to have a share in the battle, came very opportunely to improve its consequences, and, in that respect, did all that could be desired [a].

Marshal Berwick *beats the army of the allies in the plains of* Almanza.

[a] BURNET's History of his own Times, LIMIERS, &c. al.

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The kingdoms of Arragon *and* Valencia *reduced, and deprived of their privileges.*

THE town of *Requena* was the first that surrendered to the duke of *Orleans*; this was followed by the capital, and most other places in *Valentia*, except *Xativa*, *Denia*, and *Alicant*. The duke then entered the kingdom of *Arragon*, where *Saragossa* opened its gates on the 25th. The duke of *Noailles* recovered *Cerdagna*, and the marquis de *Baye* retook *Castel Rodrigo* from the *Portuguese*. Thus the kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Arragon* were once more obliged to own Don *Philip*, who made them pay very severely for embracing the cause of his competitor; and for some affronts which they had offered to his government, the city of *Saragossa* was obliged to pay forty-five thousand pistoles, and the rest of the kingdom ninety-thousand [t]. In *Valentia*, the town and castle of *Xativa* being reduced, the whole place was burnt down, except the church, and one hundred and thirty houses belonging to those who had been disarmed, and made prisoners, for not concurring with the rest, and a column of infamy erected; but these were slight things in comparison of depriving both the kingdoms of their constitution, and subjecting them for the future to the laws of *Castile*. This was done by a decree dated the 29th of *June*, which was softened by another dated the 29th of *July*, by which the nobility of *Arragon* and *Valentia* were rendered capable of all offices and honours throughout the king's dominions, and leave was given to rebuild the town of *Xativa*, under the name of *St. Philip* [u].

Prince of Asturias *born, to the great joy of the* Spanish *nation.*

ON the 25th of *August* the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of *Lewis*, and immediately acknowleged presumptive heir apparent of the crown of *Castile* and its dependencies. Cardinal *Portocarrero*, upon this occasion, made a present of five thousand pistoles to the king's treasury; his example was followed by most of the grandees, and all the cities and great towns. Some of the nobility, who had withdrawn themselves, took this opportunity of making their peace: king *Philip* accepted their presents, and, to shew how much he was of their mind, ordered the duke of *Infantado* to be released, and recalled the conde *de Lemos*, the marquis *del Carpio*, and the rest of the exiles. He dispatched the first courier with the news to the queen dowager at *Bayonne*, who made public rejoicings [w] for

[t] Mercure historique & politique, QUINCY, BURNET, LIMIERS. [u] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, BURNET, Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne. [w] Mercure historique & politique, BURNET's History of his own Times.

three

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three days, ſent two of her gentlemen to compliment their majeſties, with very rich preſents for the queen and prince. On the 13th of *October Lerida* ſurrendered to the duke of *Orleans*, as the caſtle did a month after, on the very day that, through the intrigues of the princeſs of *Urſins*, he received the king's orders to raiſe the ſiege; and the beginning of the month following he ſet out for *Paris*[x]. About this time *Charles* III. eſpouſed the princeſs of *Wolfenbuttle*, and, by his return from the army to *Barcelona*, ſtifled a dangerous ſedition, occaſioned by the people's apprehenſions that they were abandoned, and that *Catalonia* would be expoſed to the ſame chaſtiſements the people of *Arragon* and *Valentia* had endured. This year alſo the kingdom of *Naples* revolted; and the duke of *Eſcalona*, being taken in *Gaeta* by count *Daun*, was, after being threatened with hanging, expoſed on horſeback, through the ſtreets of *Naples*, to the inſults of the populace, and then thruſt into a priſon, though he was a nobleman of the moſt unſpotted character, and one who had never enriched himſelf at their expence. This revolution, though it coſt *Spain* dear, ſaved *Toulon*, which was perhaps of equal conſequence even to king *Philip*[y].

Duke of Orleans commands the king's troops with ſucceſs, and yet diſpleaſes him.

AT the opening of this year the court of *Madrid* was very ſenſibly chagrined by the loſs of the fortreſs of *Oran*, which for ſo many years had been defended againſt the *Moors*. This was owing to the deſertion of the count of *Santa Cruz*, who carried the ſmall ſquadron, and little body of troops, with which he was intruſted for its relief, to *Charles* III. at *Barcelona*[z]. The duke of *Orleans* obtained at *Paris* a ſupply of five millions, that is, about two hundred and forty thouſand pounds of our money, for the ſervice of *Spain*, and carried back to *Madrid* the crown jewels, which had been ſent into *France*, when their majeſties were obliged to leave *Madrid*. The duke, when he came to the army, found things in a condition very different from what he expected, and was farther diſappointed by the loſs of a great convoy of proviſions and ammunition, the greateſt part of which was taken by the *Engliſh* fleet[a]. The ſame fleet landed at *Barcelona* count *Starembergh*, an officer of great abilities and great reputation, who immediately took

A. D. 1708.

[x] QUINCY, LIMIERS, Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques. [y] Memoire de LA TORRE, tom. v. p. 57. BURNET, QUINCY, Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques. [z] Mercure hiſtorique & chronologique, Hiſtoire chronologique. [a] BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, QUINCY.

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the command of the troops in *Catalonia*, and diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner, as to give the duke of *Orleans* all the trouble he could. This did not, however, hinder that prince from beſieging *Tortoſa*, a large place, well fortified, and exceedingly ſtrong by ſituation. The ſiege was carried on ſlowly and cautiouſly; for, on one ſide, his royal highneſs was extremely ſparing of men's lives, and, on the other, he reſpected the neighbourhood of count *Starembergh*, which obliged him to be conſtantly on his guard. On the 11th of *July* the place was taken, notwithſtanding the duke received ſcarce any aſſiſtance from *Madrid*, where the princeſs of *Urſins* had inſinuated to king *Philip*, that he had as much to fear from the duke of *Orleans* as from *Charles* III.; and tho' it is ſaid the king was afterwards diſabuſed upon this head, yet, on the duke's return from the campaign, he met with ſo dry a reception, that he quickly ſet out for *Paris* [b]. The chevalier *de Arſfeldt* took *Denia* by ſtorm, and put all the garriſon, and a great part of the people, to the ſword. After this he beſieged *Alicant*, which was ſurrendered upon honourable terms; but being informed, that the *Spaniſh* troops in *Minorca* had been put under arreſt on account of what he had done at *Xativa*, he ſent a detachment of horſe after the garriſon of *Alicant*, and ſeized them in like manner. At *Barcelona*, *Charles* III. received his new queen in a very pompous manner; ſoon after which the duke *de Moles* was declared his prime miniſter in the room of the count *de Oropeſa*, who died ſuddenly [c]. The intrigues of his party, but more eſpecially the monks, cauſed an inſurrection in *Sardinia*; ſo that the marquis of *Jamaica*, the governor of it, finding himſelf abandoned, embraced the offer of an *Engliſh* admiral to carry him to *Spain* on board his fleet. He was firſt brought to *Barcelona*, where king *Charles* would willingly have detained him, but, inſiſting on his capitulation, he was allowed to go to *Madrid*, where, to the amazement of *Philip*'s court, he was very well received [d]. General *Stanhope*, without any great difficulty, made himſelf maſter of the iſland of *Minorca*; and no endeavours were ſpared to bring about a revolution in *Sicily*; upon which count *Maboni* was ſent thither with a conſiderable force. Count *Starembergh*, who knew his army too weak to prevent the duke of

[b] Mercure hiſtorique & chronologique, QUINCY, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS, LARREY. [c] LAMBERTI, Memoires, tom. v. p. 163. Memoires hiſtoriques & chronolog. Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. [d] Mercure hiſtorique & politique.

Orleans's

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Orleans's taking *Tortosa*, thought it strong enough to attempt the recovery of that important place; which he did on the 4th of *December*, and was near succeeding, but, thro' the care and courage of the governor, was at length repulsed, though it cost that brave man his life. There was no action this year on the side of *Portugal*; but, to console king *Philip* for the losses he had sustained, the galleons arrived safe, by which he acquired twelve hundred thousand pieces of eight, exclusive of nine hundred thousand sent as a present to the young prince of *Asturias*, whose birth had already brought him many other advantages, and of whom the *Spaniards* were so fond, that he was forced to be shewn to them from the balcony of the palace, when he was scarce a week old [e].

IT had been the misfortune of king *Philip* to be distressed, from the very beginning of his reign, in point of revenues; and this distress had gone on increasing, notwithstanding all the methods that could be devised to prevent it, till, at the beginning of this year, things were found in such a situation, that it was equally difficult to find recruits for the army, or subsistence for those regiments that wanted recruits. In all other respects the king's affairs were equally embarrassed; so that cardinal *Portocarrero*, and the grandees most sincerely attached to this interest, could testify it no other way than by giving him, as they did, the strongest assurances that they would perish with him. Out of this distress his enemies delivered him; his grandfather consented to treat of a peace; and the terms prescribed to him were, to treat of it on the foot of abandoning his grandson. He was compelled to submit, and, exclusive of the negotiation, his necessities were such, that he could no longer yield him any supplies, and was constrained to withdraw part of his forces. Cardinal *Portocarrero* hinted to king *Philip*, that he should seize this opportunity of putting his affairs intirely on a *Spanish* bottom. The king took his advice; the duke *de Medina Cœli* was declared prime minister; the marquis *de Bedmar* secretary at war; the *French* embassador was excluded from council, and sent home; some domestics of the duke of *Orleans* were arrested, imprisoned, and treated with great severity. To complete all, as soon as the preliminaries were made public, and dispersed by the allies, king *Philip* addressed a circular letter to his subjects, penned with great plainness, and in terms the most pathetic. In this he exag-

King Philip, *by the advice of cardinal* Portocarrero, *puts himself on the affections of his own people.* A. D. 1709.

[e] Memoires de LA TORRE, Histoire chronologique, Histoire gen. d'Espagne.

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gerated the hardſhips put upon his grandfather, not only to abandon him abſolutely, but to aſſiſt in dethroning him: yet, in this, he ſaid, the allies did him honour, ſince it ſhewed their opinion that he would defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; which he aſſured them was his intention, and that he was reſolved to die at the head of the laſt *Spaniſh* ſquadron, and to tinge the dear earth of *Caſtile* with his blood. This had its effect; for the enthuſiaſm of this declaration diffuſed itſelf through the whole nation. The general aſſembly of the clergy not only granted a free gift, but the prelates, and thoſe who were able, paid it upon the ſpot. The nobility ſent their plate to be coined; the middle and the common ſort of people acted with the like ſpirit, for the king had told them in his letter, that the allies had promiſed the duke of *Savoy* and the king of *Portugal* handſome rewards out of the *Spaniſh* dominions; that the emperor would take what he pleaſed; and that the archduke was to be content with the reſt, upon ſuch terms as thoſe who conquered it for them ſhould be inclined to dictate. The putting things into this form was the laſt ſervice rendered by cardinal *Portocarrero*, who died in the month of *September*, at the age of ſeventy-four, and was ſucceeded in the ſee of *Toledo* by Don *Antonio Ibamiez*, archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*, and inquiſitor-general [f]. In reſpect to military affairs, there happened nothing material. Marſhal *Berzons* commanded the army of the two crowns, and he had inſtructions from *Lewis* XIV. not to act offenſively. Count *Starembergh*, with his army, paſſed two rivers in his ſight; upon which king *Philip* wrote the marſhal a very ſmart letter, and went in perſon to the army, where, though he was able to do nothing, yet this ſtroke of vivacity pleaſed the *Spaniards* highly. However, the caſtle of *Alicant*, after a blockade of ſeveral months, ſurrendered to the chevalier *d'Arſfeldt*; and the marquis *de Baye* beat the earl of *Galway* and the *Portugueſe* army in the plain of *Gudina*, and made fifteen hundred priſoners, which prevented their beſieging *Badajoz*. Vaſt levies were made, and all poſſible precautions taken, in the winter, to act with the greateſt vigour in the ſpring, more eſpecially in *Catalonia*, where king *Charles* was maſter only of *Barcelona*, *Gironne*, and *Tarragona*, covered by the ſmall

[f] Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Larrey, Memoires de la Torre, Mercure hiſtorique & politique, A. D. 1709. Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Hiſtoire chronologique, Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

army

army of count *Starembergh*, who very wisely waited for supplies [g].

The prime minister, the duke de Medina Cœli, *convicted of treason.*

AT the opening of the year, Monsieur *d'Iberville* arrived at *Madrid*, with the title of envoy extraordinary from his most Christian majesty: the king received him in public but very coldly, and, upon his demanding a private audience, referred him to the duke of *Medina Cœli*. The business of this minister was to qualify the offer that his master had made, of depositing cautionary towns in the hands of the states, till his grandson was driven out of *Spain*, and to furnish the expences of the war. His stay was but short; king *Philip* withdrew his countenance from the *French*; and the queen, giving way to her resentment, went somewhat farther, and treated them so ill, that some returned home [h]. *Philip* did not think fit to publish another circular letter; but, in a short edict for raising recruits, he declared that his sole resources were the unshaken fidelity and heroic courage of the *Spanish* nation [i]. There wanted not some, however, who insinuated, that he used this language only in compliance with his circumstances; but it fell out luckily, that the flotilla arrived on the 2d of *March* at *Cadiz*, with about ten millions on board. Two of these ships were *French*, and were very desirous of sailing home with their cargoes, which however the king obliged them to debark, and insisted upon an extraordinary indulto, which the captains refusing to pay, they were put in prison. These proceedings gratified the *Spaniards* extremely; and the king drew out of the money about two millions, which were of inexpressible service at that juncture [k]. It was resolved that the marquis *de Baye* should command in *Estremadura* against the *Portuguese*; and the marquis *de Villedarias* the grand army in *Catalonia*, which consisted of twenty-three thousand men, under the king, who resolved to make the campaign in person. The marquis set out from *Madrid* on the 15th of *April*, in the evening of which day there happened a very extraordinary event. About eight at night the king sent for the duke of *Medina Cœli* into his cabinet, and, after having conferred with him for some time, directed him to go to the secretary of state's office about certain dispatches. The duke no sooner came thither,

A. D. 1710.

[g] QUINCY, Memoires de LA TORRE, BURNET's History of his own Times, LARREY, LIMIERS, Memoires historiques & chronologiques. [h] Mercure historique & politique. A. D. 1710. [i] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, Histoire chronologique, BURNET, QUINCY. [k] Mercure historique & politique.

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than he was arrested, and conducted in a coach and six out of town, to a castle on the road to *Segovia*. When the officer parted from him, he furnished him with a night-gown, a box of chocolate, a purse with a hundred pistoles, and some other necessaries; for which civility, when the duke testified great acknowlegements, the officer told him they belonged to the king, who had taken care to provide them for him. As this nobleman was prime minister, and governor to the prince of *Asturias*, this affair made a very great noise, and it was said that he had undertaken to betray the king or the prince into the hands of their enemies [l]. It is certain that his misfortune arose from a letter delivered to the king by the confessor of the marquis of *Astorga*, who died that morning, and whose sister the duke married. The junto appointed to examine his papers condemned him four months after to suffer death, for giving intelligence to the king's enemies, particularly with respect to the real intentions of his most Christian majesty; but the king changed this sentence into imprisonment, and, being transferred from *Segovia* to *Pampeluna*, and thence to *Fontarabia*, he there ended his days [m].

King Philip's *army totally defeated near* Saragossa *by count* Starembergh.

This strange affair prevented the king from going so soon to the army as otherwise he would have done; and, when he came thither, he found the weather so bad, that he was able to make but little use of his superiority over count *Starembergh*. However, he took *Cervera*, where he found a magazine of cloaths and linen for four thousand men; but he was not able to make the siege of *Balaguer*. After count *Starembergh* had received the supplies he expected, the face of affairs quickly changed, and he began to act offensively; and a part of *Philip*'s forces received a severe check at *Almanara*, by the vigour and good conduct of general *Stanhope*; which gave the king so indifferent an opinion of the marquis of *Villadarias*, that he sent for the marquis *de Baye*, and gave him the command of the army, which, for want of subsistence, was obliged to march to *Saragossa*. Near that city, on the 20th of *August*, they were defeated by count *Starembergh* [n]. The armies were nearly equal, and neither of the kings were in the action; for *Philip* was ill of a fever, and the generals of *Charles* III. would not suffer him to expose his person. The marquis *de Baye* made the

[l] Burnet's History of his own Times, History of Europe for the Year 1710. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [m] Mercure historique & politique. [n] Burnet's History of his own Times, Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

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beſt retreat he could to *Lerida*, where, after ſome days, he aſſembled about nine thouſand men; but the king immediately ſet out for *Madrid*, where, notwithſtanding his misfortune, he was received with great joy. Upon the news, however, that the allies were in full march for that capital, he found it neceſſary to quit it with his queen and family, followed by all the grandees and councils, on the 9th of *September* [a]. The marquis *de Baye*, as ſoon as his troops were in a condition to move, proſecuted his march to *Tudela*, on the ſide of *Navarre*, where, by the activity of the count *d'Aguilar*, the army was recruited in a ſurpriſing ſhort ſpace of time; and the duke of *Vendoſme*, being arrived from *France*, began to advance towards *Valladolid* with an eſcorte of about three thouſand horſe, which king *Philip* withdrew from the army in *Andaluſia* (C).

It

[a] Quincy, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

(C) The affairs of a prince could ſcarce be in a worſe condition than thoſe of king *Philip* after the battle of *Saragoſſa*. It will contribute to the reader's information, as well as amuſement, to have ſome particulars relating to this ſubject ſet in a true light. The ſhock at *Almanara* affected the ſpirits of the *Spaniſh* troops very much, as they relied chiefly upon their cavalry, who had been fairly beat by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* (1). It was this induced them to encamp almoſt at the gates of *Saragoſſa*, where ſuch precautions were uſed in poſting the troops, that, from the prudence of count *Starembergh*, it was concluded, that he would not attack them; and, this being publicly diſcourſed in the army, they were half-beaten when attacked. The *Walloon* regiments, upon which they moſt depended, finding their communication with the army cut off, threw down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners of war. This was another terrible misfortune, as they were looked upon to be the beſt infantry in the army (2). *Saragoſſa* revolted behind them while they were yet engaged, and, as ſoon as they were broke, they found it the ſame thing as if they had been in an enemy's country, the peaſants doing them all the miſchief that was in their power. The marquis *de Baye*, with the ſhattered remains of the army, could not have defended *Navarre*, if the allies had followed him. King *Philip* went in a manner alone to *Madrid*, a place of no ſtrength, and without troops: he was ſtill indiſpoſed, could hope for little aſſiſtance from *France*, found ſeveral great lords inclined to

(1) *Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom.* xlix. *p.* 227. (2) *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du* xviii *Siecle, par M. de Lamberti, tom.* vi. *p.* 227.

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Charles *the third takes poſſeſſion of* Madrid *and* Toledo, *but is not able to keep them.*

IT is impoſſible for human wiſdom to foreſee the conſequences of great events, and, whatever politicians might afterwards pretend, it was impoſſible they ſhould ſo much as ſuſpect that the battle of *Saragoſſa* would prove the ruin of his competitor's affairs, and become the means of fixing *Philip* V. upon the throne; and yet this was actually the caſe. General *Stanhope* vehemently preſſed marching directly to *Madrid*, to which it is ſaid neither king *Charles* nor count *Starembergh* were inclined, as having no magazines, and being to march through a country ſo diſaffected, that the people burnt their corn, and ſtarved themſelves, to prevent the allies from having any thing to eat. General *Stanhope* prevailed, and the march was reſolved. He took it for granted that the *Portugueſe* army would advance and make terms with the conqueror; and, in fine, was without money, without an army, and without reſource. The princeſs of *Urſins*, a woman of a high ſpirit, is ſaid to have exerted herſelf to a degree of indecorum in ſpeaking to the king. She told him, that a crown was never to be reſigned but with life; that, as things promiſed fair at the beginning of the campaign, fortune might come about again before the end of it; and that his own firmneſs and diligence, operating upon the deſpair of his ſubjects, might recover all. The queen abhorr'd the thoughts of being otherwiſe; and perhaps abhorred ſtill more the thoughts of living as a ſuppliant in the court of *France*, ſubject to the humours of her ſiſter; which tranſported her ſo far, that, when ſhe went out of *Madrid*, ſhe held out her ſon to the people, and ſaid, "When the "kingdom is loſt, I will die "with my infant in my arms, "in his own hereditary moun-"tains of *Aſturias*" (3). Before they got to *Burgos*, they had the conſolation of knowing that their own condition was hardly worſe than that of king *Charles*, a letter of his own being intercepted, written to his queen at *Barcelona*, importing, that he was carried to *Madrid* againſt his will; that the ſoldiers had been without bread for two days; and that his victorious army was mouldering away with ſickneſs, famine, and fatigue (4). After all, when *Spain* had been loſt by a numerous, regular, well-diſciplined army, it was recovered the ſame campaign by raw and freſh-raiſed troops, conducted by excellent officers, who made the utmoſt advantage of every error the enemy committed, and of every inconvenience to which they were expoſed (5).

(3) *Hiſt. de la Cour de Madrid, p.* 123. *Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Hiſt. gen. d'Eſpagne, tom.* ix. (4) *Reflexions hiſtoriques & politiques de M. le Marquis de Santa Cruz de Marzenardo, tom.* viii. *p.* 77. *Hiſt. gen. d'Eſpagne, tom.* ix. *p.* 303. *Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom.* xlix. *p.* 656. *Lamberti, Hiſtoire de Louis* XIV. (5) *M. de S. Cruz, Campagnes de D. de Vendoſme, &c.*

join

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join them, and that this might have opened a free communication with *Portugal*. But, after some deliberation, the court of *Lisbon* absolutely rejected this measure, tho' general *Stanhope* had advanced with a strong detachment to favour this junction. He then demanded a thousand horse and three thousand foot from that army; which was refused. Lastly, he asked the troops of the maritime powers, and their ministers at *Lisbon* offered to defray the expence; but this was likewise denied. King *Charles* remained about six weeks at *Madrid*, where his necessities obliged him to tax the inhabitants at forty-two thousand pieces of eight *per* month. At length it was found requisite to retire, and to quit both that city and *Toledo*. On the 11th of *November* king *Charles*, under an escort of a thousand horse, set out for *Barcelona*, upon intelligence that the duke of *Noailles* was on the point of entering *Catalonia* with an army [p]. Soon after the king was withdrawn, the army of the allies marched to *Guadalaxara*.

King Philip *takes general* Stanhope *at* Brihuega, *and beats count* Starembergh *at* Villaviciosa.

KING *Philip* and the duke of *Vendosme* marched with numerous forces from *Valladolid*, and, knowing the great distress of the people, sent a vast convoy of provisions before them to *Madrid*. The people received him with frantic demonstrations of joy, and, crowding about the coach of the duke of *Vendosme*, saluted him prophetically the deliverer of *Spain* [q]. King *Philip* lost no time in passing the *Tagus*, and surrounding general *Stanhope* with eight battalions and four regiments of horse and dragoons, on the 9th of *December*, in the little town of *Brihuega*. They made a great and glorious defence, disputing every inch of ground in the streets. At length the people of the place barricadoed their doors, and, beating up the tops of their houses, threw the tiles and stones upon their heads, which obliged them to surrender prisoners of war; but they were allowed to keep their baggage. Count *Starembergh*, upon hearing that they were invested, marched back to their relief; upon which the duke of *Vendosme* ordered the cavalry to march, and form themselves before *Villaviciosa*, whither the infantry followed as fast as it was possible. King *Philip* commanded the right in person, having under him the marquis *de Valdecanas*, captain-general; the duke *de Vendosme* was on the left, with the count *de Aguilar*; the conde *de la Torres* and the marquis *de Thouy*, both captain-generals, were in the centre. This action, which happened on the 10th of *De-*

[p] Histoire chronologique, BURNET, QUINCY, Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne. [q] Histoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendosme. p. 18.

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cember, began about three in the afternoon. The king quickly forced the left wing of the allies, defeated them intirely, took the generals *Belcastle* and *St. Amand* prisoners; but the right and the centre made a gallant defence, and, night coming on, count *Starembergh* made a slow and well-conducted retreat. He sent such a relation of this action to *Barcelona*, that they sung *Te Deum*, and made rejoicings for the victory, which certainly was not on their side, all their cannon and most part of their baggage being taken, with a great number of prisoners; and, in short, *Starembergh* returned into *Catalonia* with no more than seven thousand men. This action closed the campaign, and secured to king *Philip* all *Arragon*, which had again revolted after his defeat, very near the same place where this important victory was gained [r].

Both courts busy in preparation, but neither forward in action.

THE duke *de Noailles*, who had opened his trenches before *Gironne* on the 23d of *December*, found himself in a very critical situation; obstinately opposed by a strong garrison, under the command of general *Tattonbach*, within the place; in frequent danger of having his own communication with the country behind him cut off by the *Miquelets*; and at last himself and his army in the utmost perils from the inundations. His firmness and prudence overcame with much ado all these obstacles; so that at length he made himself master of the lower town on the 23d, and of the upper, by capitulation, on the 25th, of *January*. The news of this was very acceptable to king *Philip*, who kept his court at *Saragossa*, and who had sent for his queen thither [s]. The duke of *Vendosme* retired to that city, in order to confer with him about the operations of the campaign, and to determine whether *Tarragona* or *Barcelona* should be first besieged. The princess of *Ursins*, who was a declared enemy to this prince, pretended sickness, that she might avoid coming to *Saragossa*, before he took the field. The arrival of a flotilla at *Cadiz* put it in the power of king *Philip* to give a real proof of his gratitude to the duke; and he did it at a review, by putting into his hands an order for 50,000 pieces of eight for his equipage. The duke was somewhat surprised, but, turning suddenly to the line, "These," said

A. D. 1711.

[r] QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure historique & politique, LIMIERS, Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Histoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendosme.
[s] Mercure historique & politique, 1711. Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

he,

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he, " are thoſe brave men that fixed the fortune of *Spain* at " *Villa-vicioſa*; and theſe only are worthy of the king's " favour;" which he cauſed to be diſtributed in neceſſaries amongſt the private men [t]. After all this, the campaign was ſpent in little more than preparations, which was chiefly owing to the death of the emperor *Joſeph*, on the 17th of *April*, ſoon after which there were ſecret negotiations for a peace [u]. *Charles* III. quitted *Barcelona*, in order to return into his hereditary dominions, but left his queen there, and declared count *Starembergh* his viceroy. A little before his departure he fell into ſuſpicion of ſome of the *Spaniards* about him, and carried this ſo far, as to cauſe the duke of *Moles*, his ſecretary, to be arreſted. On the other hand, the duke of *Uzeda*, who had been king *Philip*'s embaſſador at *Rome*, and had quitted that city to retire to *Genoa*, upon the pope's being obliged to acknowlege *Charles* III. to the ſurprize of all the world, quitted that city, to come and acknowlege the ſame prince himſelf [w]. The queen being much indiſpoſed, the king paſſed a great part of the ſummer with her and the prince of *Aſturias* at *Corella*, for the benefit of the waters. From thence, in *October*, they proceeded to *Aranjuez*, and returned from thence to *Madrid*. About this time marſhal *Starembergh* formed a ſcheme for recovering *Tortoſa*, and burning all the *Spaniſh* magazines; which he had certainly effected, if the duke of *Vendoſme*'s ſteward, who had obtained a paſſport for going into the camp of the allies, in order to procure freſh fiſh for his maſter, had not overheard ſomething of it, which he communicated to the duke by the trumpet that was ſent with him, who gave timely notice to the governor, which prevented the ſurpriſe, and coſt the allies the lives of ſome hundred men [x]. At the cloſe of the year king *Philip* had upwards of thirty, and king *Charles* upwards of twenty, thouſand regular troops in *Catalonia*, where the latter poſſeſſed only *Barcelona*, *Tarragona*, and *Montalban*.

AT the very beginning of the year, that is, in the month of *January*, the congreſs for a general peace, the preliminaries of which were already ſettled, was opened, with the *Negotiations for a peace, upon*

[t] Hiſtoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendoſme, Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne. [u] LARREY, tom. iii. p. 309. Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques, BURNET's Hiſtory of his own Times. [w] Memoires de LA TORRE, LAMBERTI, QUINCY, LIMIERS, BURNET. [x] Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, QUINCY, tom. vi. p. 589. Hiſtoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendoſme, pag. 328.

accuſtomed

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which king Charles *the third quits* Catalonia. A. D. 1712.

accuſtomed ceremonies, at *Utrecht* [y]. King *Philip* had named the marquis of *Monteleon*, and other plenipotentiaries; but they did not repair thither, as being appriſed, that, till the king's title was acknowleged, they could not have been received. The difficulties of raiſing money were to the full as great as they had ever been; and perhaps it would have been a point too hard for all their politicians to accompliſh, if, in the month of *March*, the galleons had not arrived at *Cadiz*, under the eſcort of Monſieur *de Caſſe* [z]. The king's neceſſities forced him to take a high indulto, which, though not very willingly, was paid, and enabled the duke *de Vendoſme* to reſume the military preparations, which had been ſuſpended in a manner for ſome time for want of money. About this time the king diſgraced the conde *d'Aguilar*, lieutenant-general and captain of his guards, knight of the *Golden Fleece*, and generally eſteemed the beſt officer in *Spain*. This occaſioned a great noiſe, and no ſmall diſcontent, for his fidelity, his courage, and his conduct, were without reproach; his only fault lay in his temper; the king had ſupported him againſt the duke of *Orleans* and marſhal *Bezons*, but he would not ſupport him againſt the duke of *Vendoſme*. He ſubmitted with great duty; and, when he reſigned his command, ſaid, "As it is your majeſty's pleaſure, I am "content; if it proves for your ſervice, I ſhall rejoice." He retired to his own houſe, and ſpent the remainder of his days as a philoſopher, and died as much beloved as he had always been eſteemed [a]. The king's affairs in *Catalonia* went but indifferently: count *Staremberg* had an army of 24,000 men, with which he formed the ſiege, or rather the blockade, of *Gironne*, defended by the marquis *de Blancas*, now marſhal of *France*, for eight months, under the utmoſt extremity of famine, till at length the ſiege was raiſed [b]. As for the army of *Spain*, it was ſcarce ever in a condition to take the field, more eſpecially after the death of the duke of *Vendoſme*, which happened ſuddenly at *Vignares*, on the 11th of *June*, of an apoplexy, as ſome ſay, or, as others report, of an indigeſtion, ariſing from his eating too heartily of freſh fiſh. The king ordered him to be interred in the *Eſcurial*, with the ſame honours that had been paid to Don *Juan* of *Auſtria* [c]. One great cauſe of the inactivity of this cam-

[y] Hiſtoire du Congrez & de la Paix d'Utrecht. [z] Mercure hiſtorique & politique, A. D. 1712. Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne. [a] Mercure hiſtorique & politique. [b] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne. [c] Mercure hiſtorique & politique, Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vii. pag. 115. Memoires hiſtoriques & chronologiques.

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paign was, the desire the king had to see the *English* and *Portuguese* separated from count *Starembergh*'s army; which at length happened; and then it was hoped that the *Catalans* would have submitted, but in that they were deceived.

The king's renunciation approved, and the rule of succession altered by the Cortes.

On the 18th of *October* lord *Lexington* arrived at *Madrid*[d], and, on the 5th of *November*, the king, in the presence of his council, signed the act of renunciation [e] in the *Cortes*, or general assembly of the states. By this act he renounced, for himself, his heirs and successors, all pretensions to, and all power of inheriting, the crown of *France*, in favour of his brother the duke of *Berry*, his uncle the duke of *Orleans*, his cousin the duke of *Bourbon*, and the rest of the princes of the blood. On the 7th that renunciation was ratified and approved by the assembly of the states, and declared to be a fundamental law for regulating the succession to the dominions of *Spain* in all times to come. They likewise approved the entail made by that act on the house of *Savoy*, in case the royal family should become extinct, and the perpetual exclusion of the house of *Austria*. They farther took this opportunity of altering the rule of succession in another respect, and settled the crown on the next heir male; whereas hitherto females, if nearest in blood, had been capable of succeeding [f]. By this solemn ratification of the king's act, the great obstacle was taken away that retarded the peace, the prospect of which, and the queen's safe delivery of Don *Philip*, afforded the court and the nation great satisfaction; though they were still at a loss about *Catalonia*, where they were very unwilling to employ arms, if the possession of that country could have been recovered any other way; as well to avoid provoking the allies, as to take from the *Catalans* any colour of being obliged to form themselves into a republic for their own security; and it was chiefly with a view to this that the king published a general amnesty, without any reservation or exceptions [g]. The princess of *Ursins* still maintained herself in the favour of their catholic majesties, though she did not meddle so

[d] Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii p. 612.
[e] Actes de la Paix d'Utrecht, tom. ii. p. 330. Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. Part i. p. 310. Lamberti, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. vii. p. 528. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Mercure historique & politique, Burnet's History of his own Times, Histoire generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [f] Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. part i. p. 313.
[g] Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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much or so openly in public business. The king, however, promised, and procured for her, a principality in the *Low Countries*[h]; notwithstanding that, in the beginning of the year, he had by a solemn act[i] transferred the sovereignty of all the *Spanish* provinces to his electoral highness of *Bavaria*, in compensation for the great losses he had sustained by his steady attachment to his interests; and the great object of the court was, to get these points settled by the peace.

Mr. Orry brought back from France, who regulates the revenue effectually.

In order to answer all the great ends of government, there is nothing so requisite as to have the finances in good order. King *Philip* was sensible of this from the very moment he assumed the royal title to this time; and being also persuaded that nothing could contribute so much to the preservation of peace at home, or procuring respect abroad, as having this point once for all settled, he sent for Mr. *Orry* a third time out of *France*, and gave him full powers to regulate the whole revenue of the *Spanish* monarchy; which he did so effectually, and in so short a time, that he fixed it at

A. D. 1713.

forty millions for this year. He likewise framed the military establishment upon the foot of one hundred and twenty battalions and one hundred and thirty squadrons, exclusive of the household troops. He bought, repaired, and equipped, twenty-one men of war and frigates; he provided three hundred pieces of cannon, forty mortars, and prodigious quantities of powder, bullets, and bombs. These regulations were indeed attended with murmurs and complaints, against which the court shut their ears; and indeed the *Spanish* ministers and grandees were so much surprised, and so well pleased to see the monarchy in such a situation, after so long and so expensive a war, that they confessed it better for some individuals to suffer by the loss of old debts, and the introduction of new methods, than that *Spain* should continue in that distressed and dejected condition in which they had seen her for a long series of years[k]. The arrival of the galleons was another favourable incident, which, by fixing the indulto so high as eight *per cent.* produced a very considerable supply; and the duke of *Albuquerque*, who was just returned from his viceroyalty in the *Indies*, was obliged to lay down a round sum in gold, to prevent an inquiry into his administration. These circumstances, together with the regularity observed by the generality of the towns

[h] Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. Part i. p. 272. [i] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. P. i. p. 288, 289. [k] Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1713.

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in paying their free gifts, when they saw that things were put into order, and that a like regularity was observed in all public payments, spread a spirit of firmness and tranquillity which was visible enough in the language and in the conduct of the ministers, during the negotiation and conclusion of the several treaties of peace by which this long and ruinous war had been ended, on terms much superior to what were expected but the very summer before. This brings us to speak of the first of these treaties concluded with *Great Britain* on the 13th of *July*[1], according to the new stile, and which in fact was the ruling precedent for all the rest (D).

By

[1] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. i. p. 393. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle XVIII. tom. viii. p. 445.

(D) As soon as the preliminaries with *Great Britain* were signed, the kings *Lewis* and *Philip* looked upon the peace as made, and not without reason, for they were very sensible that the war in *Spain* had been made for some campaigns at the expence of *Great Britain*; and they were also morally certain, that, if it was carried on any longer, it must be carried on in the same way (6). For these reasons *Philip* was very forward to give that satisfaction which had been demanded on the part of queen *Anne*, which was the solemn renunciation, for himself and his family, of all rights to the crown of *France*; he published, therefore a declaration and decree, both dated on the 18th of *July*. In the former he gives his subjects to understand, that he had at length hopes of a peace; that these hopes proceeded intirely from the favour of *Great Britain*; and were attended with the demand of a renunciation either of his rights to the crown of *Spain*, or to that of *France*. He affirms, that his grandfather had dissuaded the latter; but that, from the moment it came under his consideration, he determined to prefer *Spain*, and not barely *Spain*, but a part of it, to *France*, and to all the crowns upon earth; that therefore, with the greatest chearfulness, and without the smallest mixture either of regret or complaint, he had subscribed the decree of renunciation which followed. In the decree he premises, that securing *Europe* from the danger that must result from the too great power of a monarch having the crowns of *France* and *Spain* on his head, was the source of this long war; and it was natural,

(6) *Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Use of History, Le Siecle de Louis* XIV. *par Voltaire.*

therefore,

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The substance of the treaty between the crowns of Spain *and* Great Britain.

By this treaty their majesties reciprocally acknowleged each other's titles; the catholic king recognized the protestant succession, as settled in the illustrious house of *Hanover*; revived and restored all the privileges the *English* nation had enjoyed in the reign of his uncle and predecessor; yielded to the crown of *Great Britain*, in full dominion and sovereignty, the town and fortress of *Gibraltar*, the island of *Minorca*, and the harbour and fortress of *Port-Mahon*, on condition that neither *Jews* nor *Moors* should be permitted to inhabit in either; that the *Roman* catholic religion should be permitted and protected in the latter; and that if either or both should be at any time sold or alienated by the crown of *Great Britain*, the crown of *Spain* should have a right of pre-emption. His catholic majesty farther granted to the subjects of *Great Britain* the *Assiento de Negros* for the space of thirty years, upon the terms, and according to the conditions, mentioned in a certain instrument, which was to have the like force and virtue as if verbally recited in the said treaty. The inhabitants of *Catalonia*, of all ranks whatsoever, were to have a general amnesty, with the intire and full possession of their

therefore, to provide in the fullest manner against it, previous to the conclusion of a peace; that, being sensible of the obligations he was under to the *Spaniards* both for giving him a crown, and for sacrificing their lives and fortunes to keep it upon his head, when, thro' two signal reverses of fortune, it was upon the point of falling, he thought himself obliged, as well in point of honour and out of gratitude, as from principles of affection, to comply with the instances made by the queen of *Great Britain*, in making, with the utmost chearfulness and sincerity, an authentic renunciation of his own rights, and those of his posterity, to the crown of *France*, in favour of his brother the duke of *Berry*, and his uncle the duke of *Orleans* (7). The like renunciations were made by those princes with respect to their rights to the crown of *Spain*; and those renunciations were fortified in the strongest manner possible, by the approbation and recognition of the *Cortes* in *Spain*, and by their registring the renunciations in *France* by the king's authority, and with his consent, in all the parliaments of that kingdom (8). It appears, however, clearly, that the *British* ministers did not so much rely upon the renunciations, as upon their being inserted in the treaty of peace, under the guaranty of the allies, who thereby acquired a right of making them good at all times by force of arms (9).

(7) *Mercure historique & politique, Corps Universel Diplomatique, &c.* (8) *Histoire generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. Mercure historique & politique.* (9) *Lord Bolingbroke's Letters, published in the Report of the Secret Committee.*

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honours and estates, with all the privileges then enjoyed, or that might be thereafter granted to the inhabitants of the two *Castiles*, his majesty's most faithful and best-beloved subjects. The treaties of commerce between the two powers were renewed. The island of *Sicily*, at the special instance and request of her *Britannic* majesty, was yielded to his royal highness the duke of *Savoy*, but without a power of alienation, and upon condition that, in case the male line of the house of *Savoy* failed, it should return to the catholic king. This treaty was signed at *Utrecht*, by the duke of *Ossuna* and the marquis of *Monteleon* on one side; and by the bishop of *Bristol*, lord privy-seal, and the earl of *Strafford*, her *Britannic* majesty's plenipotentiaries, on the other.

Substance of the like treaty between his catholic majesty and the duke of Savoy.

By the treaty [m] with *Victor Amadeus* the second, duke of *Savoy*, which was signed the same day, at the same place, his catholic majesty declares, confirms, and renews, his several renunciations in respect to the crown of *France*, and those made by the princes of the blood in that kingdom, as also the new rule of succession, by which that prince and his family were called to the throne of *Spain*. He likewise yields and transfers, purely, simply, and irrevocably, to the said duke, to the princes his sons, their heirs male, and all the heirs male of the house of *Savoy*, the kingdom of *Sicily*, and all the islands adjacent, and dependent thereon; and promises to withdraw the marquis *de los Balbases*, then viceroy, and to give his royal highness possession, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, as also to maintain that possession, and to remit into his royal highness's power all the titles, papers, and documents, that concern the kingdom. On the other hand, his royal highness stipulates not to sell, yield, mortgage, exchange, or otherwise part with, the said kingdom, but to preserve the possession of it, till such time as it devolved to the crown of *Spain* for want of heirs male, or to a king of *Spain* of the house of *Savoy*. His catholic majesty likewise confirms all the cessions made to his royal highness by the emperor *Leopold* in *Italy*. To this treaty there is annexed an instrument of cession, subscribed by his catholic majesty on the 10th of *June*. There are likewise annexed two separate articles, by which his royal highness consents that this treaty shall be void, in case he opposes, directly or indirectly, the intentions of the king of *Spain*, be-

[m] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. i. p. 389. 401. Mercure historique & politique, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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fore the concluſion of the general treaty of peace, as alſo in caſe he ſhall enter into any alliances contrary or prejudicial to the intereſts of his catholic majeſty. We ſhall hereafter ſee what conſequences theſe ſecret articles produced.

Different ſentiments of the Spaniſh *nobility, upon the terms of the peace.*

THUS *Philip*, after a tedious war, and many cruel reverſes of fortune, became at laſt maſter of *Spain* and the *Indies*, by the conſent of thoſe who had moſt vigorouſly oppoſed him; as, on the other hand, the two crowns were conſtrained to diſmember the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and make in effect a new treaty of partition. This, as it reſtored them to tranquillity, was extremely grateful to the bulk of the *Spaniſh* nation; though there wanted not ſome who complained of the dear rate at which they had purchaſed peace, and regretted that diminution of honour which the crown had ſuſtained, notwithſtanding they muſt have been ſenſible that the loſs was inevitable, and that there was great reaſon to wonder that peace was obtained even upon theſe terms. Thoſe, however, who did not carry their diſcontent ſo high, were not a little troubled at the conſideration that many things yet remained unſettled; that, notwithſtanding the emperor had the equivalent that was intended him in his hands, he ſtill kept up his claim to the whole monarchy; that as yet the peace was not concluded with *Portugal*; and that the reſtitution of a great part of *Catalonia* was ſtill in a ſtate of uncertainty; ſo that, after all, the fire was only raked up in its aſhes, and its flame might be eaſily rekindled by any accident that furniſhed it with freſh fuel. The court was alſo thoroughly ſatisfied of this, and very deſirous of extinguiſhing it; but, however, judged very prudently, that great caution was neceſſary; and that though no time was to be loſt, yet nothing ought to be precipitated, more eſpecially as they were perſuaded that their new friends were full as deſirous as themſelves to ſee this completed, and yet judged, as they did, that a matter of ſo great conſequence ought not to be hurried.

Convention for the immediate evacuation of the principality of Catalonia.

THE firſt, and indeed principal, point was, the bringing about the evacuation of *Catalonia* by the *German* troops; and it proved more eaſy than could have been expected, on account of thoſe circumſtances which determined both parties to concur in that meaſure, who could agree in nothing elſe. His imperial majeſty was deſirous of withdrawing his conſort, and found it neceſſary likewiſe at that juncture to withdraw his troops. A little before the empreſs embarked, ſhe communicated to the *Catalans* the emperor's reſolution to continue the war, and not to depart from his claim to the *Spaniſh* monarchy. To which they returned a very zealous anſwer,

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anſwer, demanding, with the greateſt warmth, his coming back to his faithful ſubjects, and promiſing to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in his ſervice [n]. This was kept very ſecret at that time, and was in reality one great ſource of the misfortunes of the *Catalans*; for, within the compaſs of the ſame month, the emperor conſented to a convention for evacuating *Catalonia*, and for the neutrality of *Italy*, in which it was ſtipulated, that the imperial troops ſhould embark at ſuch times, and in ſuch manner, on board the *Engliſh* fleet, as ſhould be moſt convenient to count *Starembergh*: that a general amneſty ſhould be granted to all the *Catalans* without exception, and alſo to the inhabitants of *Majorca*: that count *Starembergh* ſhould quit either *Barcelona* or *Tarragona* firſt, as he thought convenient, of which he ſhould give notice to the *Spaniards*, that they might take poſſeſſion of the place he quitted, immediately on the withdrawing of his troops; and that he ſhould leave behind him whatever cannon or ammunition belonged to *France* or *Spain*. This convention [o] was of a very ſingular nature, ſince none of the parties took any title therein, but, when ſpoken of together, are called the powers at war; when ſeparately, the power occupying, or the power retiring; and the due obſervance of all ſtipulated therein is guarantied by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and her *Britannic* majeſty. However, when the imperialiſts quitted *Tarragona*, they ſuffered the *Miquelets*, as count *Starembergh*'s relation ſays, to make themſelves maſters of the place; which indeed they attempted, and in which they were very near ſucceeding; but the archbiſhop and the magiſtrates, foreſeeing what the conſequences would be, and thinking they had made ſacrifices enough already, diſpatched an expreſs to the marquis *Grimaldi*, lieutenanant-general of his catholic majeſty's forces, who ordered the marquis *de Lede* to march with ſix battalions and ſeven ſquadrons, to ſecure that city, as he did, and was received by the inhabitants with all the marks of joy imaginable [q]. It was with this marquis of *Grimaldi* that count *Starembergh* had ſigned a convention [r], dated the 22d of *June*, relative to the evacuation, in which it was ſtipulated, that the *Catalans* ſhould be at free liberty to ſend a deputation to the duke *de Popoli*, whom the king had appointed their viceroy; but it does not appear that

[n] Lamberti, Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du Siecle xviii. p. 400. [o] Mercure hiſtorique & politique. [q] Memoires Hiſtoriques & chronologiques, Limiers, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. [r] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, & auct. ſupra citat.

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they made any use of it, but, on the contrary, count *Starenbergh*'s relation expressly says, that he left the emperor's flags flying on *Montjuic*, and in the principal posts of *Barcelona* [s].

The commons of Barcelona *seize that city, and refuse to acknowlege the new government.*

In the mean time those who were invested with the government of this province employed their agent, the count *de Ferran* to solicit *Great Britain* and *Holland* for assistance, representing in very strong terms the promises of support that had been made them from time to time by the maritime powers; and, according to the prayer of his memorials, both the queen and the states general did interpose on their behalf. The states, however, gave out commissions for 26,000 men; took the *Spanish* troops of king *Charles*, that were left behind, into their pay, as they likewise did some *Palatines*, and their officers; appointed generals of horse and foot, and took all other measures possible for a vigorous defence [t]. It is not easy to discover what their real intentions were; the general notion throughout *Europe* was, that they had a mind to render themselves an independent republic, after the example of *Holland*, which had been more than once in their heads before; but of this there is no kind of proof: on the contrary, from the language of their public acts, it is manifest they would be understood to mean, that they still considered the emperor as king of *Spain*, and themselves as his subjects; and therefore their conduct ought to be referred, if not to secret assurances, yet at least to expectations and hopes of succour and support from him; which is so much the more likely, as his imperial majesty procured, or, as the *Spaniards* say, extorted, the cardinal's hat for the bishop of *Barcelona*, who was the principal author of these martial resolutions [u]. The nobility and the clergy were of another mind, and were desirous of submitting, not only as it seemed to be the sole measure they had left, but also in point of prudence, that they might reap the benefit of the good offices of the maritime powers. In this, however, they were not able to carry their point.

Declare war against the crowns of France *and* Spain, *and are*

As soon as the court of *Madrid* had taken their measures for reducing the place in case of resistance, the duke *de Popoli*, in quality of general of the army in the principality of *Catalonia*, summoned the city of *Barcelona* to open her gates on the 29th of *July*, on pain of being considered as obstinate rebels; to which the deputation answered, that their

[s] Mercure historique & politique. [t] Lamberti, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. viii. p. 411.
[u] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

city,

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city, and the whole principality, persisted in their resolution of continuing the war, in virtue of that fidelity which they had always borne to their sovereign [w]. This certainly was very explicit. However, they explained themselves farther, by making an attempt upon *Tarragona*, in which they miscarried; and at last, upon the 21st of *September*, they publicly declared war by sound of trumpet against both *France* and *Spain*; from which time hostilities were committed on both sides, and the *Spaniards* took all the precautions possible to block up *Barcelona*, as far as it was in their power [x]. Lord *Lexington*, who was still at *Madrid* with the character of the queen of *Great Britain*'s embassador extraordinary, renewed his solicitations in favour of the *Catalans*; and says in his memorial, that it was not consistent with the honour or conscience of his mistress to leave a nation, whom the course of the war had brought into her interests, in a worse condition than she found it; and therefore pressed the king, in consideration of that friendship which God had been pleased to restore between their majesties, to grant those unhappy people their pardon and their privileges. In answer to this memorial, the *Spanish* ministers insisted upon the treaty, and the offers that had been made them of a general amnesty, which they had refused. After this, when lord *Lexington* was on the point of his departure, he wrote, with the consent of the court of *Spain* (tho' the contrary seems to be insinuated in the letter itself) to the *Catalans*, in order to persuade them to accept the amnesty, that it might be in his power to intercede for them farther, which he assures them he was inclined to do, tho' their answer should not reach his hands till he had quitted *Madrid*, and was come to *Lisbon* [y]; but it does not appear what effect this letter had, or whether it had any; but about this time his catholic majesty solicited the queen, or at least her ministers, very strongly, to permit some of her ships of war, that were in the *Mediterranean*, to assist in shutting up the port of *Barcelona*, and this under pretence that it was a point of no great consequence to the commerce of *Great Britain*, inasmuch as the *Catalans*, in their desperate circumstances, had solicited the *Moors*, and particularly the *Algerines*, for assistance [z].

treated as rebels by the latter.

SUCH was the situation of things at the close of this year, which brings us to a conclusion of the general history of

Reasons for concluding

[w] Mercure historique & politique, Hist. generale d'Espagne, QUINCY, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. LIMIERS. [x] LARREY. [y] LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle XVIII. tom. viii. p. 406—409.

Spain,

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Here the modern history of the Spanish *monarchy.*

Spain, since, tho' the treaties with the *United Provinces* and *Portugal* were not concluded and signed within the compass of it, yet the principal points were settled, and the king was acknowleged; and the reader will find a full account of both in their proper places. He was also so happy as to have another son born this year, *viz.* the infant Don *Ferdinand*, on the 23d of *September*, who afterwards succeeded to the crown of *Spain*[a], and his affairs in much better condition than, after so tedious and consuming a war, he could well have expected; at the same time that he saw himself courted by his neighbours; and found that the war, in which the emperor persisted against *France*, delivered him from all apprehensions of seeing himself attacked in his own dominions by so powerful a competitor. He saw the duke of *Savoy* in possession of the kingdom of *Sicily*, and from that circumstance attached to his interests; in favour of which likewise other *Italian* powers had pretty clearly explained themselves; and, which was a circumstance perhaps more satisfactory than all the rest, he found himself the first complete monarch of *Spain* in a strict and proper sense, since under all his predecessors it was not so much a monarchy as a conjunction of several kingdoms under one chief; and tho' the difference may not seem great to strangers, yet it was without question a matter of prodigious importance in itself, as the removing the difficulties with which it was attended could scarcely have proved practicable at any other juncture than that in which it was done, and by which alone the king endeared himself so much to his subjects of *Castile*, that, tho' the first prince of his house, and a stranger by birth, he found them not only more tractable and complaisant, but really more obedient, and more zealous for his service, than for any of those who had reigned before him, as will manifestly appear when we come to resume this history in the conclusion.

[a] Histoire generale d'Espagne.

END of the TWENTY-FIRST VOLUME.

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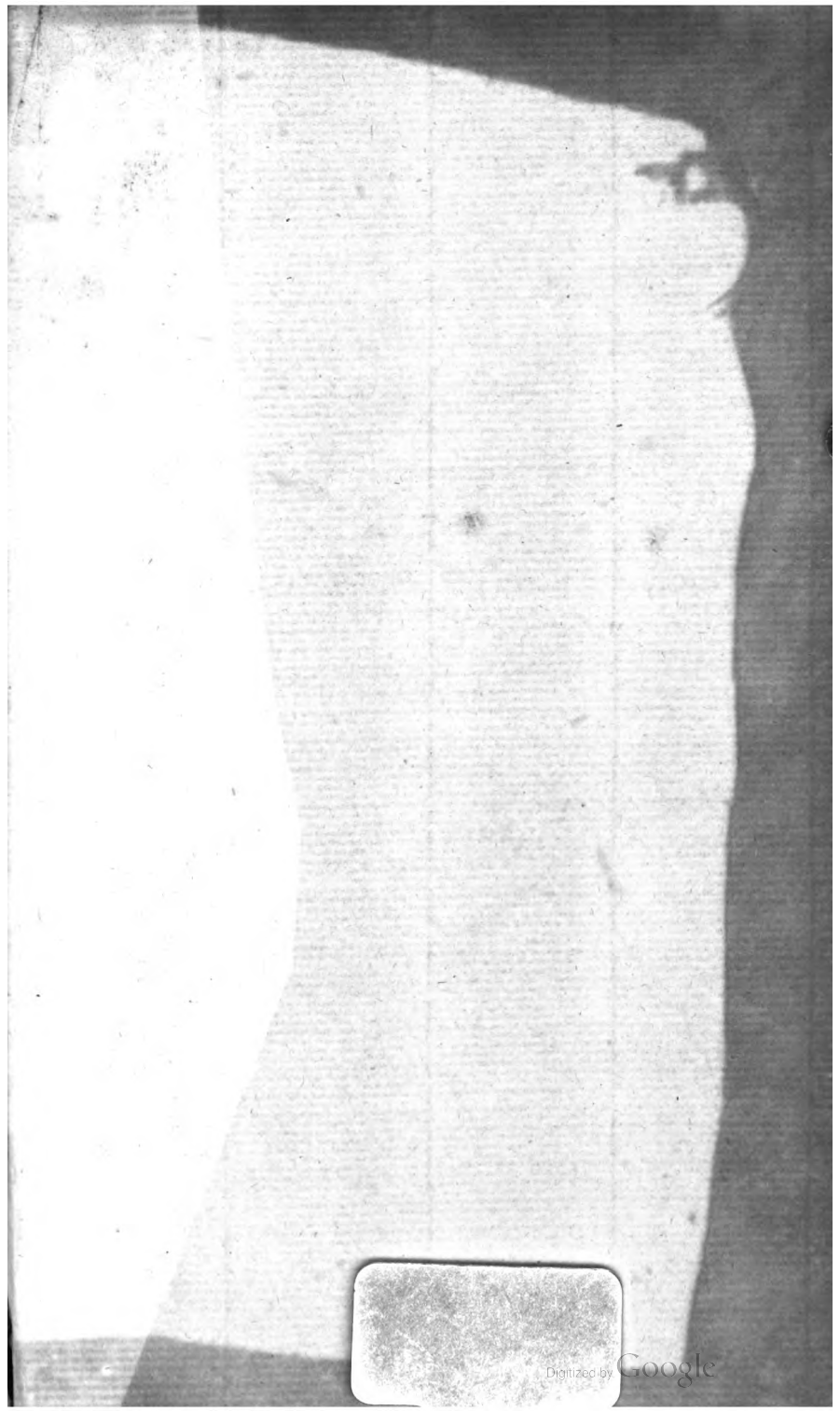
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